



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

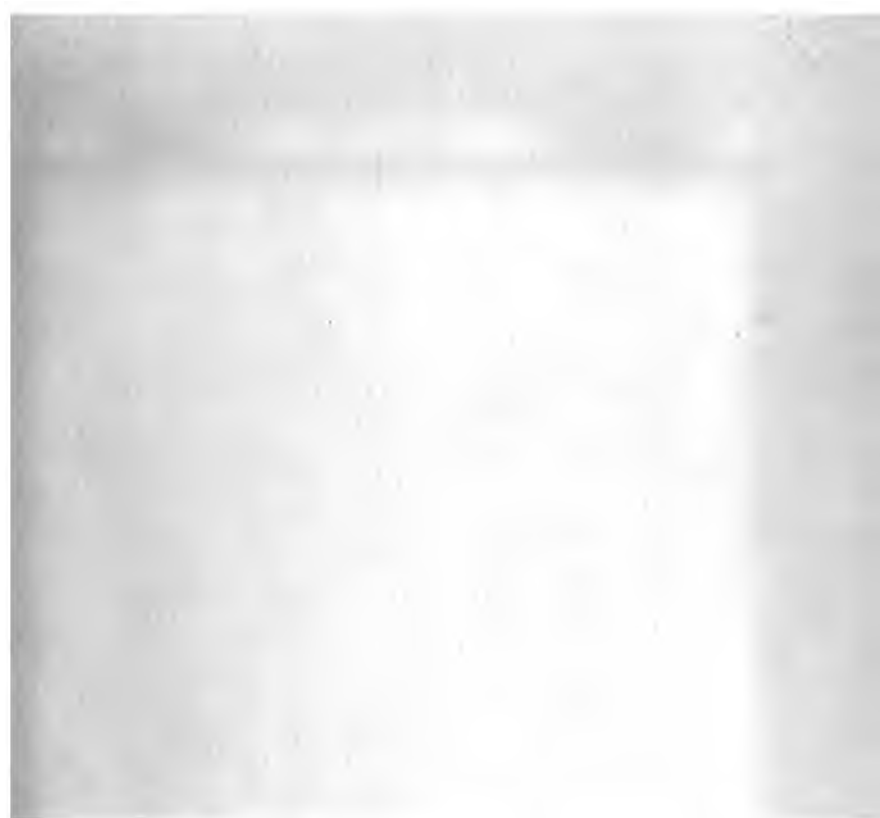
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





ANNEX

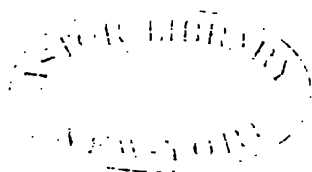






THE
CHURCH REVIEW,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

VOLUME II.—1849-50.



NEW HAVEN, CONN:

GEORGE B. BASSETT, 115 CHAPEL STREET.

NEW YORK: STANFORD & SWORDS, 137 BROADWAY.

LONDON: GEORGE P. PUTNAM, 49 BOW-LANE, CHEAPSIDE.

MDCCL.

THE
NEW
HAVEN

Printed by
THOMAS J. STAFFORD,
New Haven, Conn.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME II.

NO. I.

	Page.
ART. I.—Macaulay's England,	9
The History of England, from the Accession of James II. By Thomas Babington Macaulay. Vol. I. New York, 1849.	
ART. II.—Memoir of Rev. Dr. Milnor,	31
A Memoir of the Life of James Milnor, D. D., late Rector of St. George's Church, New York. By the Rev. John S. Stone, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Brooklyn. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York.	
ART. III.—Clerical Changes,	59
ART. IV.—Present Aspect of Unitarianism,	71
The Power of Christianity. A Discourse preached at the Dedication of the house of the thirteenth Congregational Church, in Harrison Avenue, Boston, May 3, 1848. By J. I. T. Coolidge.	
Relation of Christianity to Human Nature. A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Mr. Frederick N. Knapp, as Colleague Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Brookline, Mass., on Wednesday, Oct. 6, 1847. By Henry W. Bellows, Pastor of the Church of the Divine Unity in New York City.	
Christ the Way. A sermon preached at the Ordination of the Rev. George M. Bartoe, as Minister of the First Church of Christ, in Lancaster, Mass., Wednesday, Aug. 7, 1847. By Cyrus A. Bartoe, Junior Minister of the West Church in Boston.	
ART. V.—The Religious Condition of New England,	89
Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England during the century between 1740 and 1840. Boston: Dow, 1847. pp. 128. 12mo.	
New Englandism not the Religion of the Bible; being an examination of a Review of Bishop Brownell's Fourth Charge to his Clergy, in the New Englander for January, 1844. Hartford: Parsons, 1844. pp. 60. 12mo.	
ART. VI.—Church Missions and Church Extension,	107
Thirteenth Annual Report of the Domestic Committee, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Board of Missions, at Providence, R. I., June 20, 1848.	
Fourth Triennial Report of the Board of Missions to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held in New York, in October, 1847.	

Book Notices, **Page.**
121

1. Dr. Bushnell's "God in Christ."—2. Theophany, by Rev. Robert Turnbull.—3. Bishop Brownell's Family Prayer-Book.—4. Life of Rev. Dr. Milnor.—5. Whipple's Essays and Reviews.—6 Appeal to the Christian Public.—7. Walter Lorimer and other Tales.—8. William Thompson Bacon's Poems.—9. Roman Catholic Almanac.—10. Ayres' Legends of Montauk.—11. Acton, or the Circle of Life.—12. Grace Leslie.—13. History of Alexander the Great.—14. Tracts for Cities.—15. Dr. Totten's Letter.—16. The Beauty of Holiness.—17. Prof. Knight's Matriculation Address.—18. St. Mary's Hall.—19. The Weekly Eucharist.—20. Report of Colonization Society.—21. Catalogue of Episcopal Academy of Connecticut.—22. Rev. Dr. Strong's Sermon.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

Summary of Home Intelligence,	133
Summary of Foreign Intelligence,	141

—
NO. II.

ART. I.—Milton's Prose and Poetical Works, **153**

- The Prose Works of John Milton, with a Biographical Introduction. By Rufus W. Griswold. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1846.
A Treatise on Christian Doctrine, Compiled from the Holy Scripture alone. By John Milton. Translated from the original by Charles R. Sumner, M. A., Librarian and Historiographer to his Majesty, and Prebendary of Canterbury. Boston: 1825.
The Poetical Works of John Milton.

ART. II.—Prof. Stuart on the Wine Question, **181**

- Scriptural View of the Wine Question, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Nott, by M. Stuart, Prof. in the Theol. Sem. at Andover. New York: Leavitt, Trow & Co., 1848. 8vo. pp. 64.

ART. III.—Translation of the Syriac Ignatian Epistles, **194**

ART. IV.—Miss Strickland's Queens of England, **201**

- Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquests—with Anecdotes of their Courts. Now first published from official documents, private as well as public. By Agnes Strickland. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12 Vols. 1848.

ART. V.—Noel's Church and State. **213**

- Essay on the Union of Church and State. By Baptist Wriothsley Noel, M. A. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849. 12mo. pp. 442.

ART. VI.—Morell's Philosophy of Religion, **226**

- The Philosophy of Religion. By J. D. Morell, A. M., Author of the History of Modern Philosophy, &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. 1849.

CONTENTS.

5

ART. VII.—Layard's Remains of Nineveh, Page. 245

Nineveh and its Remains; with an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidia, or Devil-worshippers; and an inquiry into the Manners and Arts of the Ancient Assyrians. By Austen Henry Layard, Esq., D. C. L. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1849.

ART. VIII.—The New Hegira, 264

The Encyclical Letter of Pius IX. Gaeta, 1849.

Book Notices, 287

1. Nineveh and its Remains.—2. What does Dr. Bushnell mean!—3. Ancient Geography and History.—4. Curzon's Visits to Monasteries in the Levant.—5. Tales of a Traveler.—6. The Crayon Miscellany.—7. Tyng's Lectures.—8. Williams' Thoughts on the Gospel Miracles.—9. Montague's Narrative of the Expedition to the Dead Sea.—10. Moore's Poems.—11. Manning's Sermons.—12. Turnbull's Genius of Italy.—13. Fields' Good and Bad in the Roman Catholic Church.—14. Hoyt's Sketches of Life and Landscape.—15. Murdock's Mosheim's Institutes.—16. Willard's Last Leaves of American History.—17. Book of Common Prayer.—18. Cecil and his Dog.—19. Dutton's Sketch of Deacon Beers.—20. Southern Literary Messenger.—21. American Journal of Science and Arts.—22. Bishop of Fredericton's Charge and Sermon.—23. Catalogue of Gen. Theol. Seminary.—24. Swords' Pocket Almanac.—25. Duer's New York as it was.—26. Stranger in the Church.—27. Filial Duty.—28. Dr. Upfold's Practical Charity.—29. Mr. Lee's Stranger at Home.—30. Catalogue of Burlington College.—31. Bishop Doane's Ordination Sermon.

Literary Intelligence, 298

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

Summary of Home Intelligence, 300

Summary of Foreign Intelligence, 303

NO. III.

ART. I.—Early Clergy of Connecticut, 309

The Life of Samuel Johnson, D. D., First President of King's [Columbia] College, N. Y., etc. By Rev. T. B. Chandler, D. D. 18mo. pp. 208.

History of the Church in Newtown, [Rev. D. Burhans'] Churchman's Magazine, Hartford, 1822.

American Biography and Historical Dictionary. By William Allen, D. D., Pres. Bowdoin College. pp. 800, 8vo. 1832.

Missions of the Church of England in N. A. Colonies. By Ernest Hawkins, B. D. pp. 448, 8vo. 1845.

A Friendly Expostulation, &c. By [Rev.] J[ohn] B[each]. pp. 48, 8vo. [1763.]

Early Churchmen of Connecticut. By A. B. Chapin. pp. 28. 8vo. 1839.

Sermons of the Early Clergy, MSS.

	Page.
ART. II.—Smyth against Confirmation,	325
The Romish and Prelatical Rite of Confirmation Examined, and Proved to be Contrary to the Scriptures, and the Practice of all the Earliest and Purest Churches, both Oriental and Western. By Thomas Smyth, D. D., Author of "Lectures on the Apostolical Succession," "Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity," &c. With an Appendix on the Duty of requiring a Public Profession of Religion. New York: Mark H. Newman, &c. 1845.	
ART. III.—Pastoral Visiting,	348
ART. IV.—Foster on Future Punishment,	359
A Letter of the celebrated John Foster, to a young Minister, on the Duration of Future Punishment: with an Introduction and Notes, consisting chiefly of extracts from orthodox writers, &c. Boston: 1849.	
ART. V.—Puritanism,	370
The History of the Puritans. By Daniel Neal, M. A. London, Feb. 1, 1731—32. New England's Memorial. By Nathaniel Morton, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth. March 26, 1689. Copy of an Original unpublished Letter of Brother John Underhill, preserved in one of the ancient families of English Puritans, dated Boston, 28 fourth month, 1638. The English Puritans, as they were, and their New England Descendants, as they are. 1849.	
ART. VI.—American History,	391
A History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent, to the organization of Government under the Federal Constitution. By Richard Hildreth. In three volumes. Vol. I. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849.	
ART. VII.—The Church in New England,	405
Book Notices,	423
1. Hildreth's Pioneer History.—2. Bishop Whittingham's Charge.—3. Wilson's Church Identified.—4. Bishop Ives' Obedience of Faith.—5. A Layman's Lesson to a Lord Bishop.—6. Lady Alice.—7. Miss Strickland's Queens of England.—8. Lynch's Narrative of Expedition to the Dead Sea.—9. Motto of Jubilee College, &c.—10. Bonnevile's Adventures.—11. Irving's Biography of Goldsmith.—12. Kaloohlah.—13. Johnson's Church Vindicated.—14. Bulwer and Forbes on the Water Treatment.—15. Doane's Men to make a State.—16. Questions on the Book of Genesis.—17. Andrews' Reasons, &c.—18. Stevens' Sermon.—19. Hallam's Sermon.—20. Morgan's Centenary Discourse.—21. Clark's Discourse.—22. Godey's Lady's Book.—23. Van Kleeck's Discourse.—24. Fuller's Origin and Uses of the Creeds.—25. Patapeco Institute.—26. Forms of Prayer.—27. The Christian Review.—	
ECCLIASTICAL REGISTER.	
Summary of Home Intelligence,	438
Summary of Foreign Intelligence,	449

NO. IV.

ART. I.—Moehler's Symbolism,	Page. 461
Moehler's Symbolism. New York: published by Edward Dunigan, 1844.	
ART. II.—Socialism,	491
The Life of Charles Fourier. By Ch. Pellarin, M. D. New York: Dewitt & Davenport, Tribune Buildings, 1848.	
The Organization of Labor and Association. By Mathew Briancourt. Published at the same place, 1848.	
Love in the Phalanstery. By Victor Hennequin. 1849. Same publishers.	
Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association. By Albert Brisbane. New York: J. S. Redfield, Clinton Hall, 1847.	
French Ideas of Democracy and Community of Goods. North American Review, October, 1849.	
Democracy. London Quarterly Review, July, 1849.	
ART. III.—Lady Alice, or the New Una,	505
Lady Alice, or the New Una. A Novel. D. Appleton & Co, New York and Philadelphia, 1849.	
ART. IV.—Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and King Charles the First,	524
ART. V.—The Position of Congregationalism,	559
Report of the Committee of the Central Association of Hartford County, on Dr. Bushnell's Book entitled, "God in Christ." Published in the Religious Herald, Hartford.	
Minority Report of the same Committee. Published ut sup.	
ART. VI.—Absolution and Confession,	573
The Calendar Newspaper, from March 24, to December 29, 1849. Hartford: Samuel Hanmer, Jr.	
The Priestly Office, a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of North Carolina; by their Diocesan, the Right Rev. L. Silliman Ives, D. D. New York: Stanford & Swords. 12mo. pp. 27.	
Voice of the Anglican Church on Confession. New York: Stanford & Swords. 12mo. pp. 16.	
Confession as held by the Anglican Church, designed chiefly as an antidote to a pamphlet entitled "Voice of the Anglican Church," originally published in "The Churchman." April 21. By a Presbyter of the Diocese of New York. New York: E. P. Allen. 12mo. pp. 85.	
A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese. By the Rt. Rev. L. Silliman Ives, D. D., Bishop of North Carolina. 12mo. pp. 79.	
The Doctrine of Repentance, being a Review of "a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese," &c. By the Rev. J. H. Hanson, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Waddington, N. Y. 12mo. pp. 88.	
An Examination of the Doctrine declared, and the Powers claimed, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ives, in a Pastoral Letter, &c. &c. By a Lay Member of the Prot. Ep. Church in North Carolina. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 12mo. pp. 105.	

	Page.
The Sacrament of Repentance, a Plain Tract. By a Minister of the Protestant Church, but a believer of the Catholic Faith. New York: Appleton. pp. 23.	
A Voice from Connecticut, occasioned by the late Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of North Carolina to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese. By the Rev. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, D. D., LL. D. With the approbation of the Bishop of Connecticut. Hartford: Calendar press. 12mo. pp. 50.	
Editorial,	595
Book Notices,	597
1. Wilberforce's Doctrine of the Incarnation.—2. Bishop Ives' Pastoral Letter.—3. Gieseler's Ecclesiastical History.—4. Hildreth's History of the United States.—5. Hawks' Monuments of Egypt.—6. Staunton's Church Chant-Book.—7. Goode's Treatises on the Church.—8. Colton's Public Economy.	
ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.	
Summary of Home Intelligence,	605
Summary of Foreign Intelligence,	609

THE
CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. II.

APRIL, 1849.

No. 1.

MACAULAY'S ENGLAND.

ART. I.—*The History of England, from the Accession of James II.* By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. Vol. I. New York, 1849.

MR. MACAULAY has long been known as a very brilliant, and at the same time, a very unscrupulous writer. His articles in the *Edinburgh Review* show him to be, not certainly in the highest sense of the word, an accomplished rhetorician, well-trained in rhetoric as an art, and willing moreover to use it as an art, and nothing more. A clever trader in theories, not a developer of deep and real truths; a taking writer of Scoto-French English, formed on the most approved rules of the triumvirate; affecting an air of candor, which with the majority of people is equally admirable with the thing itself; a generalizer in morals and History, of much such a character as Priestley was in Physics; it is no great wonder that his works, just on a level with his age, should have at the moment a crowd of worshipers. How long the idol will be remembered, how lasting the adoration will be, is a totally distinct question.

The great difficulties with Mr. Macaulay, as an Historian, are, that he never hesitates to sacrifice every thing to the swell of a period, or the point of an antithesis; that he regards truth as a subjective opinion, rather than an objective

reality ; and that he generalizes on most insufficient grounds, and therefore,—whether intentionally or not we cannot undertake to say,—distorts facts to a most surprising extent. Indeed, nearly as much as this is implied, when we say that he has long been a leading contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*. His rhetoric we have spoken of, as brilliant. We do not mean, however, that he has any thing like the majesty of Burke, or the glow of Taylor. It is a glare and glitter, rather, which want alike thoroughness of illumination, and intensity of light. And this rhetorical characteristic is, of course heightened by his unscrupulous habit of hasty generalization. For this enables him to make the most of any fact for his own purposes, and to present it in that very light which favors his immediate theory, without any great solicitude as to how far it may be modified by other facts. The worst point, however, is the second one which we have named. There is no possible form of condemnation or contempt, which that man does not deserve, who, looking upon truth not as an objective reality, but only as a subjective notion, plays with it as if it were an opinion, and moulds it as if it were an idea. Such a man as that must one day or another have a terrible awakening. And even before such an awakening comes, a suspicion can hardly fail occasionally to cross his mind, that there are things in the world beside theories ; and that if there are, he has sacrilegiously profaned a most holy thing, and made his whole life a sham and a falsehood. The last capacity which such an one is calculated to fill, is that of an Historian. History to him is a juggler's trick, a gamester's calculation. Skimming on the surface of events ; considering man as a machine, in whom given wire-pullings produce ascertained movements ; never beholding a higher power overruling the world's goings ; he can neither rise to the lofty height, whence looking down he may group the events of ages, nor fathom these depths of the human spirit, where he may find the living sources, not the pulled machine wires, of the same events. He can therefore neither classify rightly, nor expound truly : and after times forget the clever theory-maker, the skilful partisan, the petty story monger, and recur to the man of truth, and feeling, and principle.

It is generally the case, that such a person as we have been describing, can never sit down to write History, without making it bear distinctly on passing events, and present issues. In one sense indeed, History never should be written otherwise. Never should one attempt that most solemn of all literary labors, without the settled purpose to show alike the work-

ings of God's Providence, and the human development of mighty principles. It is of nothing like this that we are speaking now. It is of the disposition to make the narrative subserve the paltry purposes of party: the never failing characteristic of a narrow-minded and superficial Historian. It is amusing to see Mr. Macaulay doing this, with a sort of off-hand air of candor, and a delightful freedom from consciousness. One would almost imagine that he had revised his volume, and added some little patches of speculation, on the eve of the late election for the West-Riding of Yorkshire, and when he felt his position as a Cabinet Minister growing insecure. How much his efforts will tell for the Russel administration, will be better shown by time.

But it is time to leave general observations and address ourselves to particulars. If we could go on the principle of some of Mr. Macaulay's co-reviewers, we might perhaps adventure on a review of his whole work. For it has been shrewdly suspected, that Sydney Smith only unfolded a lesson he had learned in certain quarters, when he said, it was never worth while to read a book which one was reviewing, for it was very apt to make one prejudiced. Be that however as it may, we propose to concern ourselves with no more than Mr. Macaulay's first chapter; which contains a brief *resumé* of English History, down to the restoration of the Stuart line. There is certainly much in it that is admirable, rather indeed in the way of details, than of classification and arrangement. There is much more, however, that is of a very different character; the effect of which is neither to give a true view of facts, nor a correct analysis of events. And it is of some of the more important of these matters, that we purpose now to speak, confining ourselves, as we have intimated, to the first chapter.

The first point which presents itself for consideration, is Mr. Macaulay's view of the Anglican Reformation. It shows that its author's theological acquirements are about on a level with those of Lord Chatham, when he talked of the Popish Liturgy, the Calvinistic *creed*, and the Arminian clergy; and those of Lord Thurlow, when he gravely announced to the House of Lords, that the practice of praying for Kings, came in with Constantine! It is the very lowest view that can possibly be taken of that great event, or rather congeries of events; and while it degrades and depresses the Church, is anxious to exalt as far as possible the Royal Supremacy, and in that way to carry to the highest point *the right of ministerial interference*. We should not be surprised indeed, if in

these last words there was expressed Mr. Macaulay's idea of the final cause of the existence upon earth of the Church of England. It is impossible to sum up and present in one general statement, a view so contradictory and disjointed in its parts, as that of our author; and we are therefore compelled to take it up by piecemeal.

We have, then, in the outset, the stale story of a compromise Church, brought out to be sure rather late in the day, and giving an air of antiquated Hanoverianism to the whole chapter. Two elements go to make up this view: namely, a misunderstanding of the reason why the Anglican movement ran in a political as well as a religious line, and an imperfect comprehension of the real *status* of the Church of England, and the true meaning of the phrase so often quoted, the *Via Media*. To these points therefore, we shall, in the first instance, address ourselves.

In estimating the shape which any reforming movement takes, we must in the beginning consider the nature of the evils which have rendered it necessary; and which have therefore given it direction as well as impulse. Any other estimation must be imperfect, and may be erroneous. The first question then which presents itself in connexion with the Anglican Reformation, is this: what were the evils which rendered it necessary? Not—that is, what were they in detail, but what were they in kind? It requires but a very slight knowledge of the subject to enable any one to reply, that they were of two kinds; one class of which bore on political and state arrangements, and the rights and prerogatives of government, and the other on the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of the Church. This distinction, it is most important to keep in mind, for the neglect of it has led to most of the blundering cavils that have harped on a Parliamentary Church. A more detailed exposition may serve perhaps to set it in a clearer light; in making which, our view will, of course, be confined to the realm of England.

We set out then, with this general proposition, that beside these errors in Doctrine, Worship, and Discipline, which so loudly demanded Reformation, there were also encroachments of the Roman Pontiff, on the rights and prerogatives of a Christian State, which no power but that of the State could reach. As then the evils, so also the Reformation of those evils, ran of necessity in two distinct lines—a civil and an ecclesiastical. This is the thesis which we propose to prove.

The acts of Parliament which bear on this political aspect of the Reformation, relate to Annates or first fruits, Bulls, Ap-

peals, and Dispensations. We shall take up first, the matter of Appeals, as most plainly illustrating the view which we wish to explain. We must, however, bear in mind, that we have to do with a very different state of things from any thing which exists among us, and that we must not reason from our own condition to that of the English Church in the sixteenth century. Among us, where happily there is no connexion between the State and the Church, and where, therefore, the laws of the Church and the laws of the land are totally distinct, it would not necessarily argue any foreign interference in regard to the latter, if appeals to some external power were permitted in regard to the former. But it certainly would be held, and justly held, that any appeal to a foreign spiritual power, which interfered with the laws of the land, stayed their operations, and nullified their action, was an intolerable grievance, and inconsistent with the very ground-idea of a free, independent, and properly constituted State. Now in England, as in all other countries at that period, there was such a connexion and intermingling of ecclesiastical laws and civil, and they both were so joined together as forming each parts of the one law of the land, that any interference with the one, was of necessity, and to an unknown degree, an interference with the other. It would be an error then in us to imagine, that appeals might lie to a foreign power in causes Ecclesiastical, and still the supreme authority of the State be untouched in civil causes. This point is always slurred by Roman controversialists, and ignored by a whole class of history writers. And both are enabled to do it very successfully in this country, because we forget the important distinction to be made between the condition of things with us, and in England, in relation to the Papal jurisdiction.

With these cautions, we proceed to consider the subject of Appeals. Under the Anglo Saxons, and previous to the Norman Conquest, there was no distinction made between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The County Court, in which the Bishop of the Diocese, and the Alderman, or in his absence, the Sheriff sat together, had cognizance of all causes, whether civil or ecclesiastical. While the Witenagemote was the final authority in all matters whatever, being with the King at its head, the highest court, and that in which the sovereignty of the state resided.* Attempts indeed were made on the part of the Roman Pontiff to encroach upon this ju-

* Blackstone, B. III, c. 5. Stephen's *De Lolme*, c. I, § 4, c. II, § 5. *Bramhall's Vindication*, c. IV.

risdiction. But the case of Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, who being condemned in England on account of holding pluralities, appealed to Rome, shows how such encroachments were regarded. The Pope, indeed, gave sentence in his favor, and sent two Nuncios to see it executed. Thus ready were the Pontiffs to seize every opportunity that might in any way enable them to claim a power, which claim could in after-times be urged as proof that the power existed. But King Alfred distinctly told the Nuncios, that "a person twice plainly condemned by the whole council of England, could not be restored upon a Pope's Letter." Nor was Wilfrid restored, until he had given up some of his pluralities; so that it was not the Pope who restored him, but the law to which he submitted. So fared the great appeal case before the Conquest.

About the year 1085, William the Conqueror separated the civil and ecclesiastical courts, for purposes best known to himself; but at the same time held in strong check the authority which the Roman Pontiff was eager to exercise in England; and forbad any appeal to be made to him, without his especial license.

Henry I., exposed to the odium of usurpation, and threatened with invasion from Normandy, undertook, in order to ingratiate himself with the people, to restore the Saxon laws. Amongst the changes thus introduced, bringing things back to the state in which they were in the time of Edward the Confessor, he endeavored to reunite the civil and ecclesiastical courts. He was, however, overborne in the matter, by Anselm, and the rather no doubt that some points there were on which Anselm was clearly in the right. To Henry succeeded the usurper Stephen, under whom the divorce between the two courts was finally effected. In this reign also, the Roman civil and canon law was introduced into England; "and the Church of Rome availing itself of the civil wars, imported the doctrine of appeals to the court of Rome, as a branch of the canon law, though it had always been forbidden by English laws."* An original authority enables us to fix this introduction to the Council of London in 1151, when the Legatine Bishop of Winchester "thrice appealed to the Roman Pontiff."† From this period appeals appear to have gone on; although not without protest, as for instance, at the Council of Clarendon, under Henry II., where they were forbidden.

It is unnecessary to trace out the history of Appeals any

* Stephen's *De Lolme*, c. II, § 4.

† Hart's *Ecc. Records*, p. 33.

further. Enough has been said to show, that the statute of 1532, which forbad Appeals to the court of Rome, was no more than restoring things to their ancient condition, and giving back to the King, as the chief magistrate of the kingdom, a power which he had always exercised, until it was fraudulently taken from him. The same line of Historical remark may be readily applied to the several subjects of Annates, Bulls, and Dispensations. In all these cases, the results will be the same.

Now whatever we may think of this commingling of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, it is quite obvious that from the very earliest times they had been commingled in England; and that therefore an interference by a foreign power with the one, was of necessity an interference also with the other. And since in this way, the evils and corruptions to be reformed, thus took a civil line, it became a matter of absolute necessity that the reforms should take the same line, and be made by the power of the State. Neither is it at all remarkable, that a superficial observer like Mr. Macaulay, should fancy that he sees in the joint action of the Church and State, tokens of a present compromise between them, when, in fact, it is only the restoration of an ancient union. An union which indeed we may well wish had never occurred; but whose restoration implied no more than a return to the ancient usages of the realm.

Another opinion of the age, must also be taken into view, as going far to account for Civil interference, without resorting to the idea of compromise. It was then the theory, that ecclesiastical regulations of whatsoever kind, must not be allowed merely to rest on the spiritual authority of the Church, but that the secular arm must be invoked in order to make them legally coercive. And moreover as such arrangements were intended to apply to and to govern all, the consent of all orders would naturally be sought.

Whatever view then we may take abstractly of the powers of the King in matters ecclesiastical in the realm of England; however much we may be disposed to regard it as inconsistent with the powers and prerogatives of that kingdom which is not of this world, still enough has been adduced to show, that Mr. Macaulay is only giving utterance to a vulgar error when he says, that at the Reformation the power of the Pope was transferred to the King. The true conclusion, supported by the facts and considerations just adduced, shall be given in the words of others. Says Archbishop Bramhall, in his immortal Vindication: "The laws made by King Henry in this

behalf, were not operative, but declarative ; not made to create any new law, but only to vindicate and restore the ancient laws of England, and its ancient jurisdiction to the crown. There had needed no restitution, if there had not been some usurpation. . . . Therefore our Ecclesiastical Law was called the King's Law, because the edge and validity thereof did proceed from authority royal, our Ecclesiastical Courts were styled the King's Courts by his judges. It is true the *habitual* jurisdiction of Bishops flows from their ordination ; but the *actual exercise thereof in public Courts after a coercive manner*, is from the gracious concessions of Sovereign Princes. In a word, the law being merely intended as a remedy against usurpation, it cannot be a new law, but only a legislative declaration of the old common law of England." Says Stephens, in his invaluable Introduction to De Lolme : "Upon these principles and facts, the Parliament and Convocation resolved, that the Pope's power in England had no good foundation, and had been managed with as much tyranny, as it had begun with usurpation. . . . That therefore, no other effectual remedy existed, but to extirpate this pretended authority, and thenceforth to acknowledge the Pope only as Bishop of Rome, *with the jurisdiction defined by the ancient canons* ; and for the King to *reassume* his own authority, from which the Kings of England had never formally departed."

It appears then, that there was no such thing intended or done, as taking away the power of the Pope and transferring it to the King. There was no compromise whatever between the ecclesiastical and the temporal authorities. The line of Romish corruptions, trenching on the rights, powers, and privileges of a Christian State, centered in, and expressed by, the person of the King, rendered the interference of the Civil power absolutely essential. It therefore did interfere. And in its interference did restore things to their ancient condition in the realm of England. Whether that condition be in itself good or bad ; that is, whether it be well or ill for the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction to be thus united ; whether it be or be not desirable that spiritual government should be constituted the law of the land, is a totally distinct question. We of course say no. The age of the Reformation said yes, repeating the answer of many previous centuries ; but that does not affect the fact that the laws then passed, and above considered, were a restitution, not a compromise.

Neither can it make any thing against this view, that some of these very laws have been used, as even a Tudor would not have used them, and as the clergy of England could never

have anticipated that they would be used, by that Ministry of which Mr. Macaulay is a member. It only shows that they understand as little as himself the true ground of the English Reformation, and can give to the letter of an ancient statute, a more tyrannical exposition, than even the eighth Henry, and it shows no more. But we pass on to consider somewhat at length, a point so intimately connected with what has gone before, as to make this the proper place for introducing it; that is, the Royal Supremacy.

Mr. Macaulay's view of the Supremacy, like most of his other views of ecclesiastical matters, is the vulgar and superficial one, which is the joint offspring of ignorance and prejudice. We certainly have no wish to defend the Supremacy as such, though there is one point of view under which it needs no defence at the hands of any one. So far as it contained and expressed the doctrine, that any State has the supreme power over its citizens in all matters save spiritual ones, it does no more than advance a claim which is essentially necessary to the State's well being. And it takes, in this point of view, its place, beside those other enactments of which we have been speaking, and which Roman usurpation of the prerogatives of the State had rendered needful. In any other point of view than this, we are not concerned to defend it; and here it plainly does not need defence. So far as it touched on matters ecclesiastical, it must be reckoned as the view of the age; erroneous indeed it may appear to us, but still sanctioned by ancient prescription, invested with many venerable attributes, and endeared by many holy memories; while the idea of State interference in spiritual things, is far enough from being peculiar to England.

With all this, however, it is quite necessary to inquire how far Mr. Macaulay is supported by facts in the extreme view which he takes of the Supremacy, and consequently of the right, now mixed up with it, of ministerial interference in the affairs of the Church. For by a natural law of connexion, these two things are, with him, inseparably joined. So that however much the liberal politician may be disposed to cry down the very idea of the Supremacy, yet the ministerial historian is at the same time bound to make as much of it as he can. The true view, we believe, may be reached by answering two questions. First, what did the Sovereigns themselves consider the Supremacy? Secondly, in what way did the Clergy receive and regard it? Some other matters, incidental to these main inquiries, will be considered as we proceed. It will also be observed, that we leave out of view the question,

how the servile courtiers of King Henry may, for their own evil purposes, have chosen to look upon it. This is too obvious a piece of justice, to require more than the merest mention.

In answer to our first question, there are several facts to be alledged. There is extant, a letter from Henry himself to Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, who objected to the title Head, in which he limits his own jurisdiction to temporals, or things of a mixed nature at the most; claiming that in these he was Head in the realm, and that since there was none above him, he was also Supreme Head. And he adds,—contradicting Mr. Macaulay and Neal, who both declare that there was no qualification,—“We be, as God’s law suffereth us to be, whereunto we do, and must conform ourselves.” In his letter also to the Convocation of York, he assured them, “that he claimed nothing more, than what Christian princes in the primitive times, assumed to themselves in their own dominions.” Queen Elizabeth also, solemnly declared, that, “she never did, nor would she ever challenge authority and power to minister Divine Service in the Church; nor would she ever challenge any other authority than her predecessors, Henry VIII. and Edward VI., used.” Neal himself admits, and it would be well if all his party had been as honest, that the “Kings and Queens of England never pretended to the character of spiritual persons, or to exercise any part of the ecclesiastical functions in their own persons.”

How then, it may be asked, if all this be really so, are we to understand the wording of the very Act of Supremacy, which seems to commit every thing into the hands of the King? Let Bramhall answer. “One doubt still remains, how ecclesiastical jurisdiction could be said to be derived from the crown. First, with the Romanists themselves, I distinguish between habitual and actual jurisdiction. Habitual jurisdiction is derived only by ordination. Actual jurisdiction is a right to exercise that Habit, arising from the lawful application of the matter or the subject. In this latter, the lay Patron, and much more the Sovereign Prince, have their respective interests and concurrence. Dioceses and Parishes were not of Divine but human arrangement; and the same persons were born subjects, before they were made Christians. The ordinary gives a schoolmaster a license or habitual power to teach, but it is the parents of the children who apply or subtract the matter, and furnish him with scholars, or afford him a fit subject whereon to exercise this habitual power.

“Secondly, we must also distinguish between the interior and the exterior courts—between the court of conscience and the

court of the Church. For in both these courts, the power of the keys hath place, but not in both after the same manner. The power which is exercised in the court of conscience, for binding and loosing, is solely from ordination. But that power which is exercised in the court of the Church, is partly from the sovereign magistrate. It is not then the power of the keys, or any part or branch thereof, in the exercise of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, even in the exterior court of the Church, which is derived from the Crown. But it is coercive, compulsory, and corroboratory power; it is the application of the matter; it is the regulating of the exercise of actual Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the court of the Church, to prevent the oppression of the subjects, and to provide for the tranquility of the Commonwealth, which belongs to Sovereign Princes."

And that this is no after-thought of Bramhall's, is proved by the "Institutions of a Christian Man," published in 1537, with the approval of the King himself. It is there maintained, "that *God's law* committed to bishops or priests the power of *jurisdiction* in excommunicating and absolving offenders, but without corporeal restraint or violence,"—this must come from the State,—“in ordaining and nominating ministers, and in making canons concerning discipline, rites, and so forth; and it limits the jurisdiction of princes conferred on them by the Church, to corporal and legal powers, and to certain privileges in matters of a temporal and civil nature; and acknowledges that it is lawful for princes to revoke and recall again into their own hands, or otherwise to restrain, all the power and jurisdiction which was given and assigned unto priests and bishops, by the license, consent, sufferance, and authority, of said Kings, *and not by the authority of God and His Gospel.*” Add to this that Henry never claimed exemption from the authority of the Church, either in the court of conscience or the exterior court, and that Edward and Elizabeth claimed as little, and it appears, we think, that these Sovereigns took no such view of the Regal Supremacy, as that which puritan and political historians endeavor to impose upon their readers.*

And how did the Clergy receive it? That question is

* The distinction set forth above, explains an apparent contradiction between one of Cranmer's statements, and the thirty-seventh Article, on which Mr. Macaulay dwells very triumphantly. Cranmer refers to the coercive power, and says that "the administration of God's word for the cure of souls, belongs to Christian princes." The Article refers to the spiritual power, and says that "the ministering of God's word does *not* belong to princes." Whether we admit the former proposition or not, there is at least no contradiction.

abundantly answered by the fact, that the very Convocation which accepted the title of Supreme Head, did it under the express limitation, "*quantum per Christi legem licet*;" a limitation most obviously designed to save intact the spirituals of the Church. Against this, however, Mr. Macaulay will alledge, of course, the commissions to exercise jurisdiction, granted to the Bishops, and taken out by Cranmer after Henry's death, in his own case. The distinction between spiritual jurisdiction, and jurisdiction legally coercive, explains however this step, on the part of all persons concerned. Spiritually, according to the Institution of a Christian Man, the law of God gave disciplinary powers to the Clergy, which however could not be exercised legally and coercively over the subjects, without the King's authority. Such legal coercion was then considered essential to give spiritual powers their full measure of authority, and hence came these Commissions; which did not at all, as Mr. Macaulay intimates, reduce the Bishops to be the King's Lieutenants *quoad sacra*, but only added to their spiritual authority, the legal coerciveness of the secular arm. The theory which required this, may have been wrong; no doubt indeed it was; but it is still a widely different thing to take such a commission of jurisdiction from the King, for the exercise of an authority derived elsewhere, and to acknowledge the King as the fountain of such authority. The only such commission taken out in the reign of Henry, was that of Bonner, Bishop of London. In the first year of Edward VI. all the Bishops were required to take them. But so soon as it was found that the enemies of the Reformation affixed that interpretation to them, which Mr. Macaulay now endeavors to give them, *they were discontinued*. This step would certainly not have been taken, had they really meant what ancient and modern enemies of the English Reformation have striven to make them. It is important to add here, that Cranmer did not, as Mr. Macaulay implies, take out any such commission from King Henry.

In concluding this part of our subject, we may be permitted to notice one other statement made by our author, in relation to Archbishop Cranmer, which has an important bearing on these questions, and which helps to brand his whole character of that venerated Martyr, as a piece of malignant falsehood. He twice repeats the assertion that Cranmer held that the imposition of hands was altogether unnecessary, and that the nomination of the Sovereign could make a priest. Now that Cranmer, at one time in his life, may have entertained loose notions concerning the ministry, we are willing to

grant ; but that his final and settled conviction was any thing like that which Mr. Macaulay attributes to him, we utterly deny. We might refer to the distinct statements of the Ordinal, as being quite sufficient to settle this question : for they are the solemn declarations of the Church of England, to which Cranmer's deliberate judgment assented. But we have even more than this. In the third year of Edward VI. a commission was issued to two and thirty persons, with Cranmer at their head, to settle a Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Law of the Realm, which had been proposed, but not made in the preceding reign. The work, however, languished, and in 1551, eight persons, of whom the Archbishop was one, were ordered to prepare a draught of these Laws to submit to the larger body. Cranmer, however, did nearly all the work himself ; and in 1552, the Digest was prepared. Nothing but the death of King Edward prevented its adoption, and after the accession of Elizabeth, though it was printed, no formal steps were taken in relation to it. It expresses, therefore, Cranmer's deliberate and solemn judgment, and must, of course, outweigh any hasty or ill-considered positions of an earlier period. Two of the chapters run as follows.

In enumerating various heresies, we find reckoned as such, "The madness of those, who separate the institution of ministers from the Church, denying that in certain places should be established doctors, pastors, and ministers ; not admitting lawful callings, *nor the solemn imposition of hands* ; but scattering the power of publicly teaching to all men, who are in any degree versed in Scriptures, and challenge to themselves the Holy Ghost, permitting indeed, such persons not only to teach, but also to rule the Church, and to minister the sacraments ; all which is manifestly repugnant to the writings of the Apostles." And again we find the following canon : "In ordaining the ministers of the Church, (that is, Deacons, Priests, and Bishops,) let the ceremony *of the imposition of hands be retained*, since it is spoken of in Holy Scripture, and hath ever been used in the Church." Coupling these declarations with the provisions of the Ordinals, he must be a bold man, who can say as Mr. Macaulay does, that Cranmer did not hold to Episcopacy, and denied the necessity of the imposition of hands. At one time in his life he may have held loose views on these matters, but such were not his deliberate judgments, herein solemnly expressed. And that Historian does not deserve the name, who either does not know, or else is willing to overlook them.

It appears then, we trust, that there was a natural and ne-

cessary reason why the Reformation in England ran in a civil as well as a religious line: that on whatever mistaken views of the true relations of Church and State, the restitution of powers to the King was founded, it still was a restitution and involved no compromise; that the Regal Supremacy was never what Papists then, and Puritans, and *soi disant* philosophers since, would have it to be; and that neither Cranmer nor his brethren took that servile and sycophantic view of their position, which in the face of all truth and reason, Mr. Macaulay attributes to them.

We are thus brought to the second of Mr. Macaulay's misapprehensions, out of which springs his notion of a compromise Church. It is certainly a misapprehension into which a person conversant with political intrigue, and the trimming and manœuvring of cabinets, is very liable to fall. For to the mind of an ordinary politician, we suppose there could suggest itself only one solution of a problem like the following: Given three bodies or associations of men, the one of which occupies a position, not it may be quite midway, but still between the other two, who are so totally opposite to each other, as to be continually realizing the old proverb, that extremes meet; the question is, how came it there? Now undoubtedly a mere politician, accustomed continually to the craft and machinery of state intrigue, would look upon such a position only as the result of a cunning compromise, and a crafty plan for getting a hold on as many persons as possible. It would probably never occur to him that there could be any other exposition of the *status* of such a body. Great, therefore, would be the virtuous indignation which he would outwardly manifest at such a truckling and time-serving policy; equalled only perhaps, by his inward wish, that such a safe *tertium quid*, could be found out in politics, a really secure midway, where the strong conservative principle might clothe one-half the face in sternness, and as strong radicalism might array the other in condescending smiles. Mr. Macaulay's view of the position of the Church of England, is therefore just what we should expect.

Still, to a person accustomed to view things through another than a political medium, it might just occur as possible, that there could be another explanation of the difficulty. If there were some ancient and common ground of truth, from which one set of persons had departed in one direction, and, in process of time, another had departed in another: and if at some period intervening, it may be between these two departures, a third set of persons had placed themselves distinct-

ly on this ancient ground, their position would certainly be a *Via Media*, but not a *Via Media* in which there would be involved any idea whatever, of compromise, craft, management, or in short, any thing but the most positive, direct and straightforward action.

Now it is almost an insult to our readers, to suppose it necessary to add, that the position of the Church of England is just that which is here described. The very circumstances of the case, even were there nothing else to prove it, would suffice to prove that there was and could be nothing like a compromise. It was a plain and simple step, which our Reformers took. It was moreover a positive step. It was not taken after balancing probabilities, and calculating chances, but directly and at once. It consisted not in nicely adjusting a mid way position of conciliation and compromise between Rome and Geneva, for Geneva was scarcely yet in existence ; but in boldly taking stand on the ground of Primitive Antiquity. Which ground, as matters turned out, did become a sort of *Via Media*, a middle ground between two extremes. Whether, then, Mr. Macaulay, or any one else, declaims against the idea, that truth is a middle ground between errors, we certainly shall not dispute the point with them. Very often, indeed, it is not, and always perhaps, we might say, that a man or a body of men who undertook to find out such a position for themselves would be most liable to run into error. But all this affects not the English Church. She sought no *Via Media* as such. She struck no balances, and made no crafty plans. She merely assumed a positive, distinct, and real ground ; a ground more ancient than any error, the ground of Primitive Catholicity, and on that ground she has kept herself for upwards of three centuries. It is no shifting position of man's devising, no cunningly planned retreat for alluring the easy and the careless. But who can wonder, that Romish and Dissenting controversialists will not, and that history-writing politicians cannot, appreciate it ?

Let, then, our readers, in following Mr. Macaulay's statements, not forget, that what he calls the "middle course" of the English Church, was not sought for as being such a middle course, was not adopted on any such ground, or with any such idea. Far higher principles, far higher views, had they, who sought and found it. It matters little what Henry looked for. The Reformation, except in its political line, was connected with him no more than incidentally. And they who really wrought it, sought and found that Primitive ground of Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship, which to the worldly and time-serving

may seem a quiet-preserving compromise, but which they who really occupy it, know full well to be, a point toward which two mighty armies have for three hundred years uncompromisingly directed their attacks. Strange issue this of a Church of compromise! But the very issue that might have been anticipated, if the ground assumed were what we have said.

In one point of view, Mr. Macaulay's notion of a compromise Church, is entitled to claim an originality of insult. For he does not merely say in general terms that our Reformers sought for a safe middle ground between Popery and Puritanism; but he specifically states, that there was a still farther compromise and coalition between those whom he terms "the religious and the wordly enemies of the papacy." The person by whom he considers this coalition to have been effected, was Thomas Cranmer! The same course of reasoning, however, which disproves the former compromise, disproves the latter also.

At this point, it may be also well to notice Mr. Macaulay's estimate of the character of some of the Reformers. He endeavors to leave the impression on the reader's mind, that Hooper, Ridley, and Jewel, were no more than mere Calvinists, thoroughly sympathizing with the ultra movements on the continent. Hooper indeed scrupled at the vestments, and at the oath which he must take at consecration. His scruples on the latter point were certainly well founded, for the oath ran in the form, "by God, by the Saints, and by the Holy Ghost." It seems probable in regard to the vestments, that his main difficulty arose from the color of the *chimere*, which was then scarlet instead of black. But that Hooper was doctrinally a Calvinist, is in no manner true. Bishop Bull shows this, in his *Examen Censuræ*, with very great clearness, by quoting two long passages from the preface of his Exposition of the Decalogue. A more distinct denial of Calvinistic Doctrine, could hardly be imagined. The oath was changed by the King's own hand, and that difficulty therefore was removed; while Hooper's scruples as to the vestments were overcome, not by divines of the *compromise* Church, but by Bucer and Peter Martyr! an unfortunate fact for Macaulay's theory. He learned his scruples abroad, and from abroad they were quieted.

Ridley is placed by Mr. Macaulay in the same category of unsparing reformers, who, he strangely adds, did not still belong "to the extreme section of the Protestant party." The reason alledged is, that he ordered the removal of the

altars in the Churches of his Diocese. This is a fact, but a fact which unexplained will very much mislead a reader. The Preface to his reasons for ordering this removal, as it stands in the Bishop's own register, shows that his great object was to do away with the numerous altars, which private masses and similar usages had introduced into all the parish Churches of the realm; and to substitute in their place one altar or holy table. It is quite clear that he had no objection to the term altar, properly understood, for he distinctly says that the words altar and holy table are used indifferently in the Book of Common Prayer. There was no Puritanism then in Ridley's order. Mr. Macaulay notices contemptuously the fact, that the papists sneered at and spoke irreverently of the Bishop's holy tables. Why does he not add, what Ridley himself told the commissioners on his trial at Oxford, that when the evil disposed among the ultra-puritans—we use the word for convenience—ridiculed the Holy Sacrament, he preached against them at St. Paul's Cross, and declared "what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof, affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectuously and by grace and spirit." Perhaps, however, Mr. Macaulay considers this offence thus boldly given to two parties, only another proof of trouble-saving compromise. In short, any man who had ever read the trial of Ridley, could never—unless he did it maliciously—affirm that any idea of compromise, or any plan of reformation beyond what was needed to bring the Church to the platform of Catholic Antiquity, ever entered his mind. Ignorance and dishonesty are the two horns of the dilemma. Let two extracts from the glorious Martyr's noble defence, show his own position, and the position also of the Church of England. "I use,"—not a compromise plan of my own invention, but—"the wise counsel of Vincentius Lirinensis: When one part is infected with heresies. then prefer the whole world before that one part: but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity." And again: "I prefer,"—not a cunningly devised middle way, but—"the antiquity of the primitive Church, before the novelty of the Romish Church."

Much the same general line of remark applies to Jewel. Into whatever intemperate expressions he may at times have been betrayed in relation to the vestments, and Mr. Macaulay alleges nothing more, any one who will run his eye over the Zurich Letters, will soon be convinced, that he took no such extravagant grounds as our author would insinuate.

While these two facts, which Mr. Macaulay carefully avoids, will show how far he entertained any notion of that compromise theory, which a Cabinet Minister of 1849 has revived for the benefit of the English Reformers. Preaching at St. Paul's Cross against the Papists, in 1559, the Bishop uttered his famous challenge, in which he distinctly said, that, "If any learned man of our adversaries or all the learned men that be alive, be able to bring one sufficient sentence out of any old catholic doctor, or father, or general council, or Holy Scripture, or any one example in the primitive Church, whereby it may be proved that during the first six hundred years, &c., then I shall be content to yield." In 1571, preaching at the same place, against the puritanical party, who were troubling the Church by their unreasonable scruples about ceremonies and vestments, he thus addresses them: "By whose name shall I call you? I would I might call you brethren: but alas, this heart of yours is not brotherly. I would I might call you Christians: but alas, you are no Christians." Here is another of Mr. Macaulay's compromises.

The whole matter, indeed, may be summed up in a very few words. Whatever on certain points pertaining to vestments and other similar matters, the Reformers whose names we have mentioned may have held, still their own public statements made deliberately and in the most solemn moments of their lives, abundantly prove, that they were as widely distant from after Puritanism, as they were from present Romanism. And that they stood where they did stand, a mark for two hostile parties then, and the subjects of their misunderstanding in all time since, simply because they stood on that ancient ground which Rome had receded from, and which Puritanism passed by. It thus became a *Via Media* indeed; but it was made so by Rome and Geneva, not by the English Church.

After all that has been now adduced, our readers will not be surprised to find that Mr. Macaulay, in common with many other writers, represents the truly Catholic position and teaching of the English Church, as an after-thought of some one, whose name he has not given us. We have noticed this idea in other quarters. But wherever it may come from, whether from Puritanizers accusing the later English Church, or from Romanizers slurring the Anglican Reformers, it is an error. It is usually grounded on a specific statement, to the consideration of which we purpose to proceed. Since if its main groundwork is removed, the charge of course vanishes.

The ordinary statement then, is as follows. That on the

twelfth of January, 1588, Bancroft, Chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, did for the first time in England, maintain the divine institution of Episcopacy. This is Neal's statement; and although Mr. Macaulay does not give names, yet he has it obviously in his mind, when he speaks of "the new race of Divines rising in the English Church, who held to the necessity of these orders, and of Episcopal ordination."

Now this statement of Neal's,—and in considering it, our readers will observe that we are also considering Mr. Macaulay's,—may mean two things. It may mean that the Apostolic origin of the three orders, and therefore of Episcopacy, was never stated in England, until Bancroft stated it, in his celebrated sermon; or it may mean that it was never before made the subject of a formal and regular defence.

If it means the former, then it is simply untrue, for the Ordinals of 1549 and 1552, both contain the declaration, that "it is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostle's time there hath been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." In the prayers, these divers Orders are spoken of as appointed by "Divine Providence," and by the "Holy Ghost." And in the Ordination of Deacons, the supplication is made that they may be worthy to be advanced to the "higher ministries" in the Church. Moreover, in that code of Ecclesiastical Law which was drawn up by Cranmer and others, and which is a public declaration therefore of the Church's views, the "ministers of the Church" are said to be "Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." And all this is the more noticeable from the fact, that although Bucer and Peter Martyr meddled with the revision of Edward's first Prayer Book, they never touched the Ordinal; a fact which goes far toward showing the ideas then entertained on the Continent concerning the Episcopacy. Peter Martyr, also, was concerned in drawing up the Code of Laws alluded to above.

If, on the other hand, the declaration means, as it certainly may mean, that the doctrine of the divine institution of Episcopacy was never formally defended, until 1588, by Bancroft, that also is easily accounted for; and does not have any such bearing as Neal and Mr. Macaulay would have us imagine.

It is a fact too well known to need that its proofs should be here detailed, that the dispensing with Bishops on the Continent of Europe was originally justified on the plea of necessity; and that it was not indeed till many years had elapsed,

that the ground was assumed against Episcopacy, which is now occupied by the bodies that are destitute of it. Of course, so long as things remained in this condition, no formal defence of its divine institution was, or could be, needed. Whatever might have been the private opinion of any doctors, as to the origin of spiritual power, the Ordinal spoke distinctly, and with no doubtful voice. And its declarations not being denied, could not of course be defended. But at last, times began to change. In 1572, the first Presbytery was set up in England; in 1582, the Brownists followed; and indeed from 1580 there had been a continuous flow of Puritan tracts from the press, which culminated in Martin Marprelate. It was in the thick of this storm, in 1588, that Bancroft came out, not with a new doctrine, but with the original doctrine of the Church of England, as set forth in the Ordinal. And the notion that it was new then, is precisely akin to that of the Papists and Socinians, who suppose that the doctrine of the Trinity was first stated at the Council of Nice. No doctrine is formally defended, until it is directly assailed. And then to many who only look on the surface, it appears as if it were enunciated for the first time. Such is the case in this instance. The primitive and Catholic ground of the Church of England, was, however, neither here nor anywhere else, an after-thought.

One apparent difficulty connected with this view still remains to be considered. The fact that persons having only continental ordination, were received in England. Their position is very clearly illustrated by what occurred at the consecration of the Scottish Bishops in 1611. The account is given by Archbishop Spottiswoode, an eye witness and participator. He says, "A question in the meantime was moved by Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, touching the consecration of the Scottish Bishops, who, as he said, must first be ordained Presbyters, as having received no ordination from a Bishop. The Archbishop of Canterbury, *Dr. Bancroft*, who was by, maintained, "that thereof there was no necessity, seeing when Bishops could not be had, the ordination given by Presbyters must be esteemed lawful, otherwise it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches." It should be observed, however, that Bishop Andrewes withdrew his objections on another ground also, namely, that Consecration to the office of a Bishop, had not always been preceded by ordinations to the Diaconate and the Priesthood.

Now we may, or we may not, receive the views of Bancroft in regard to other than Episcopal ordination in cases of

necessity ; and of course among those who do receive them, there will be great difference of opinion as to the degree of necessity which actually existed on the continent and in Scotland. Still we cannot consider the idea as no more than a makeshift invented at the Reformation ; for the earliest Reformers must have learned it in the ordinary teaching of the Roman Church, where they were told that though the Bishop was the ordinary minister of Ordination, yet Presbyters might lawfully ordain under certain circumstances. The whole current then of facts and probabilities goes to show, that if ministers without Episcopal ordination were ever admitted to livings in England, it was because their orders were received on the ground of necessity ; a ground on which they were originally quite content to rest their claims. Nor was it until that ground had been utterly abandoned both at home and abroad, that there was inserted a clause in the Preface to the Ordinal, (in 1662,) that no man should hold a benefice without Episcopal Ordination.* Let it be observed moreover, that this Dr. Bancroft was the same, who first, according to Neal, proclaimed the necessity of Episcopal Orders, in England ! If there be any other mode of reconciling these facts—supposing, that is, that Neal did not intentionally falsify the truth—than the one which we have now suggested, we, at least, are not aware of it.

Another observation must also be added to these statements. Even if we allowed in the fullest manner, which certainly in the face of the Ordinal and of Cranmer's Code it would be hard to do, that the views of English Divines, as to the necessity of Episcopal Ordination, did grow more stringent as time went on, still, there is a much simpler and more probable way of accounting for the fact, than that suggested by Mr. Macaulay. King James once said of Puritanism, that it was "just a new tout on an auld horn ;" and there was a good deal of truth in the observation. In nothing is the coincidence of Popery and Puritanism more obvious, than in the way in which both have attempted to treat the Episcopacy. The former pushing it down to elevate the Pope, and the latter dragging it down to raise up the Presbyters. If then our Reformers had held that Bishops and Presbyters,

* Of course Bancroft's *salvo* could never apply to non-Episcopal ordinations in England. And how long, if indeed at all, it can be admitted as applying abroad, is a grave question. We have spoken of the ground of necessity being utterly abandoned abroad before the last revision. So it was, except in individual cases, like that of TURRETIN for instance, who, in a public address at GENEVA, in 1708, maintained the Apostolic origin of Episcopacy.

were only one order under different names,—and the Ordinal proves that they held nothing of the kind,—it was only an idea which they brought with them from Rome, and which they got rid of when they became more thoroughly acquainted with Primitive Antiquity. And it is certainly no especial matter of credit to the Puritans, that they seized on an antiquated piece of scholastic theology, originally intended for the benefit of the Pope, and used it for their own behoof. This is indeed “a new tout on an auld horn.”

We have thus followed Mr. Macaulay through his principal views of the Anglican Reformation, and the necessary details have occupied so much space, that at least at present, we can follow him no farther. We may perhaps in another number resume the consideration of this first chapter, so far as it stands connected with Charles I. and the Commonwealth. We have felt it to be our first duty, to vindicate, so far as in us lay, the English Reformation, and the characters of our Reformers, from the ignorant cavils and wanton misrepresentations of their too willing traducer. It is easy to dismiss that great subject, and those great men, with a few flippant and sneering sentences: it is easy to talk of compromise and cowardice, and to dogmatize on grave points in theology with all the profundity of a Sir Oracle. Thankful, however are we, that our Reformers were men of sterner stuff and better mould, than radical Reviewers; and that it was not left to Cabinet Ministers to settle our Theology. *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. Let Mr. Macaulay keep to his vocation, and confine himself to the lower region of politics and gossip; but let him not endeavor to philosophize on the high truths of religion, or to estimate the characters of the wise and good, for here he is beyond his depth. They are such works as his, which justify the peevish remark of Walpole, “that history was the only thing he did not believe.”

Portrait of Rev. Dr. Milnor

MEMOIR OF REV. DR. MILNOR.

ART. II.—*A Memoir of the Life of James Milnor, D. D., late Rector of St. George's Church, New York.* By the Rev. JOHN S. STONE, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Brooklyn. Published by the American Tract Society, 150 Nassau Street, New York.

SUCH is the title-page of an octavo volume of 646 pages ; presenting a beautiful specimen of paper and typography, and embellished with a striking—almost speaking—likeness of the lamented subject of the Memoir. Why the name of Dr. Milnor was less entitled to the prefix *Reverend* than that of his biographer, or how it has happened that a Society instituted for the benevolent purpose of printing and circulating religious tracts, has become the publisher of large volumes, and has been long known in the market as extensively engaged in the book trade, are points about which we care not to inquire. When it was announced that this work was to be put forth under the auspices of a Society which professes to hold in equal balances all evangelical denominations of Christians, and to deny its sanction to any publication which advocates or condemns any principle or usage which is peculiar to any one of those denominations, fears were expressed by some of our Church papers, that the forthcoming volume would be but an additional specimen of indifferentism, presenting, at best, a one-sided view of Dr. Milnor's principles as a Churchman, and a partial or distorted one of his teachings and practices as a Protestant Episcopal Clergyman. Whether there was ground for the indulgence of such fears, will, perhaps, be apparent before we have done with our present examination of the work.

In the department of Biography, the literature of our Church in this country has been somewhat copious and rich. The well known Memoirs of Bishops White, Hobart, Ravenscroft, Moore, and Griswold, and those of Bedell, Bayard, and others of the Clergy, while they contain interesting exhibitions of individual characteristics, and afford valuable materials for the ecclesiastical historian, were produced under circumstances which held out no temptation to the writers to conceal or suppress any of those doctrines of faith or principles of polity which they held in common as members and ministers of the same communion. The books referred to present variety in

connexion with unity. Their aspects are widely different, arising from the difference of temperament, of feeling, of habits and associations in their respective subjects ; and each receive a peculiar tinge or coloring from the like peculiarities in their respective authors. But, after all, it is only such a difference as is found in the features and expression of the human countenance in different individuals, in the varieties of species under the same genus, or in members of the same family. In those biographies we find gradations of Church principles and varieties of religious opinion on doctrinal matters of lesser importance, without any irreconcilable contrariety in what may be justly styled the fundamentals of religion. They thus furnish a beautiful illustration of that catholic and comprehensive feature of the Church, which admits of great diversity of opinion as to circumstantialials, in harmony with entire unity of faith as to essentials.

A long and intimate acquaintance with the late Dr. Milnor had produced in us a high estimate of his noble properties as a *man*, in whom the most valuable intellectual powers were sweetly blended with the gentler virtues ; as a *Christian* of transparent sincerity, trustful faith, fervent zeal, and exemplary devotion ; as a *Pastor*, who with wise prudence fully consecrated himself to his Master's service, and, with untiring diligence, labored for the salvation of souls, and the edification of the body of Christ ; as a *Churchman*, strong and intelligent in his attachment to the doctrines, worship, and discipline of the Church at whose altars he served ; while with a heart overflowing with charity, he wished "grace to all those who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

We could have wished the biography of such a man to be written by one who entirely harmonized with him in his doctrinal views and his religious experience ; and that it should have been written under circumstances which left no ground for distrust or doubtfulness whether it gave a representation of his character and principles in their fullness and integrity.

We say not that these desirable requisites were wanting in the preparation of the volume before us. But it must be evident to every reflecting mind, that an author, in preparing the life of an Episcopal Clergyman, to be submitted to the examination and published under the auspices of a Society which excludes all that is distinctive in the different forms of evangelical profession, and can feel no greater sympathy with Episcopalianism than with Presbyterianism, Methodism, or Congregationalism,—it is evident, we say, that an author so situated, however anxious to be truthful, must be, however

unconsciously, laboring under strong temptation to avoid every topic which may be offensive to his patrons, and also to present his subject in such a light as will render it most agreeable to their prepossessions and prejudices.

We have no doubt of Dr. Stone's sincere purpose to give an honest and impartial representation of the life and character of that eminent servant of God, whose Memoir he has written. But in reading it, we cannot divest ourselves of the idea that some of its parts have received a coloring from the peculiar views and relations of its author, while other parts have received their precise modification from the embarrassing and trammeling auspices under which it was to be issued.

The book, on the whole, is creditable to the talents and scholarship of the author. The only drawback to this praise, will be found in a few paragraphs, in which the purity of the composition is injured by an affectation of stateliness, a mistaking of verbiage for strength, a forcing of metaphors, and an inflation of style, which would be much more excusable in one who could shelter himself under the plea of juvenility, than in a gray-haired, venerable Doctor of Divinity. The volume will have a wide circulation,—like every thing which comes from the Tract Society's press. Multitudes of other names will read it with eagerness. And although we could have wished it to have been different in some respects, yet we will hope that it may remove from the minds of many of its readers, their prejudices against a Church which has shown itself capable of forming a Christian so lovely, and a minister so faithful, as the sainted one whose life it records.

In the present article we shall glance at the most important events contained in this Memoir, and while we commend the many excellent things which are here presented to our contemplation, we shall, with the impartiality of Church Reviewers, notice, in the spirit of brotherly kindness and charity, what we believe to be mistakes and blemishes.

Of the ancestors of Dr. Milnor, little information is given except that his parents were descendants of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, and both belonged to the respectable society of "Friends," of which William Penn was the founder in the colony which, as a State, still bears his name. William Milnor, the Doctor's father, is represented to have been a man possessed of a cheerful and equable temperament, in combination with great energy and incorruptible integrity. He was, at one time, the business agent of General Washington in Philadelphia, and had a partnership with that great man, (whose confidence he fully enjoyed,) in certain fisheries upon the

Potomac, near Mount Vernon. He seems, however, to have been "a fighting Quaker," for at the commencement of the Revolutionary struggle, he not only warmly espoused the cause of the Colonies, but actually applied for a captain's commission in the continental army. And, although he withdrew his application, at the earnest solicitation of his friends, seconded by the tearful pleadings of his wife, that he might take the office of Ferry Master, which had just then become vacant, and would afford ample means for the support of his family; yet his military ardor was in no degree abated, and it was with no very good grace that he entered upon the less exciting and more lucrative employment, which he had been compelled to accept. In a letter to General Washington, dated Jan. 1776, he says: "I am now a drudge at the old ferry, within two doors of where I formerly lived in Water street. *I thank my God, he has given me a persevering disposition*, equal to any task he is pleased to lay upon me in this life. I never found any prospect of fatigue an annoyance to any undertaking, when a probability of a good, genteel sustenance for my little flock offered in view; and this business would be a very agreeable one to me, if these unhappy disturbances were at an end. But I cannot conclude this letter until I have assured your excellency, that *I shall remain a poor, unhappy wretch, as long as I am chained, and cannot take an active part in my country's cause.*" Even in the humble position he then occupied, he had favorable opportunities of gathering information of the movements of the Royal troops, which was of importance to his distinguished friend, the Commander in Chief; and by the skillful use of "a chaise with an ingenious false bottom," and other means, he was enabled to give succor to the cause which he had at heart. His services in this way brought upon him the suspicion of the enemy, and forced him, on more than one occasion, to seek safety in flight.

We must take but a very hasty survey of that moiety of Dr. Milnor's life which was passed in the world and devoted to secular pursuits, that we may take a more deliberate view of that portion of it when he lived *indeed*, as a member of Christ, and a faithful Minister of His Gospel.

Born in Philadelphia, June 20th, 1773, he received his classical and professional education in his native city. One of his surviving schoolmates states that, at that early period, he was distinguished by the same leading traits which marked his character as a man. Remarkable, then, for sound judgment, energy, and benevolence, he was ever ready to assist

the laggards in the preparation of their tasks for recitation; and by the common consent of his fellows, was made the arbiter and judge in their occasional controversies.

Without finishing his University course, he entered, at a very early period of life, upon the study of law, in which he manifested deep interest and unusual proficiency, as he had before done in his academical pursuits. As an active member of the "Ciceronian Society," we find him taking part in the debates, and reading legal arguments, at the age of sixteen; and as President of a "Law Society," at the age of twenty years, summing up the arguments used by the members of a sort of "Moot court," and giving an extended and elaborate opinion, with "all the gravity, precision, and learning of a judge." He was admitted to practice, as an attorney at the bar, before he had attained his majority.

About this time, our young lawyer became an active and earnest member of the Masonic fraternity, of "the Society for promoting the abolition of slavery, for the relief of *free* negroes unlawfully held in bondage, and for improving the condition of the African race," and of "the Resolution Fire Company." As a member and officer of these and kindred societies, a favorable opportunity was afforded him for extending the circle of his acquaintance and increasing the number of his clients; while his active engagement in the Ciceronian and Law societies fitted him for the more successful prosecution of his practice at the Bar, and strengthened those facilities and powers of an eloquent extemporaneous debater, which gave him such respectability and distinction in after-life.

The favor which Dr. M. extended to voluntary societies for benevolent objects, is ascribable in part to the habits formed in his earlier years, when he maintained an active membership in so many of them. In this connexion it may be well to remark, that although, like Bishop Griswold and Dr. Bedell, he advanced to the higher orders of Free Masonry, yet, like those excellent men, he attached little importance to the institution, and, it is believed, seldom or never entered a lodge after he became a zealous and living member of the Christian Church, that divinely constituted Society, of which voluntary charitable societies are but imitators, and for which, some of them are used as miserable substitutes. The interest he felt in the welfare of the African race continued unabated to the end of life. The name of the Society in Philadelphia, of which he was an active member and counsellor, shows the wide difference between its object and that of the anti-slavery

societies of our day. The latter, originating under the auspices of fanaticism, have been transferred to the control and direction of Infidelity. They propose a course of action, as adverse to the constitution of our country, as it is to the true claims of humanity. Their only practical effects, so far as known, have been supporting a band of agitating agents, flooding the country with inflammatory pamphlets, endangering the peace and union of the confederacy, increasing the rigors of servitude, and throwing back, for at least half a century, the noble work of emancipation. With this modern movement, as with others, aiming to remedy other moral evils by measures equally rash and ultra in their character, Dr. Milnor had not the slightest degree of sympathy; but bore most decided and earnest testimony against them. He continued, to the close of life, the steadfast friend of that beneficent scheme of African Colonization, which originated under the auspices of the calm deliberation, the intelligent benevolence, the fervent prayers, of some of the noblest spirits our country has ever known; which has been hallowed by the death of many martyrs; and has uninterruptedly enjoyed, through evil as well as through good report, the aid, the confidence and the benedictions of Christian philanthropists in every section of the land. This is a scheme, which holds out the promise of blessing to two continents. While, without any impairment of the national compact or violation of individual rights, it opens the way for the gradual extinction of the system of slavery; it aims, also, by returning to the bosom of Africa her lost children, elevated and improved by residence in a Christian land,—to pour upon that dark region the light of civilization and the privileges of the Gospel.

His steady diligence in business, and scrupulous faithfulness to the interest of his clients, combined with a judicious and discriminating benevolence, secured for the youthful aspirant at the Bar a large amount of popular favor, and so increased his professional emoluments, that he felt justified in forming a tender connexion, which exerted a most important influence upon the whole of his subsequent life. In February, 1799, he was married to Miss Eleanor Pawling. But for this, he might have remained a Quaker to the day of his death. The lady of his affectionate choice was an Episcopalian, and the nuptials were solemnized by a Minister of the Church. This, of course, led to his being “read out of meeting,” or excommunicated, as we should say. The quaint form of this *friendly* “Bull,” it is unnecessary to copy here from the pages of the Memoir. It concludes with the intimation, usual upon

such occasions, that if the offending party would confess his error, he might be restored to fellowship. Of course, an intelligent and spirited young man would hardly confess regret for having taken "for better for worse," &c., one to whom he had just plighted his heart and hand in holy "troth"—"till death us do part." And therefore, he was content to be an out-cast from a form of religion which had never taken any hold upon his affections; and without apparent reluctance, turned his regards to the purer faith, and the more rational and inspiring worship, in which his chosen companion had been educated.

His marriage furnished a new incentive to zealous engagedness in the duties of his profession. His road to wealth and honors was steadily onward. He frequently received tokens of the confidence of his fellow citizens, by appointments to office, and in the year 1810, was elected a representative in Congress from his native city and State. Amidst all the temptations incident to the profession which he had chosen, he manifested such inflexible integrity and scrupulous faithfulness, never engaging in the advocacy of a corrupt or unjust cause, that he enjoyed the respect and confidence of all, and won the proud appellation of "the HONEST LAWYER."

The following incident, recorded in the Memoir, affords a beautiful illustration of this fact. "On the day of the election," (when he was chosen a representative in Congress,) "he walked to the polls in company with his friend Bradford. As they approached, they saw a gentleman busily engaged in distributing votes among the crowd. This gentleman was a warm personal friend of Mr. Milnor, a brother Free Mason, and one of his clients, and yet opposed to him in political views. They saluted each other kindly, when the following brief colloquy ensued. 'Well, Right Worshipful,' said the vote-distributor, 'here am I working against you as hard as I can. I tell you, and our mutual friend Bradford, I would trust you with all my *business*, my *property*, and even my *wife and children*; but I cannot trust you with my *politics*.' 'I thank you,' replied Mr. Milnor, 'I thank you for your confidence. Do your duty, and let the result be what it may, it shall never break our friendship.' " *

With such an enviable reputation, the subject of the Memoir before us, entered upon his duties as a member of our highest legislative council. We shall not infringe upon the province of the Biographer so far as to follow his course in Washing-

ton during the three consecutive sessions of Congress that he passed there. His brief political career occurred during one of the most important and stormy epochs in our national annals. The party, to which Mr. Milnor was adverse, which had sympathized, to a considerable extent, with the principles and movements that controlled the first revolution in France; which had opposed the policy of Washington and that of his immediate successor in the Presidency, had, not many years before, come into power under the lead of Mr. Jefferson, the acute and philosophic expounder of its principles. The federal party, though defeated at the polls, was yet strong in the wealth and influence of its supporters, and also distinguished by the ardent patriotism and commanding talents of many of its champions in both branches of the great Legislature of the nation. In defiance of the most determined and formidable opposition, the reigning party passed non-intercourse and embargo laws, and were about to consummate their course of measures, (so odious to the weaker and defeated party,) by a declaration of war against Great Britain. The present writer, though then a boy, distinctly recollects the excitement which prevailed throughout the length and breadth of the land. It was attended with a bitterness and violence far exceeding any thing evolved by the later dissensions of our political parties. In the midst of this turmoil, the new member from Pennsylvania made his *debut* in Congress. He took a deep interest in the exciting topics of debate, and was often a participator in the controversies of the House. On one occasion he was challenged by the Speaker, Henry Clay; and but for his judicious firmness would have been involved in a personal, perhaps deadly, combat with that distinguished Statesman. In this new station, as at the Bar, he exhibited the same diligence in business, and conscientiousness in the discharge of his appropriate duties. Uniformly courteous, he never indulged in offensive personality; quick in his apprehensions, he readily grasped the merits of every subject; and, like a late distinguished member from Massachusetts, always at his post, he held himself in readiness, whether by speech or vote, to perform his duty as a representative of the people. It is believed that none, even of those who differed from him, ever doubted that he honestly carried out his own convictions; and the most violent of his political opponents would bear testimony to the purity of his patriotism. His tact as a man of business, and his abilities as a speaker, would have insured the high respect of any legislative assembly upon earth.

The natural character of Dr. Milnor, viewed under any as-

pect, in all the relations of life which he had hitherto sustained, or in the stations of trust and honor he had been called to fill, was lovely and attractive. But free, as he was, from dissipation and vice, from debasing avarice, and from vaulting ambition; adorned, as he was, by many things "just and true, lovely and of good report," still his character was essentially worldly. His virtues were those which are often found in human nature, cast in its finer moulds, but there was an absence of those higher virtues which are "fruits of the Spirit." His nature was unrenewed, and because unrenewed, destitute of the highest graces of humanity. As the body of Adam, when first formed out of the dust, was fair in its proportions and beautiful in its aspect, yet no better than a perfect piece of statuary, or of delicate mechanism, before Jehovah breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and he became a living soul; even so, the character of the most moral and exemplary man of the world, however well-proportioned and lovely in its appearance, is cold and dead. It needs vitality; and can receive it only from the quickening and sanctifying influence of God's Holy Spirit.

Strange as it may appear, it was in the midst of the political debates and strifes of Congress, and when surrounded by all the fascinations of pleasure, of the pomp of fashion, and the pride of life, so constantly presented in the gay circles of Washington, that the attention of Dr. Milnor was first solemnly fixed upon the great concerns of the soul and eternity; and that was the scene chosen by God's Grace, for effecting in him that great moral revolution which led to an entire change of his destiny and influence in subsequent life. Dr. Stone has favored us with a very minute and graphic sketch of the conversion of his friend. And although no one can read it without deep interest in the developments of gracious operation upon a well-balanced mind, nor without a full conviction of the reality and magnitude of the change, yet one could wish that some things in the narrative had been different, and that the author's theological views had not led him to dwell so exclusively upon what is spiritual and subjective, as to neglect entirely all that is formal and objective in our Holy Religion.

The transition from the naked, jejune, formless, creedless spiritualities of Quakerism, to the dogmatic Faith, the fixed Worship, the imposing Ceremonies, the solemn Sacraments, the divinely commissioned Ministry, and the stable government of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was a change too great to have taken place in the mind and habits of an intelligent man in mature life, without serious deliberation, and

patient inquiry, issuing in a thorough conviction that it was not only expedient, but right. That this great change in his religious connexions should have taken place, (however gradually) in the subject of the memoir before us, without a most careful examination of the points of difference between the two communities, and a resulting ability to state irrefragable reasons in vindication of the conclusion to which he came, is not to be credited for a moment; especially when we reflect that his legal training had accustomed him to the rigid scrutiny of evidence, and to the habit of demanding good reasons in support of every principle he adopted. It is not to be doubted that the same conscientious scrupulousness which he manifested in examining the evidences of Christianity, of the doctrine of future punishment, and other elementary parts of the common faith, also governed him in investigating the grounds upon which the doctrines, discipline, and worship of the Church claimed reverent reception and submission. His life shows the conclusion to which he came; and it would be instructive and gratifying to be informed of the nature of the arguments and the process of reasoning by which the result was attained. But this information, which would be so valuable to the Christian community at large, and which Churchmen had a right to expect in any faithful biography, is sought for in vain in the volume under review. Why is this? Was it a fear of giving offence to those under whose auspices the book was to be published, which led to so sad an omission? Or, were there no documents in existence, no credible testimonies accessible, to throw light upon this interesting portion of the life of a public man, who studied no concealment of his principles and who always lived in the view of the world? We are unwilling to believe that the respected author of this Memoir, would, to please any patrons, connive at a *suppressio veri*. Yet, it is difficult to persuade ourselves that a series of documents from which so many particulars have been drawn, illustrative of an inward religious change of opinion and feeling, should furnish no materials to vindicate the process of that change in its formal and outward relations—so much more palpable in their character, and more readily apprehended by the generality of mankind. Dr. Milnor, for many years, kept a Diary or Journal; his correspondence was extensive and unreserved, especially after his mind became deeply interested in the subject of religion. The Memoir is enriched by copious extracts from both these sources, expressive of his views upon various points of Christian experience and practice. Is it to be supposed that he never, either in his

private memoranda, or in letters to his confidential friends, gave some account of his great change of ecclesiastical connexions and habits? Could he have passed through so great a change—one which might otherwise have subjected him to suspicion of levity, or even of mercenary motives—without some statement of reasons which would vindicate his course at the bar of his own conscience and in the estimation of his friends? That such statements were drawn up, and that with deliberation and care, the Memoir itself affords incontrovertible proof. On page 100, we find a reference to the religious reflections, entered in his Diary at the opening of the year 1810. “Immediately after these New Year’s reflections, he proceeds, *through several pages of his diary*, to discuss a topic which had evidently been for some time occupying his mind: *the propriety of forms of prayer in the public devotions of Christians.*” From the very meagre analysis given of this “interesting disquisition,” we regret that the author of the Memoir deemed it “too long for insertion.” We are thankful, however, for this brief reference to a paper setting forth the advantages of Liturgical worship, and vindicating the excellences of the Book of Common Prayer. More patient and extensive research, on the part of the Biographer, might have brought to light other disquisitions upon the divine origin of Episcopacy, and the peculiar doctrines of the Church, which would have shown Dr. Milnor to have been, not only “in one point,” but in all, “a sound Episcopalian.”* As a general rule,—whether it be owing to their love of order, and to their reflective habits, or to other causes,—converts to the Church from the Society of Friends prove sound and consistent Churchmen. None who thoroughly knew the late rector of St. George’s, New York, will admit that he was an exception to the rule. No man should write a Memoir under circumstances which forbid a full exhibition of the character and principles of its subject. If documents exist which are essential to such an exhibition, no pains should be spared on the part of the Biographer to make his readers acquainted with their contents. Their length is no satisfactory excuse for their suppression. If the size of the volume renders it inconvenient to make more than a slight allusion to them in the text, the value of the work would be enhanced by publishing them *in extenso*, in the smaller type of an appendix.

Dr. Milnor could never, at any period of his life, bring himself to view with favor the peculiar dogmas of Calvinism.

* Pp. 100, 101.

This fact seems to have been a cause of annoyance and discomfort to his biographer. Thus we are told of his arguments *against Calvinism* in interviews with his Presbyterian friend, Bradford; of his abandonment of his temporary attendance upon the Presbyterian Church in Washington square, on account of the frequent exhibition of that system by Dr. Wilson; of his "*fighting with the dogmas of Calvinism*;" of "a concealed effort to justify to himself his *cherished dislike of Calvinism*;" his "strenuous warfare against evangelical truth, and *Calvinism* in particular." Again, after inserting a letter to Mrs. Milnor, in which her husband dwells upon the great truths of the Gospel, urging her to give her heart to God, and to unite with him in approaching the altar as a devout communicant of the Church, we are told, "In its introduction, the theology of this letter is still stoutly *anti-Calvinistic*. Indeed, the writer never became an *extreme Calvinist* in his creed, though he did cease to wage his strenuous warfare against the system of Calvin; and the style of his subsequent preaching was so *highly evangelical*, that many considered him, though no controvertist, yet a *moderate Calvinist* in his views."*

Now, why these frequent references to the anti-Calvinistic views of Dr. Milnor, sometimes in apologetic strains, as if they would detract from his claims to Evangelicalism; at others, as if to intimate that they were a hindrance to his clear perception of the Gospel scheme of salvation, and to his advancement in experimental godliness; and all of them calculated to leave the impression upon the reader's mind, that it was a thing not to be commended in his character or theology: for if the system of Calvin be not the *whole* truth, yet *moderate Calvinism* may rightly be considered as the perfection of truth! Why, we again ask, are these flings, or apologies, whichever they are? Are they to be ascribed to the doctrinal views and affinities of the author, or must they be considered in the light of incense thrown out to please the Publishers of the volume, a majority of whom are disciples of the Genevan School!

It is true the affectionate and peaceful Milnor had no taste for polemical controversy. He did not plume himself upon running tilts against errorists of any class; nor would he withhold his confidence or his love from any pious Clergyman, who faithfully preached Christ, because he put a Calvinistic or Arminian interpretation upon the Articles. Still, it is not

to be denied that "he never became a Calvinist," extreme or moderate ; and it is equally undeniable, that this circumstance had no unfavorable influence either upon his Christian experience, or his ministerial usefulness. The author of the Memoir admits, that the abandonment of Presbyterian services for those of the Church, " may have been favorable to *his religious hopes*, inasmuch as his evidently intense dislike of Calvinistic doctrines was no longer irritated and kept open, like a frequently fretted sore."* His friends know that his anti-Calvinism was no drawback to his hope and joy as a mature Christian : and all who ever attended his ministrations can bear witness that it formed no obstacle to his preaching, in all its fullness and preciousness, the blessed Gospel of the grace of God.

Another blemish or defect in Dr. Stone's account of the earlier Christian life of the subject of his Memoir, cannot be passed over in silence, without infidelity to our trust as Christian Reviewers. We refer to the entire absence of all information as to the time when Dr. Milnor "was made a member of Christ" in Holy *Baptism*, as to the fact of his ever having been *confirmed*, or whether he ever enjoyed the benefits of Holy Communion as a Layman. These are items of intelligence which would be expected as matters of deep interest in the life of one Churchman written by another ; how marvellous that they should have been omitted in the life of a Minister of the Church, written by a brother Clergyman !

The author has informed us that Dr. Milnor was "elected a Vestryman of the parish to which he belonged," in 1810 ; that he was one of the Lay Delegates from the Diocese of Pennsylvania to the General Convention of our Church, in 1811 ; that in 1813, he was admitted as a candidate for Orders, and was ordained Deacon, by Bishop White, in St. James' Church, on Sunday morning, August 14th, 1814. During the greater part of those four years, his mind was deeply exercised upon the momentous concern of his personal salvation ; the extracts from his diary and letters, furnish us with an ample record of his reflections and feelings in reference to the "one thing needful," which had evidently become, not only the leading, absorbing theme of his contemplation, but the grand, paramount object of his zealous and diligent pursuit. We are favored with a minute, interesting, and instructive narrative of the progress of his conversion, so far as it was an inward work, seen only by the eye of God, and effected

by the new-creating energy of His grace. But no mention is made of the Church, its ministrations and ordinances, as having any instrumental agency in the change, or as giving visible manifestation or tangible existence to it, by her divinely appointed signs and seals. So far as the reader is dependent upon information furnished by the biographer, he has no means of ascertaining *when* this distinguished convert took his stand as a member of the Church, by making the vows of the covenant in Holy Baptism, or renewing them in the rite of Confirmation, or at the Table of the Lord, or whether he *ever* publicly "confessed the faith of Christ crucified," by the reception of either or all of these positive rites. Indeed, it might be inferred, in the absence of any assurance to the contrary, that, up to the very time of his ordination, he continued, substantially, a Quaker, with the exception of attending an Episcopal place of worship.

Why has Dr. Stone omitted all mention of such important facts in the life of his Christian brother, all allusion to those fixed way-marks in our pilgrimage to heaven! He believes in the propriety and importance of the sacraments, for he frequently administers them. Did he omit speaking of them in connexion with the early Christian experience of the subject of his Memoir, from a fear that he might be suspected of attaching too much value to them? Or, was it from an apprehension that some of his readers would not pronounce the same compliment upon this part of his work, which he pronounced, *con amore*, upon the teaching of Mr. (now Bishop) Kemper! "Here certainly, was nothing of baptismal regeneration, nor of the notion of justification by the sacraments."*

We have, of course, no doubt that Dr. Milnor was baptized, confirmed, and admitted to lay communion, long before he was ordained, or even received as a candidate for Orders. Nor do we make any question that, under the pastoral care of such men as good Bishop White, and the youthful but zealous Kemper, he was duly instructed in the nature and design of those ordinances, and carefully prepared for the intelligent and devout reception of them. Certain extracts from his diary and correspondence afford gratifying evidence that he looked upon the positive institutions of our religion, not as matters of mere form and ceremony, but as valuable means of grace: that he attached a high value to the Church of God, and reverently esteemed her services and sacraments as divinely appointed channels of grace and instruments of salvation.

* P. 196.

It is difficult to fix the date of the commencement of spiritual feelings, desires, and efforts in the case of Dr. Milnor. The work of conversion in his case, as in most others, was like "the shining light which shineth more and more unto the perfect day." But the whole progress of the work of grace in his soul had some connexion with sacramental privileges and obligations. In a letter to his wife, dated Washington, November 10, 1812, he says, "ever since I left home" I "have been much engaged in the duty of self-examination, the only means of discovering the truth of that awful confession, which we so often make with the lips without realizing in our hearts, that 'we have left undone those things which we ought to have done; and we have done those things which we ought not to have done; and there is no health in us.' I have recurred to my *baptismal vows*,* and find much more care necessary, on my part, in their future, as there has been much neglect in their past observance; and I have had deeper impressions than heretofore of the necessity of acquiring that temper of mind, and of pursuing that course of conduct, which will prepare us for conforming to all the duties incumbent on us as members of the Christian Church, especially for a *participation in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper*; a duty so strongly enjoined, that whenever my mind has been drawn to the subject, I have felt much self-condemnation for having so long neglected to make suitable preparation for becoming a communicant. This, with God's help, I am now resolved to do. The reception of this ordinance, I am persuaded, is 'our bounden duty, as Christians.'† In another letter, dated the 20th of the same month, he writes: "Next to reading the sacred Scriptures under the influence of the grace of God's Holy Spirit—the only true guide to a right understanding of those divine doctrines and precepts, 'which are able to make us wise unto salvation'—our aids in pressing toward the mark for the prize of our high calling of God in Christ Jesus,' are the preaching of the word, public and private prayer, (alas, how little do we know of the latter!) and the *ordinances of the Church*; especially the *Holy Eucharist*, or sacrament of the Lord's Supper, instituted by our Saviour himself, which has been the consolation of the pious in all ages since its establishment, and unto which our Church

* "Having been educated a Quaker, he was not baptized in infancy, but received adult baptism after his connexion with the Episcopal Church."—Dr. Stone's note.

† Pp. 113, 114.

constantly entreats us, 'for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, that we will not refuse to come, being so lovingly called and bidden thereto by God himself.' As a preparation for this interesting and solemn rite, let us attend to those previous duties which our Church in the communion service directs."* Early in December, in the same year, "he wrote to Bishop White a statement of his views touching the Lord's Supper, and proposed to become a communicant so soon as propriety and the good Bishop's consent would permit."† He was anxious to enjoy this privilege because he had faith "in the unceasing tender of the aids of the Holy Spirit, through the medium of the Gospel and *other appointed channels* of grace." In a few days he received an affectionate invitation from the Bishop to partake of the Communion on the ensuing Christmas. "He determined to accept the invitation; and so anxious was he that his wife should accompany him, that his letters at this period *are full of the one labor* of persuading her to the duty."‡ His purpose, however, was not fulfilled at the appointed time, as he was necessarily detained in Washington till it had passed. Still his desire and hope of enjoying this great privilege, continued, without abatement, or rather, increased with his advancement in the knowledge and power of religion. That earnest, unquenchable longing for the salvation of his wife—that 'travailing in birth for her, till Christ should be formed in her,'—which constituted one of the brightest evidences of his own conversion,—led him again, in February, 1813, to press the claims of duty upon her attention in these earnest words: "Be persuaded, my Ellen, to read the Scriptures, especially the New Testament; and try to lay hold, by faith, of the gracious promises which there abound. Doubt not the love of the adorable Saviour. By his spirit, He will fan the fading embers of piety in your heart into a flame of glowing devotion; and you will find a pleasure, and take an interest in the exercises of public and private worship, such as you never before experienced. I am awfully convinced, that if we are not finally saved, it will be our own fault; for God has put all the means within our reach. Let us cordially, and with full purpose of heart, make use of them. Neither let us be ashamed of assuming the cross of Christ. I mean not by putting on any affectation of extraordinary sanctity—that was the vice of the Pharisees, which Christ so severely reprehended,—no, let our faith and piety be evinced by the holiness of our lives; by attending regularly on public worship; by *joining in the ordinances of the Church,*" &c., &c.‡

* P. 119.

† P. 124.

‡ Pp. 167, 168.

About the same time he wrote to his friend the Rev. Jackson Kemper, opening his mind to him, "confidentially as a friend, and most seriously and respectfully as an *ambassador of God*, and one of those appointed to minister among us in holy things." In that letter, not boastingly, but with humility, and with thankfulness to God's grace, he speaks of the clearer light, the deeper views, the higher joys, with which he had recently been favored; asks his pastor's "counsel and assistance in his future course," desires him to name "works for a practical religious library;" expresses joy at the prospect "of a speedy return to his family, and the privileges of the Church;" and, "aware of the awful responsibility of such a measure," proposes to present himself for *confirmation* and the *Lord's Supper* at the first convenient opportunity after his return home.*

These quotations, which might be increased, will serve to show that there was nothing in the conversion or subsequent experiences of Dr. Milnor, which led him to a light estimation of the importance of the Christian Church, of its Ministry, or its ordinances. He valued the privilege of membership in that Church far more than the highest associations of the world; and reverently regarded the divinely appointed means of grace, as infinitely more important than any means of religious improvement of man's devising. Till admitted to them, his straitened and burdened spirit panted for the high joys of full communion.

Immediately after his ordination as Deacon, in 1814, the converted Congressman was appointed one of the Assistant Ministers of the then "United Churches," in Philadelphia, Bishop White being Rector of the parish, and the Rev. Dr. Abercrombie, and the Rev. Jackson Kemper, being Assistant Ministers. His native city, where he had grown up to manhood, and where he had been so well known for many years in legal, political, and fashionable life, was a trying field for the commencement of his labors as an ambassador of Christ. But with the advantages of mature experience, much knowledge of the world, a well furnished mind, and long practice as a public speaker, he sustained himself well; and soon won a reputation in the Pulpit, different in kind, but equal in degree, to that which he had previously enjoyed at the Bar, and in the halls of Legislation. His brief ministry in Philadelphia, was marked with the same fearless exhibition of the great doctrines of the Gospel, the same earnest enforcement of the

* Pp. 169, 170, 171.

duties of practical godliness, the same burning love for souls and laborious effort for their salvation, by which it was ever characterized in after-life and in other spheres. It was attended with an important influence in elevating the standard of piety in the parish with which he was specially connected, and in strengthening the cause of truth and godliness in the community at large.

But Providence designed this man—so strangely and remarkably raised up and qualified, at an important crisis of the Church's history—for an independent cure, and a more extensive field. Accordingly, in the summer of 1816, in less than one year after his admission to the Order of Presbyters, and within two years after his ordination as Deacon, he was transferred to the city of New York; and on the 30th of September, in the same year, he was instituted as Rector of St. George's Church, (vacated by the recent resignation of the Rev. John Kewley, M. D.,) by his old friend and schoolmate, Bishop Hobart.

From this time, during the thirty years which elapsed before his decease, the Christian and Ministerial life of Dr. Milnor was "a spectacle to the world;" and surely, in its leading features, and in its noble results, it was a lovely and interesting one. We doubt not that angels, as well as good men, might contemplate it with admiration and delight. Although, owing to peculiar influences and circumstances of the times, seldom called to any of those posts of honor or trust in the gift of the Diocese, to which his age, talents, character and station might have seemed to entitle him; yet, as an humble but venerated Presbyter, he faithfully applied himself to the appropriate duties of his Diocesan relationships. Uniformly respecting Episcopal authority, cheerfully rendering canonical obedience, and earnestly desiring the harmony and prosperity of the body to which he belonged,—but ever ready to vindicate the rights of conscience, and enjoy the freedom which the Church allows, he silently and unofficially exerted an influence which was widely and permanently felt in the affairs of the Diocese.

Yet Dr. Milnor was by no means exempt from either the burdens or the honors of office. The amiability of his disposition, the suavity of his manners, the liberality of his spirit, the activity of his benevolence, and the purity and elevation of his character as a Man, a Christian, and a Minister, raised him to a commanding height in the estimation of his fellow-citizens, of every name and every grade; and there probably never has been another individual in New York so overloaded

with honors and offices as he was. There were few benevolent institutions, of a general nature, with which he had not some connexion. And when we behold him as President of the American Tract Society, of the New York Sunday School Union, of the Deaf and Dumb Institution ; as director and Foreign Secretary of the American Bible Society, as director of the Juvenile Refuge, of the New York Colonization Society, and we know not how many other societies of a mixed character, and then as Director of the Board of Missions, and Secretary and General Agent of its Foreign Department ; as a Trustee of the General Theological Seminary ; of the Protestant Episcopal Tract Society, of the General Sunday School Union, and we know not how many other Societies within the Church, we may be well astonished at the amount of favor he received, and the extent of confidence reposed in him. Reproach has been cast upon him for his activity in some of the general societies above named, especially the American Bible and Tract Societies. Whatever may be the differences of opinion as to the comprehensive principle upon which those societies are formed,—a point which has caused ample discussion both at home and abroad,—and which it is not our present purpose to moot ; yet none can deny that the former of the two Societies has done a great and good work in the distribution of God's uncorrupted word in different languages, and in different lands ; and all must admit, that by the agency of the other, much valuable religious instruction has been disseminated in dark and destitute regions of our country unoccupied by, and inaccessible to, the better influences of the Church. These powerful institutions are deeply indebted for their popularity and success to the untiring personal labors of Dr. Milnor, and to the wide-spread sanction of his character and name. Whether he acted wisely, as a Churchman, in throwing his weight into their scale, is a question about which different opinions may be honestly entertained. He was fully persuaded that he might do so without any sacrifice of principle or duty arising out of his ecclesiastical relations. It was a point in which his liberty was not restricted by any canon of the Church ; like many others, Bishops, Clergy, and Laity in our own Church and the Mother Church of England, he used his freedom, by acting according to the dictates of his judgment and conscience ; and thus, those energies which were not demanded for action within the Church to their full extent, found play upon a wider field, and were zealously employed for the benefit of man, and, as we may hope also, for the glory of God.

Had not the late rector of St. George's been accustomed from early life to govern himself by system and rules, to find "a place for every thing and every thing in its place," he would have broken down under the multiplicity of his cares, or have permitted his parish to be neglected, on account of his other public engagements. But few parishes have been blessed with such an amount of faithful pastoral care. During the whole course of his residence in New York, (with the exception of a few intervals of absence on public agencies,) he was unwearied in the care of his flock. In the duties of the sanctuary on Lord's days and the principal festivals of the Church, in the stated services of the chapel or Lecture room, on two evenings of the week, he was obedient to the Apostolic charge—"preach the word; be instant in season, out of season: reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine." He was ever ready to "visit the fatherless and widows, in their affliction," to minister the consolations of religion to the sick and the dying, to speak a word of reproof to the wandering, of instruction to the ignorant; to urge the advanced believer to higher progress, and point the penitent inquirer to "the way, the truth, and the life." How many received at his hands the sign of the cross, and the seal of the covenant in Holy Baptism! To how many did he break the bread of life, in the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus! The hoary headed meekly received at his lips the words of wisdom; and infants looked with joy upon his face, sparkling with benevolence, when, in the Sunday School or the catechetical class, he so closely resembled that Good Shepherd who "gathers the lambs in his arms and carries them in his bosom."

Thus did this faithful pastor "serve God, in watching, fasting, prayers, and labors, night and day." In this holy round of duties he daily walked, not only without weariness, but with joy, (and that, too, for the most part without an assistant,) during the long period of his rectorship, until "he was not, for God took him."

One hundred and sixty-one pages of the Memoir are filled with a narrative of a "Mission to England," undertaken by Dr. Milnor in the year 1830, at the request of the American Bible Society, but in which he also acted, by appointment, as the delegate of the Board of Missions and other institutions of the Church. It was an occupation admirably adapted to his taste, and in which he found high enjoyment, from the opportunities it afforded for free and affectionate intercourse with many of the great and good in our mother Church, and in our mother land. We would gladly follow him through the

different courses of this spiritual feast, and quote many of the interesting incidents and valuable remarks recorded in his journal of foreign travels. But this would be to exchange places with the Biographer, and perhaps to weary the patience of our readers, if not to infringe upon the privileges of "copy right." We must not forget that, according to established custom, the object of a Review is, either to write an Essay upon some topic, whether kindred or foreign to the subject ; or to show up the faults of a book ; but by no means to compliment all its good qualities ; far less, to furnish a large modicum of its contents. Those who wish to become acquainted with the merits of a work, will buy it and read it for themselves. Besides, however much our readers would be gratified by the many excellent things which we might extract from the letters, diary, and journal of our deceased brother, (and we assure them they contain many precious gems of trustful faith and lovely piety,) yet we must devote the little space which remains for the present article, to the correction of what we believe to be some errors of fact ; and to the setting in a different light, certain matters of opinion and practice ; a task deemed necessary to a full and correct understanding of the principles and course of the lamented subject of the Memoir under review.

These supposed errors of fact affect the character of individuals. In speaking of the immediate predecessor of Dr. Milnor, in the rectorship of St. George's, Dr. Stone says : "It has since become known, that at this time"—(when at the request of the vestry, he was urging Dr. M. to become his successor)—"Dr. Kewley was a Romanist in heart, perhaps by commission ; and that his return to his native country was for the purpose of appearing in his appropriate character, as a priest in the Church of Rome."* The authority for this statement is not given. It may be none other than that of the Rev. Mr. Mayer, who informed Dr. Milnor, when in Birmingham, that he had seen Dr. Kewley in Italy, where he passed by the name of 'Father Kewley,' although Mr. M. knew his true name to be Lawson, and had no doubt that Dr. Kewley was a Jesuit during the whole time of his residence in America."† Now all that is positively *known* of the mysterious history of Dr. Kewley is, that he was educated at St. Omer's, and was, in early life, a Jesuit ; that during his residence in the West Indies, as a Physician, he renounced the errors and communion of the Church of Rome, and after

* Pp. 212, 213.

† P. 316.

coming to the United States, officiated for some time as a Methodist preacher; that he renounced Methodism, and having been admitted to Orders, by Bishop Clagget, he officiated as an Episcopal Clergyman, in Allegany county, Maryland, as early as 1804, and from that period till 1816, continued in the active exercise of his ministry in the Church, at Chestertown, Maryland, Middletown, Connecticut, and in the parish of St. George's, New York. After his resignation of St. George's, and his departure for Europe, it was currently reported and believed that he had been reconciled to the Church of Rome, and purposed to spend the remainder of his days in one of the retired monastic establishments of that corrupt communion. But, on the Sunday after his embarkation, at his own written request, prayers were offered, for his safe voyage, in one or more of the Episcopal Churches. That he was originally a Romanist, and returned to his former ecclesiastical connexions about the time of his leaving New York, is undoubtedly true. Some who were most intimate with him, observed and spoke of an unfixedness of mind in him, amounting almost to insanity, for weeks and months before his defection. To this it should be charitably ascribed, rather than to moral baseness and deliberate hypocrisy. It will be difficult to persuade those who were witnesses of Dr. Kewley's exemplary life, and apparently fervent devotion; who knew him for many years, as an intelligent defender of the principles of the Church, and a most impressive reader of her Liturgy; who had been accustomed to reverence him as a faithful expounder of the doctrines of the Reformation, and, *par excellence*, an "evangelical preacher;" that he was a "commissioned priest of the Church of Rome, and a Jesuit, in disguise, during the whole time of his residence in America."

Another error is found in a letter of Dr. Milnor to Bishop McIlvaine, dated February 8, 1840. Writing upon the Romanizing movement at Oxford, he says, "Dr. Wolff has avowed himself an adherent of most of the Oxford peculiarities. The Wilberforces are said to be co-workers with the school, and even our friend Melvill is suspected."* These are not the only good men, on either side of the Atlantic, who fell under the same unkind suspicion. We are willing to appropriate to the Wilberforces and Melvill the full benefit of Dr. Stone's parenthetical clause, ("since that time some of the suspected ones have cleared themselves,") and we will endeavor to give a *quietus* to the suspicion, so far as it may have

* P. 546.

affected the reputation of the distinguished and excellent Missionary, ("whose praise is in all the Churches,") upon the best possible authority,—that of Dr. Wolff himself. The slanderous rumor which had reached New York, had been, in some way, borne back by the western breezes, over the Atlantic, to his retired parish in the interior of England. He immediately wrote one of his characteristic letters, to a friend and correspondent in this country, expressing his sorrow and indignation at the charge of Tractarianism, and begging his friend to publish "a denial of it from one end of America to the other;" adding with great *naïveté*, "I learned the doctrines of Apostolical Succession and Baptismal Regeneration, not from Dr. Pusey or Mr. Newman, but from the Bishops and Churches of the East." We owe an apology to our excellent friend for having so long neglected a compliance with his request. But we never met with this imputation upon his theology, in print, until we saw it in the volume before us. While suspicions and opinions, like those in question, existed only in private journals or letters, they could do little harm; but now that Dr. Stone has deemed it best to publish them to the world, it is but right that they should be followed by correction.

As to the matters of opinion and practice referred to, which we deemed it important to notice, as necessary to a full and correct understanding of what our author calls "Dr. Milnor's position in the Church," our space absolutely forbids any thing more than a very slight allusion to them. The author has freely expressed his opinions, and what he thought to be the opinions of Dr. Milnor, about Prayer-meetings, Voluntary Societies, the Constantinople Mission, High and Low Church, Baptismal Regeneration, Oxford Tracts, Bishop Hobart's policy, controversies which have taken place in the Diocese of New York, and in the Church at large, &c. &c.

Whether it be a part of the legitimate and appropriate work of "the American Tract Society," an association composed of many denominations and shades of religious opinion, sustained by the charitable contributions of the public, and professing to abstain from all sectarian matter, to employ its press and its funds in the publication of a large octavo volume in which so many inflammatory topics are discussed or alluded to, we stop not to inquire. But we have a right to inquire whether a minister of the Church, writing the life of a brother Clergyman under such peculiar auspices, was not bound, in courtesy, if not in conscience, to abstain from all needless reference to matters which would irritate the members of his own com-

munion,—and also to avoid any such exhibition of the Church's strifes and frailties as would be likely to depreciate her character in the judgment of Christians of other names. If this be so, how sadly has the author of this Memoir failed in his obligation!

We do not object to his saying any thing which was necessary to the full display of the character and principles of the subject of his Memoir: this he might have done without controverting the views or offending the feelings of others. We do not object to a statement of his own opinions and claiming identity between them and those of the venerable man whose life he was writing, although it might be easy to show that, upon some points, there was no strong sympathy between them; but we do object, and object earnestly, against any pretense that the peculiar set of private opinions expressed in this volume, on the points above enumerated, are to be considered as necessary articles in the creed of Evangelical Churchmen. We also protest against the inference,—which we fear many will draw from this volume,—that *Churchmanship* and *Evangelicalism* are antagonistic: that whatever is Evangelical is not Church-like, and that whatever is essential to the Church-system, has no close affinity with Evangelical truth. Although the late Dr. Milnor was not a "High Churchman," such an inference would be in direct opposition to what was his sober and deliberate judgment. He believed that evangelical truth was held, and the evangelical spirit possessed, by good men, widely differing in grades of Churchmanship. He thought also that the distinctive principles of the Church might not only be firmly maintained, but also judiciously *preached*, without being inconsistent with Gospel doctrine, or injurious to vital piety. Writing to the Bishop of Calcutta, in July, 1842, long after the agitations of the Tract controversy commenced, he says: "In regard to the general state of the Church in our country, I thank God that I am enabled to say it is in its external circumstances prosperous; and in doctrinal views and evangelical feeling, improving. With our rapidly growing population, its extension keeps tolerably equal pace; and the divisions in some Protestant denominations have tended to add to our numbers. To a much greater extent than formerly, the great doctrines of the Reformation are preached to our congregations; and though in some places, what are called the *distinctive principles* of the Church, are, in my view, suffered to occupy too much attention, yet, for the most part, I believe the latter are allowed *only their just place* in the communications of the pulpit. A

few of our ministers are disposed to keep up a spirit of controversy, and to decry what they call low-Churchmanship; but on the whole, there is a preference of the things which make for peace. None are disposed unduly to compromise our peculiarities by inadmissible mixtures with others in the services of the sanctuary; and our Church commends herself to the regards of those who are without, by maintaining toward them 'the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.' **

The terms High and Low Church—of such ominous import and weighty significance—had their origin in the Convocation, held in the reign of good Queen Anne, more than one hundred and forty years ago. The majority of the Lower House was High, and the Upper House, composed of the Bishops, (*mirabile dictu*!) was Low Church. And what was the ground of the distinction? According to Bishop Burnet, the Lower House passed a resolution, or act, declaring "that Episcopacy was of Divine and Apostolical right;" they desired the concurrence of the Upper House in this. But the Bishops declined: alledging that it "was a plain attempt to make a Canon or Constitution, without obtaining a Royal license." The terrors of *premunire* had their influence in that day no less than in this. But at length the Bishops, not wishing to be accused of secretly favoring Presbyterianism, sent for answer, that they acquiesced in the declaration, that was already made on that head, in the Preface to the Book of Ordinations."†

The party divisions and dissensions, which were contemporaneous in their origin with the terms High and Low Church, have continued with greater or less virulence from that day to the present. Yet at no time have these been proper terms of distinction between those who held what are called evangelical views and those who did not. Who can say that Beveridge was less evangelical than Tillotson—that Hobart was less evangelical than White? or, to come down to our own days, that Mant was less evangelical than Whately, or Wilberforce than Hampden? In the Church in this country, emphatically, these names of old parties in the Church of England, could never be applicable to any existing state of things; for the nice questions arising out of the union of Church and State, in which they originated, have no existence here. We all believe that the Church has spiritual jurisdiction, independent of any earthly power. Few among us doubt that Episcopacy

* Pp. 559, 560.

† Burnet's history of his own times, Vol. III, pp. 483, 484.

is *jure divino*, and all will give their assent to the language of the Preface to the Ordinal. Differences of opinion have indeed existed, upon some principles of belief, as well as rules of discipline. And we are willing to admit, with Bishop Hopkins, that even parties may exist within the Church, without injury to her interests. But *party spirit* is the bane of the Church, poisoning her vitals; and should be frowned upon by every friend of piety among us, whatever may be the cast of his opinions.

But a few years since, and that spirit was nearly dead. At the General Convention—of blessed memory!—in 1835, when uniformity in the use of the whole service was secured, and the Church, baptized with a new measure of her Master's Spirit, recognized her duty and assumed her rank as a Missionary Church,—all hands seemed joined together, all hearts melted into one! In the midst of that scene the soul of Milnor rejoiced, in unison with the souls of all true men in our communion, whether High or Low.

No "party" was left in being: or, if there was a remnant of the old "high and dry," it was a mere skeleton, without muscle or nerve enough to be capable of being galvanized into life.

But alas! new parties have been thrown up in the boiling cauldron of these troublous times, of other visage, and different temper than those to which the Church had been accustomed in earlier periods of her history. They are emphatically *modern*; creatures of the fearful day we live in. The one, is of reverent, rather than of reverend aspect; professing to be guided by the lore of dark antiquity, yet composed, for the most part, of unfledged youths, who show their love for ancient Fathers by laughing at the wisdom of their own; and exhibit their regard for Holy Church by questioning the mission, and undervaluing the discipline of that branch of it to which they belong; a class of theological *petit-maitres*, familiar with costumes and attitudes; more skilled in ecclesiology than in divinity, attaching more importance to a genuflexion than to a prayer or a gospel sermon, and spending more thoughts upon the position of a Font, or a credence table, or upon the mode of administering a sacrament, than upon the spiritual import and value of the sacraments themselves. This party may be under the guidance of some wiser and older heads; it may have incorporated in it some more solid and grave materials than the above hasty sketch would indicate; yet the sketch, extravagant though it may be, is sufficiently specific, not to fail of its application.

In company with this Romeward sprout, there has sprung into being another scion on the opposite side of the tree, and inclining to a contrary direction. A *clique* of pseudo-evangelicals has presented itself, but has no valid title to the parentage it claims. The old sires never gave birth to such misformed, degenerate sons. They are startled at sounds and practices, which were familiar to our fathers as household words and usages. They know of no evangelicalism but what consists in negations—denials of Baptismal grace, the real presence, and the Apostolical succession. They recognize no Body of Christ but that which is invisible, intangible, unreal; no Catholicism but that which comprehends all sects bearing the name of Christian; and admit of no piety but that which exists independently of all aids from Christ through the interposition of any Priesthood or Sacraments.

While one party expects to benefit the Church by caricaturing her principles and forms, the other looks for the same result by a disguise or suppression of them. To both, the Church may say:

*Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.*

The times need sound heads and warm hearts; men firm in purpose, and vigorous in action; who with lively faith, and cheerful hope, and quenchless love,—unmoved by flattery, and unawed by fear,—will go forth in the power of the Holy Ghost to labor for the salvation of souls, for the edification of the Church, and for the glory of God. The existing evils are to be cured, and the ark of the Lord borne forward, only by His blessing upon the prayers and labors of sound evangelical Churchmen. The Hookers, the Beveridges, the Halls, the Hornes of the Mother Church of England,—and the Whites, the Hobarts, the Griswolds, the Ravenscrofts, the Moores, of our own, must live again in the principles, the prayers, the holy lives, the untiring diligence of their successors in office, and their descendants in the Ministry of every grade. We must have men, who, contented with “the doctrine of Christ, as this Church hath received the same,” will preach the pure Gospel in its fulness, simplicity, and power—as it is exhibited in our Creeds, Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies. Men who will carefully sustain the Church’s Ministry, institutions, and discipline, as divinely appointed means for the preservation of truth and the advancement of holiness upon earth. Men who will reverence the sacraments they administer, not as substitutes for vital piety, but as means of producing and sus-

taining it in the soul. Men, who, while they consider the religion of the heart to be a priceless gem, believe its value to be increased by the preciousness of the materials in which it is set, and the strength of the casket in which it is preserved. Such are the men (and thank God, they are neither few in number nor feeble in power at the present time) who will enjoy the confidence and meet the wishes of the great majority of all orders in our Communion. Let them be multiplied ; let our Theological Seminaries yearly increase their number ; then, by God's blessing, all is sure. The body of our Church will be unaffected by the clamors of factions within, and the assaults of enemies from without. Let our sincere prayer be : **THE LORD GOD BE WITH US, AS HE WAS WITH OUR FATHERS ;** and then, like Luther in his times of trouble, we may "sing the forty-sixth Psalm." **"GOD IS IN THE MIDST OF" OUR ZION ;** **"THEREFORE SHE SHALL NOT BE MOVED : THE LORD OF HOSTS IS WITH US ; THE GOD OF JACOB IS OUR REFUGE."**

CLERICAL CHANGES.

WE have often been told that when a young lady takes up a newspaper, the first thing that she fixes her eye upon is the list of Marriages and Deaths. No matter how momentous be the other intelligence which is presented; no matter if wars have broken out between rival kingdoms; no matter if monarchs have been dethroned; no matter if a sudden pestilence have swept away thousands of the human family; no matter if some mighty earthquake have swallowed at once some of the proudest cities of the earth, the curious maiden passes over the eventful narrative of it all, and satiates her tender gaze with nothing but the variegated record of those who have just formed the nuptial tie, and of those who have just paid the debt of nature.

To the imputation of a somewhat similar curiosity about another subject, we fear that we all of late years, clergy and laity, have become obnoxious. Now-a-days, as soon as the religious periodical is taken from the post office, what portion of it first draws the attention of presbyter, deacon, and layman? It is no libel to say it is that part of the column which rejoices in the caption of "Clerical Changes." To this, with inquisitive eyes, we instinctively turn, however rich and copious be the rest of the news that awaits us, just as in some parts of our country it used to be the custom to taste of some spicy beverage before dinner, by way of sharpening the appetite for the abundant repast to come.

In devoting a few pages of our review to an examination of some of the more prominent causes of the frequency of clerical changes, and in pointing out what seems to us at least a partial remedy for the growing evil, we trust that we shall not be wearying the patience of our readers, or entirely wasting our paper. The subject, too, may be somewhat of a relief to the mind, from some of the graver and more solid articles of our present number.

Among the causes, why our clergy are so frequently changing their parochial residence, the foremost, without doubt, is *the inadequacy of their support*.

In our larger cities handsome salaries are generally offered and are punctually paid. If the clergymen who are so fortunate as to obtain such cures are not able to lay up any thing against a future day, they are at least relieved from present

pecuniary embarrassment. They have enough to clothe themselves and families comfortably with; to keep their houses respectably furnished; and they have sufficient with which to go to market. It is their own fault if they have not always some superfluous funds in their pockets. We know, indeed, that the expense of living in our larger cities is great, and is double what it was a few years since; but still the annual stipend of our city clergy is much higher now than it formerly was, and their perquisites are numerous and valuable. But how is it in the interior towns and villages? The average salary of the country clergy of Connecticut is 500 dollars. Out of this small sum, the minister (for in the whole Diocese there are not more than half a dozen Churches that have Parsonages attached to them) has to hire a house, keep a horse, support himself, wife, and children, and engage, at least for awhile by way of experiment, a domestic. Now we see that while the cost of all the necessaries of life is double and often treble what it was some twenty or thirty years since, the clergyman's means of support are but a very little, if at all, greater than they were at this former period; for as at that time he had generally charge of two or three different cures, his aggregate income from them all, was quite as much as that which he now receives from a single parish. The result of the present state of things is this: Almost every country clergyman who has not private means of his own to draw upon, is in debt. Strive as he will to economize in every reasonable shape, when the close of the year comes round, he finds he is in debt to the merchant, to the butcher, to the shoemaker, and, if he should dare think of wearing any thing but a threadbare and patched-up coat, to the tailor. Now and then some generous parishioner may step in and partially relieve him by some timely donation, but still there is a weight of pecuniary care pressing down upon him, which robs him of his peace, unfits his mind for study and the composition of sermons, and which even mars the holy enjoyments of the Lord's day itself, by forcing on his attention, while praying and preaching in God's house, anxious forethought for the morrow. We venture to say, without fear of contradiction, that this is the situation of more than two-thirds of the country clergy in these United States. What wonder is it, then, that if an opportunity is offered for relieving themselves from such a painful condition, they eagerly grasp at it. What wonder is it that they feel that if they preach the Gospel they have a right, human and divine, to live by the Gospel, and not to starve by it. What wonder is it that as soon as an invitation is extended

to them to a more eligible parish, they accept it without hesitation, nor even wait to take a ceremonious leave of a people who, while themselves are in the possession of every comfort in the world, are guilty of the unkindness, after having "caught" a clergyman, of compelling him and his poor wife and children to try the experiment of eking out existence upon "thin air."

Another very common reason for the frequency of clerical changes, is the cry for "popular preachers."

If it were asked of many of our lay brethren, what they mean by the expression, Popular Preacher, we doubt not that they would be puzzled for an answer; though the majority of them would probably tell us that "a popular preacher is one who can draw a crowd, and who can make pews sell well." But tried by this standard very few of the clergy would be found to deserve the name. Out of the whole fifteen hundred of Episcopal ministers in these United States, there are, perhaps, not more than twenty or thirty, who, by the magic of their eloquence alone, could stately draw multitudes to hear them. Blessed be God, *mere pulpit* orators are very rare among us, for with a few exceptions they are the least useful men in the Church, and are far from being, in the long run, the brightest ornaments to their profession! We have a scarcity of this order, but we have an abundance of those better men who belong to the true school of the prophets. In every Diocese we are able to count up many who are ripe scholars, sound writers, earnest and effective preachers, and most faithful pastors, and who adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour in all things. We are happy, too, to have it in our power to say that the members of our larger and more important parishes, are usually content with having such men over them in the Lord. They have no morbid craving for a change. They are satisfied with being well off. They have been too thoroughly instructed in the principles of the Church; they have too great respect for the ministerial character and profession, to turn off upon the cold charity of the world an old and faithful servant, merely because there is no novelty in his style of writing or speaking, or because he has no faculty of enchanting by tones, and attitudes, and gestures borrowed from the theatre, certain shallow-brained youths and misses who are the self-constituted judges of sermons, and the complacent awarders of the palm of pulpit eloquence. But of the smaller parishes, (and these, as our readers well know, form by far the largest proportion,) the same cannot be said. Among them a perpetual change of ministers is occurring, and in nine

cases out of ten, the reason is that the people want "a more popular preacher," and it most generally happens that the smaller and more obscure the congregation, and the more scanty the salary which is offered, the more difficult are they to be pleased, and the higher the standard of pulpit talent with which alone they will be satisfied. Among the retired country parishes, especially, our readers can all recall more than one instance of a shameful desertion of a worthy and devoted pastor, merely because it is at last found out, that he has not the winning gift of oratory to attract multitudes to the Church, and to fill the galleries with admiring crowds. How many cases are there, of ministers who have been liberally educated, and who are possessed of every spiritual and literary qualification for their holy office; who have labored from youth to age for the welfare of their people; who have, Lord's day after Lord's day, for many long years in succession, fed their flocks "with food convenient" for them, and been occupied constantly in the week about their heavenly Father's business, in visiting the sick, burying the dead, and comforting the mourning,—men of apostolic zeal, meekness, and purity—of whom the world was not worthy—how many cases have we seen of such men being rudely ejected from their parishes, turned out of house and home, poor, aged and helpless, merely because a new generation of striplings have sprung up, and have insisted upon inviting, as the phrase goes, "a more melting preacher!"

Still another cause for the frequency of clerical changes, is the habit of leaving the control of the affairs of a parish in the hands of a few individuals.

It is surprising even in the very largest congregations, how very few of the whole body take an active part in the management of the concerns of the Church. Most of the male members of every parish, are so engrossed in their own worldly callings, that they have no spare time left to bestow upon the affairs of their own particular congregation. The result is, that the few who have the leisure and the inclination to interest themselves in the concerns of the Church, have the whole field to themselves. Now if this small number were in every case composed of worthy and competent men—men fitted mentally and morally for the duties which they undertake to discharge—the peace and prosperity of almost every Church would be preserved. But unfortunately this is not the case. We are telling our readers no new thing when we affirm, that very frequently most undeserving men are elected to the office of vestrymen—men who do not at all represent the character

or the wishes and feelings of the congregation at large. Now, because a man happens to be the prominent lawyer, or doctor, or merchant, or politician in the place, is no sufficient reason why he should be annually elected to the important office of vestryman, and allowed to dictate to the whole congregation and to lay down the law to his clergyman. Nor ought he, because he is the "Jupiter tonans" of the town, the oracle at the village store and the village tavern, to be permitted to exert a controlling influence in ecclesiastical affairs. It needs no argument to show that any parish which is suffering under the tyranny of such influence, cannot retain its clergyman long. No minister of Christ who respects himself or his calling, or who has the good of immortal souls at heart, will so degrade and pollute his office as to pay court in such fashion for the sake of keeping his place. He will sooner move every year, putting his trust in the good providence of God, than tarnish the honor of his holy profession by going out of his way, to win the smile or secure the suffrages of such a patron.

Another cause, is the general want of a sound Church feeling among the laity.

The true spirit of the Church is sober, quiet, and conservative. It is opposed to noise, fermentation, and change. And this spirit pervades every congregation which is well-instructed in her doctrines and discipline. But are most of our congregations thus taught? Are they trained in the calm, sedate, peace-loving habits which were the unfailing characteristics of the Episcopalians of old? We say decidedly they are not. We often speak in glowing and triumphant language of the growth of the Church of late years. But we hesitate not to say, that in too many instances, it is not a real growth. It is a growth of numbers, but not of strength. Many have joined our communion merely from taste. Many from mere convenience. Many have come in from the sects around us because they have married Episcopal husbands or Episcopal wives, retaining still all their dissenting notions and prejudices unaltered. Many have joined us because they have quarreled themselves out of their own communion, and come over to us from spite, without leaving behind them their turbulent and belligerent spirit, and which is ready at any moment to break out. The result is, that in many parishes which have grown with astonishing rapidity of late, there is an equally astonishing deficiency of knowledge about the fundamental principles of the Church, and a lamentable inexperience of her sober, steady zeal. But the blame of this is not to be imputed exclusively to the raw recruits who occasionally join our

ranks. This ignorance of true Church principles, and this unacquaintance with a genuine Church spirit, are owing likewise to a want of faithful clerical instruction. How many shrink from presenting our beloved Zion, in her integrity, to their auditors! How many fail of declaring the whole counsel of God about His celestial Bride, for fear they may give offense to this weak brother or that weak sister! How many hesitate about saying a word, from one year to another, about the divine organization of the three-fold ministry, and the Apostolic Succession, lest they may displease some, whose theories and sympathies are thoroughly Congregational! How many are afraid to utter a syllable about the doctrine, so prominent in Scripture, in the Prayer Book, and the Fathers, of Baptismal Regeneration, lest they may give offence to some members of their flocks, whose theology has been learned in the modern schools! How many hesitate to set forth boldly and clearly the glorious and awful truths of our blessed Lord's Divinity, Incarnation, and Atonement on the Cross, lest the sensibility of some amiable Unitarian listener may be wounded! How many fail to catch, in their sermons, the tone and unction of the Prayer Book, and thus impress on the minds and hearts of their hearers, the holy, majestic serenity of its Collects, and the godly quietness of all its services! We scruple not to say, that were the great body of the clergy more faithful in their teaching, more diligent to fulfill that ordination vow, whereby they solemnly promised before God and men "always so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments and the discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church hath received the same," their people would be far less given to change than they are at present.

But the fact is, that the mass of our laity, even they who are descended from a long line of Episcopal forefathers, are not so well-informed about our Church as they were thirty, and forty, and fifty years ago. For we were then so small in numbers, and were so rudely attacked on every side, that every individual layman was compelled to read and study whatever standard writers in divinity were accessible, in order to repel the assaults of our opponents. Every man among us was in a great measure "a scholar armed." We have been informed by an aged presbyter of the Diocese of Connecticut, the Rev. Dr. Daniel Burhans, that when he assumed the rectorship of Trinity Church, Newtown, more than half a century ago, he was told that "he had at least fifty Bishops in his parish." By this it was meant that he had this number of intelligent and able champions of Church order and discipline. There

was then, doubtless, a like proportion of accomplished defenders of the faith, among the laymen of other congregations. As a proof of this, how often is the young clergyman now, when he first enters upon the field of his labors in some of our most obscure parishes, pleased and surprised to find, here and there, among his scattered people, some wise and venerable old man, who once sat in years far back at the feet of the early Clergy of the Church, thoroughly acquainted with the distinctive features of Christianity, as taught in the Church. When this generation of well-read laymen shall have entirely disappeared from the stage, who, we ask, will there be among our younger laymen to take their places? Who will there be to give a right and wholesome tone and character to the several congregations to which they belong? Who will there be to prevent unworthy and ungodly men from gaining an ascendancy in the councils of our parishes, and to smother and extinguish that restless, unchurchlike spirit which is increasing among us, as the clergy too well know, and which is so withering to the true growth of so many of our parishes?

But we should be most unjust and partial did we not assign another reason for our frequent clerical changes, and this is *an uneasy and restless spirit in the clergy themselves*.

Both in the city and the country there are many removals of ministers from parish to parish, where they themselves are entirely at fault. We all know many instances where clergymen have been well-supported, where they are doing good, where their congregations are united and every way prosperous, where, indeed, in all respects their lines are cast in pleasant places, and yet as soon as an invitation comes to another and more attractive place, off they go. The common excuse rendered for such removals is, that they are called to *a larger field of duty*. It is sometimes hard to retain one's gravity when we hear such a reason given, for we all know there is business enough to do anywhere, in town or country. That some men are better fitted by their talents, education and manners for one sphere than another, is admitted. But we still think that where there is a congregation of three or four hundred immortal souls to be trained for heaven, even there is a large field of duty—a field quite enough to occupy all the faculties and powers of any one frail being. We fear that this plea would, in many cases, hardly stand the scrutiny of the Searcher of hearts.

We can mention still another cause: The common habit of running extravagantly into debt in the erection of a new Church.

Within the last five years an architectural mania has broken out. Our readers would misjudge us if they supposed that we dislike to see handsome Churches. No, it is our delight to gaze upon majestic temples built in honor of Almighty God. But it is also our delight to see such edifices paid for, and if it is ascertained beforehand that they cannot be paid for, we much prefer to behold humbler and plainer dwellings erected to the Highest. It is best to keep within one's means in every thing. If we do not, we are sure ere long to suffer for it, both pastors and people; and more than one estimable clergyman suffers in this way: he is instrumental in gathering, by his faithful labors, a congregation which for awhile meets in some lecture-room or upper chamber. The congregation then think of building a Church, and they intend to erect one which shall not be expensive. They apply to some architect for a suitable plan, and after due deliberation they adopt it. But soon they grow more ambitious. Their views expand and soar. Instead of being content with a plain and unadorned edifice, they must have something showy and splendid. They must not be put into the shade by the magnificent Churches in their vicinity, and so they deviate from their original design, plunge most royally into debt, and go on, and complete a noble structure, which is the ornament of the town, and the admiration of the whole country round. The clergyman and his people assemble in their new and beautiful house, and their hearts thrill at the sight of its pillared and spacious courts. Sunday after Sunday, and week after week, the minister continues as assiduous in his pastoral duties as ever; but some how or other the pews do not fill up as rapidly as could be wished. Somebody who holds the purse-strings remembers, that a large debt is hanging over the congregation which must be extinguished. What is to be done? At last, some wise financier suggests, that they must have a clergyman of more commanding talents, to fill up the empty seats. And the proposition takes well. Forgetful of all their obligations to the minister who has borne the burthen and heat of the day, forgetful how he has toiled in season and out of season, forgetful how he has nursed them as tenderly as a mother does her children, forgetful that his name is carved upon the corner-stone of their new temple, a living witness to all future time of their ingratitude; they push their benefactor from his place before he is hardly warm in his seat, and call in a successor who they hope will soon relieve them of their embarrassment. But if he disappoints them, as he usually does, it is not long before he in his turn has to take up the march;

and another and another is tried, till the dishonorable debt is at last wiped out, or the Church itself, God's own consecrated house, is sold, like common goods and chattels under the hammer, to the highest bidder. This is not an uncommon history, and our readers know it well.

Another and most melancholy cause of clerical changes, is the frequent breaking down of ministers from excessive and unnecessary parochial labor.

The public are apt to expect quite as much from a young clergyman as they do from one who is advanced in years and ministerial experience. And oftentimes they expect more. Forgetful that he must have, of necessity, but very few sermons already written, and that he has not yet gained the habit of composing his discourses with ease; forgetful that he is but a novice in his profession, and that though a champion of the Cross, he is not yet inured to its warfare,—that he has not yet acquired that steadiness of nerve, that collectedness and self-possession which enables him to go through, without being unmanned, the many trying scenes of his daily pastoral life; forgetful that he has not yet acquired, even by divine grace, that fortitude which it is hard sometimes for the most experienced minister to maintain; the inconsiderate public often demand of him as frequent pulpit performances and as diligent parochial labors, as if he had his “barrel full” of sermons, and as if his head were white with the frost of three-score and ten winters. The result is, that many a noble and magnanimous spirit is cut off in his prime. Many a bright and heavenly-minded youth is lost to the Church on earth, and is sent to a premature grave, or made an invalid for life, by thus having his mental and physical powers overtasked before they had reached their natural development. Many, too, of the older clergy are frequently exhausted and laid on the shelf by a useless over-exertion of their strength. In some parishes, and especially those in our cities, the congregation are not content with two full services on the Lord's day—they must have a third service in the evening, and a weekly lecture at night, the whole year round. What a cruel exertion is this upon the strongest mind and the most athletic body, when it is considered that there is a world of parochial duty in addition daily to be discharged, and that very many of our clergy have severe labor to perform as members of our various Church institutions and societies, general and Diocesan!

Our readers will pardon us if we here interpose a few words with regard to these third Sunday services. After some experience we are compelled to say that they are labor almost

thrown away. Ordinarily, two services on Sunday are quite as much as any one people need. They who will not be profited by these, will not be profited by more. Besides, we think that the influence of these night services on the minds of young persons is often far from salutary. It induces a habit of gadding abroad—not for spiritual edification, but for the sake of seeing and being seen. The house of God should not be made, as it often is, at such times, a rendezvous for juvenile lovers and incipient courtships. There is, too, often, a sort of *scenic effect* from evening services—from the brilliant glare of many lamp and gas lights—from the music, always more touching and enchanting at night than in the day-time—from the promiscuous and motley crowd heaped in strange propinquity together, favorable indeed, to feverish and romantic excitement, but not to the healthful glow of true piety. We think that the proper place for every Christian on the evening of the Lord's day is *home*, where the Bible and good books should be read, and where the services and sermons heard in the day should be digested and reflected upon, not criticised. To be sure, in some of our larger cities it may be well to have one or more of the Churches open, for the benefit of the large floating population of all classes who in such places have no sanctuary to attend regularly; and for a certain kind of persons who never saunter forth on the Sunday except in the evening. Among them, the good seed thrown at random may in time bring forth fruit. And for such occasions, a mutual arrangement among the clergy might easily provide.

We will mention but one more, yet very potent cause for our clerical changes, and that is, the state of the times.

The whole world is in a fluctuating condition, and the entire Anglo-Saxon population of this western continent is more or less unsettled. While Europe is sending forth annually almost half a million of inhabitants to our shores, tens of thousands of emigrants are pouring onward from the old Atlantic States to the remote western confines, and thus every new year is adding new States and territories to our national confederacy. Of course, with our spreading domain, new parishes are constantly forming, and new Dioceses are constantly coming into our ecclesiastical union, which must be supplied with ministers. The steam engine, too, has set every one in motion; and the shrill and piercing whistle of the rail car penetrates our inmost wilds and solitudes, and calls forth, with its talismanic summons, the young and old. Everybody is in action. The laity are all on the wing, and why not the clergy? The old pastoral relationship has therefore become

almost obsolete. In former years a clergyman took his parish as he did his wife, for life. Minister and people clung together, for better for worse, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, till death did them part. But all this has now become a by-gone story. A settlement of even ten years in the same parish has become quite a rarity, and we think that we do not mistake when we ascribe this melancholy change, in no small degree, to "the times" in which we live.

We have spoken, perhaps, rather too freely of what seem to us the leading reasons for the frequent changes by our clergy of their parochial residence. We would, before we close this article, take the liberty of suggesting a word or two, by way of a partial remedy, at least, for the evil.

We would urge, in the most earnest manner, upon the laity, a better pecuniary support of the great body of the clergy. We call upon the people, especially those residing in the country, to give their pastors larger salaries, and to see that those salaries be punctually paid.

We would urge upon every parish the importance of erecting a convenient edifice for the residence of their minister. Nothing gives to a clergyman such a home-feeling, nothing so soon extinguishes in his bosom a fondness for change, as the certainty of having a neat and commodious parsonage for himself and family. Many a valuable man will be content with a very meagre stipend, provided he has a pleasant home for his wife and children, free from rent.

We would most respectfully suggest a more direct interposition of Episcopal authority and discipline. We are among those who love to see our Bishops wield the staff of their office with decided vigor. We would have our Bishops *govern*, and govern, if need require, effectually.

We should like to see our Bishops insist upon every parish having its clergyman instituted, and prompt in quelling any incipient disturbance in a parish. A word in season from the chief pastor works wonders, and lulls many a rising storm. We should like to see the responsibility of the clergy to their Episcopal Head, a living reality. It would not hurt presbyters or deacons to know decidedly, that they have an overseer. And yet we are aware, that the unprimitive size of all our Dioceses, presents of necessity a most unprimitive illustration of the true relation of the Chief Shepherd, to the members of his flock. Many of our counties, and of our cities, are abundantly large to constitute a Diocese like those in primitive times. A return to those early precedents in this respect

seems to us desirable, for many considerations which we shall not now mention.

These are some of the remedies which, with all diffidence, we would prescribe for the ill complained of. Yet, after all, we have our misgivings. We have our apprehensions that whatever we, or others, may say on this subject, will be only so many words thrown away. "The times are out of joint," and it requires more skillful physicians than we to set them right.

If, in the foregoing article, we have sometimes spoken more plainly than becomes us, we crave the charitable indulgence of our readers; and we doubt not that they will extend it to us, when we candidly assure them, that with regard to the evil here descanted upon, we are ourselves by no means impeccable. We are not without our own particular sin; and we know not, but that even before these pages are dry from the press, our own humble name may be going the rounds of the hebdomadal record of "*Clerical Changes*."

PRESENT ASPECT OF UNITARIANISM.

ART. IV.—*The Power of Christianity.*—A Discourse preached at the Dedication of the house of the Thirteenth Congregational Church, in Harrison Avenue, Boston, May 3, 1848. By J. I. T. COOLIDGE.

Relation of Christianity to Human Nature.—A Sermon preached at the Ordination of Mr. Frederick N. Knapp, as Colleague Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Brookline, Mass., on Wednesday, October 6, 1847. By HENRY W. BELLOW, Pastor of the Church of the Divine Unity, in New York City.

Christ the Way.—A sermon preached at the Ordination of the Rev. George M. Bartoe, as Minister of the First Church of Christ, in Lancaster, Mass., Wednesday, August 4, 1847. By CYRUS A. BARTOE, Junior Minister of the West Church in Boston.

WE have selected these discourses from a large number lying before us, as favorable representatives of the latest and best form of Unitarian Theology. It is the doctrine of the sermon by Mr. Coolidge, that Christianity is not simply a form of religion, or an article of belief, or a law of conduct and life, but must be regarded as "a prevailing, mighty power, to purge away the leaven of iniquity, to exterminate every form of evil, to regenerate and make new the soul and the world continually,—a power, of which all forms and beliefs and laws, are only instruments. Christianity finds man a sinner, at variance with God and his own eternal interests, in need of conversion, reconciliation, and constant renewal. He needs more than instruction, improvement, or a better development. He needs a change, a conversion, to be placed in a true position toward God and his own destiny."

Mr. Bellows declares, that "in operating on human nature and character, it is a definite, describable, and limited object the Preacher is to have mainly in view; a fixed and attainable change. It is a new heart that he is to create. His object is not so much to form the Christian character, as to beget the Christian nature. His aim is the regeneration of man, not his development, not even the development of the Christian nature, except as that is the indirect result of his labors.

Christianity assumes, (if the Apostolic preaching is any part of Christianity,) that there is in us a settled, universal obstacle to the reception of Christ's authority and theory of life. Man is pronounced an alien from God. 'The carnal mind is enmity against God, for it is not subject to the law of God; neither indeed can be.' And lest this carnal mind should be considered only the purely physical part of man, it is elsewhere written, 'The *natural* man receiveth not the things of the spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.' It is not only the flesh lusting against the spirit which makes man a child of disobedience; 'the fulfilling the desires of the flesh and the *mind*' is the description of those of whom Paul says, they 'were by nature the children of wrath.' It is not then merely human character which is imperfect and disordered, but something anterior to that; in short, human nature itself, which, in its elementary form, has weaknesses and propensities to evil, that makes sin a uniform and unavoidable consequence of existence." In another place he says, "Unassisted human nature then is in a certain sense incapable of obeying God. It is helpless. The world was lying in hopeless wickedness when Christ came. Aided as man had been by one Revelation, yet the world had gone steadily backward in moral purity. Why did Adam fall from his innocency, why did universal human nature decline from rectitude and goodness, and go away from God, if human nature is sufficient unto itself, if good tendencies steadily prevail over evil tendencies, if civilization and education are identical with Christianity? Oh, brethren! man might as well seek to fly to the stars, as to escape by his unaided powers from the captivity of sin. Interposition is a necessary, pre-arranged part of God's Providence. Help from without and above, a promised and an indispensable instrument of man's moral salvation. In the fullness of time God sent his Son to *save* the world; not to condemn the world, but to save it. The Gospel is the grace of God; it is good news; it is deliverance; it is rescue; it is salvation. It is not one of many other instrumentalities, but *the* instrument of salvation. Christ is the Physician of souls, sent to heal a mortal disease. He is the resurrection and the life, commissioned to raise 'the dead in trespasses and sins.' It is impossible to exaggerate or overstate the indispensableness, ascribed in the New Testament, to the mission of Christ. The world lay like a corpse prepared for the burial, and Christ kindled in it the spark of life anew. The impotent man upon the brink of the pool of Bethesda, who sees

an angel stirring the water, but whose paralytic limbs utterly refuse to bear him into the healing flood, is the type of human infirmity and helplessness. Every generation and age were increasing the difficulty. The sins of the fathers were accumulating on the heads of the children. The moral ear grew deafer, the spiritual eye weaker, the moral muscle more and more flaccid. The world, the flesh, and the devil, a triple cord not soon broken, was binding man in ever straiter and tighter folds. He could groan and sigh when he thought of a primeval innocency that existed only in his imagination! He could delight in the law of God, according to the inward man! But his sighs, and longings, and groans did not, could not help him to *do* what he ought. And there was no succor, safety, deliverance, except in *doing*. Then it was that he cried in his despair, O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? And God graciously enabled him to say—I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord.”

The last of these Discourses, which is written in a style of singular compactness and beauty, assumes that “Christ is the way,—the direct individual path of salvation. He that climb-eth up some other way is a thief and a robber. There is no way that can be a substitute for him. And here is the great danger, which he himself foresaw, of making something else the substitute for him.” Mr. Bartoe then proceeds to consider the various substitutes which are put in the place of Christ; and these, according to his arrangement, are, the Church, theological creeds, philosophy, reform. We can afford even to give only a single extract from this Discourse. “The philosophy which excludes Christ, or only receives Him divested of his authority, mighty works, and moral perfection, may affirm itself to be religious, but it prefers what it calls Absolute religion, to any special and defined system, like Christianity, which is as though one should prefer, for a habitation, the earth, when it was ‘without form and void, and darkness covered the face of the deep,’ to the well-finished and perfected world. To the human mind there is a vague, shifting, shapeless quality about this so styled absolute religion, which must render it of very little practical worth to the majority of men, however a few may pretend to perform the feat of grasping its immense and misty proportions. But the philosophy substituted for Christ, changes with Protean facility its own form. Sometimes it is a negative system, which could not stand at all, but by bracing itself against the Christianity it assails; and sometimes it is a positive spiritualism, which, in its own conceit, oversees Christianity, borrows from it what it deems good,

and applies to it, among the other religions of the world, the eclecticism of some Christian believers in regard to the various sects. Sometimes it dwells among abstractions, and rears its fabric on the categories of the pure reason, and sometimes ranges with blithe sensations and a kindling eye, in a sort of nature-worship, through all the wonder and beauty of the actual world, preferring the mystic suggestions and pregnant silence of God's works, to the clear and eloquent distinctness of His word. I wish not to deny that there is a charm of appearance, a generosity of spirit, a power of genius, and not seldom a brilliant gleam of truth, about some of its manifestations. But, in any of its forms, to be substituted for Christ as the way of human salvation, it is a mistake and miserable failure. It cannot act with his redeeming power on the highest or the lowliest minds. It has never moved to any such undertakings or sacrifices as he has inspired in the soul. It has not been the parent, like him, of all good institutions, and of every holy cause. It has not renewed the face of the earth, as he has done, nor regenerated the individual heart, as he is forever doing. Weighed in the balances of any such comparison, it is found wanting. Even true philosophy cannot do the work of faith; and false philosophy, will only do more thoroughly, that of scepticism."

We add to these specimens of a certain style of current Unitarian preaching, a few sentences taken from a tract, recently issued by the "American Unitarian Association." "It is quite time to protest against these interpretations of all the remarkable utterances of Jesus, which deprive them of power and almost of meaning, by the substitution of Christianity for *Christ*, his religion for his *person*. There is a peculiar—yes, a mysterious—relation between God and Christ, which is above, and was meant to be above, our comprehension, but not beyond faith,—a relation, also, which renders him in very truth the Saviour of man. And that relation makes up the significance of that saying of his which is now before us,—‘Whosoever hath seen me hath seen the Father.’ Yes, the great cry of humanity has ever been and will always be, ‘*Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us. Show us,—not tell us, not teach us only, for all language is weak and inadequate on this great subject,—but show us the Father, and we can bear all things well; we can live calmly, endure patiently, labor resolutely, hope steadfastly, and conquer in the great struggle of life.*’ And God hath most graciously answered that petition. He hath appeared unto man in the person of his Son. He hath veiled his glories in the flesh, and dwelt among men.

He hath made his Son to be the perfect image of himself, the full, entire, complete manifestation of himself, as the Father. He hath sent him, so filled with his spirit, so endued with his perfections, made him so one with himself, that whosoever hath seen him, hath seen the Father. He hath called upon all men to approach him through the Son, to love him as they love the Son, to confide and trust in him as they confide and trust in the Son. And what grace and mercy are here! Who shall approach unto the Infinite God? Is he not afar off? Are not clouds and darkness for ever around his throne? Is there not the distance between us and the Holy One, of infinity and eternity? Are not his perfections incomprehensible by our poor, finite minds? Are they not too awful and sublime for our weak, trembling, sinful hearts to trust and confide in? But God is present with us when Christ is before our eyes."

Is this the general style of Unitarian teaching? Is it really taught, in the pulpits of this denomination, that "human nature itself has proclivities to evil, that make sin a uniform and unavoidable consequence of existence;" that "unassisted human nature is incapable of obeying God;" that the sinner "needs more than instruction, improvement, or a better development—he needs a change, a conversion, to be placed in a true position toward God;" that "Christ is the direct individual path of salvation;" that there is "a mysterious relation between God and Christ, which is above, and was meant to be above, our comprehension," and that the measure and degree of our love, and confidence, and trust toward the Father, is to be determined by the character of our feelings towards the Son? Surely this has not been the uniform and general tone of Unitarian preaching, in days past. What then is the present aspect of this denomination, and whither is it tending?

American Unitarianism grew up in the shade, quietly and without observation; and was hardly known to exist, till it had reached a respectable maturity. Certain doctrines gradually ceased to be noticed from the pulpit; certain forms of expression gradually slipped out of the prayers; calm, polished, agreeable essays upon the abstract virtues were received as an acceptable substitute for the gnarled and knotted doctrinal disquisitions delivered by the Puritans of the "middle ages" of New England; the cords of ecclesiastical discipline, which had been bound so tight as well nigh to stop the circulation, were now not only relaxed, but thrown off altogether; and that re-action, which, in the very nature of things, was inevitable, from so stern, and rigid, and one-sided a system as

that of Puritanism, was proved to be accomplished, almost without a note of warning. There was so much that was pleasing and attractive in the character of those who led on this "liberal" movement, there was so careful a cultivation of the graces and amenities of life, there was so much of gentleness, combined with subdued poetic fervor, there was given to the people so much *discriminating ethical* instruction—in which respect there had existed a lamentable deficiency;—that the fears of the more wary were lulled, and the voice of remonstrance did not dare to make itself heard. If Adam had remained in Paradise, and all had continued to be perpetual sunshine, if sin had never convulsed the soul, if the stern agonies of remorse had never rent the heart of man, if no cry "de profundis" had ever been wailed, "How shall mortal man be reconciled to his Creator?" if God might be addressed only as "Our Father," and His law were only counsel, and His threats only advisory, this mild and gentle theology might have proved sufficient, and the necessities of humanity have been all supplied. We do not say that this system absolutely blinked the existence of moral evil, but it dealt with sin more tenderly than the convicted sinner feels that it deserves. Its diagnosis of the disease was imperfect, and therefore the remedies which it prescribed were insufficient. It was reluctant to probe the open wound, and so it "healed the hurt of the people slightly." It was too humane to "cut off the right hand," or "pluck out the right eye," even when the life was in peril. It set forth the beautiful and benevolent love of Jesus, but not His *constraining* love; because it did *not* "thus judge, that if one died for all, *then were all dead.*"

When the second re-action came in the history of New England Independency, there was of necessity, for a certain period, a time of sharp discussion and warfare. The revolution of religious belief, which had been going on in darkness and quiet, was now brought to light; and this new sect was obliged to defend the position which it had assumed. The peculiar vocation of Unitarian theologians for a season consisted mainly in the work of *denial*; they must show why they had discarded the doctrines of the Trinity, of Christ's vicarious sacrifice, of natural depravity, and all the adjacent dogmas. In fact, they were agreed only in regard to what they *disbelieved*, and not in reference to any definite code of belief; they all rejected the orthodox doctrine of Tri-unity in the Godhead, but every shade of opinion as to the nature of Christ was held, from high Arianism down to the lowest Humanitarian notions; they all discarded the dogma of a vicari-

ous sacrifice, but almost every man had his own peculiar views of the relation which the death of Christ holds to the salvation of the sinner; they all disavowed the stringent claims of plenary inspiration, but few were agreed as to the precise degree of authority to be given to the Holy Scriptures. The effect of all this was that the system of Unitarianism had *theologically* a sort of negative aspect; and after the excitement of controversy began to die away, inasmuch as there is no living power in mere denial, the denomination seemed to be relapsing into a state of suspended animation. It continued indeed, to exercise a certain healthful moral influence upon the community; it recalled to mind certain human relations of Christianity, which had been too much overlooked during the prevalence of a sterner theology; it imperceptibly modified the character of the Calvinistic orthodoxy against which it had arrayed itself; it contributed liberally to the current literature of the country; but, as a *positive theology*, its vitality was passing away.

At this period, the system was manifested in its second form of development. In its original type, it had partaken rather of the Anglican character, and was based upon the philosophy of Locke, as interpreted and applied by Priestley: it now began to seek for a new inspiration from the oracles of Germany. Up to this time, the Bible had been generally received as the authentic record of an actual revelation, not that the record itself was so dictated by inspiration as to debar all possibility of mistake or exaggeration, or false logic; the very possibility of a revelation, more true or authoritative than the intuitions of the mind, was now denied. Whatever in the Scriptures is found to accord with our innate sense of Absolute truth, is *on this ground* to be believed; whatever does not receive the spontaneous assent of the reason; in fact, whatever the reason would not have suggested of itself, is to be rejected. Starting with this principle, all argument based upon miracle, prophecy, and general historical testimony, is of necessity irrelevant. As a doctrinal system, it is evident that this school can admit nothing which transcends the principles of Natural Theology; and yet, in certain connections, it uses a more Scriptural phraseology than was customary in the ethical teachings of earlier Unitarianism. It professes to aim at a higher spiritual life, a more accurate analysis of human nature, a more assiduous culture of the inward light; it professes to identify the creature more intimately with his Creator, and is not unwilling to admit the need of a vital, radical transformation of the soul, in order to the indwelling there of the

life of God. As it appears to us, the peculiar absurdity of this system lies in the fact, that while it admits the inherent perversity of our nature to be so great that we need a thorough renewal of heart, it still persists in looking only to the intuitive teachings of the soul, for the disclosure of Absolute truth, will allow of no authority beyond and above the suggestions of the reason, and declares it to be impossible for God to authenticate the claims of any higher tribunal. Can it be supposed, that the blinding influence of corruption, does not reach the domain of the understanding and the reason? Are there no "sins of the mind," as well as "lusts of the flesh."

The Rev. Mr. Bartoe, in commenting upon this new system, has well said—"Here lies the fatal weakness of that philosophy, which is substituted for Christ; its violation of the very conditions of truth. The great principle of all true philosophy, whether of matter or mind, is, that it be based on, or governed in its conclusions by, the testimonies of fact. And such has been the character of all philosophy that has borne fruit, contra-distinguishing the best modern systems from the groundless and hypothetical character of much of the ancient schools. But the philosophy that slights or shoulders aside Christianity, is surely not of this solid and experimental kind. It shuts its eyes to, or disparages the noblest passage of all history. It discredits or allows no just weight to the finest piece of evidence, in which the most remarkable signs of verity are all joined, and, as it were, condensed. It suspects or contemns the most glorious facts that have ever transpired beneath the sun. It does not deserve the name of philosophy in this age of the world, for it violates the spirit of that whose name it bears, and, like the false herald of the era of chivalry, should have its forged insignia of office torn away. The Christian philosopher may like to reason and speculate, as well as any other man; may have a mind as fertile as any in invention and conjecture, but he turns not his back on the marvellous displays of Divine power and love, to pursue any airy, aimless flight. Patiently, as any, will he hunt out the hidden train of analogies through all material and spiritual things, but he will never substitute it for Christ, the open way. He bows his head before the amazing demonstrations of God through his Son, while the philosopher, who assumes to take a higher position in the ranks of wisdom, passes by, as though nothing had taken place."

This German development of theology has had but a brief existence in our own country, and, as a system of religious doctrine, it seems to be rapidly approaching an early grave.

It has already, in a great measure, ceased to be theological, and has become political, philanthropical, esthetical, and so on. After it has demolished the foundations of historical Christianity, it is difficult to conceive what these intuitive preachers can have to say of religion, if every man has only to look within for Absolute truth. The public teacher, surely, has no right to commend his own intuitions to the consideration of others: nobody has any concern with them but himself. What is truth to him, may not be truth to any one else: and his own notions of truth may change in an hour. There being no fixed standard of truth, there being no land-marks to fence in her territory, there being no authority by which, and in behalf of which, the spiritual teacher can speak, where is his vocation? He can only *utter himself*, and inasmuch as in the world there be "such a multitude of voices, and each voice has its own signification," what a Babel must we have, if this new sect should prevail!

But there is a third position now assumed by a large and influential class of nominal Unitarians, which looks to us more hopeful, and demands a more careful and critical consideration.

We cannot help admiring the candor, with which these gentlemen acknowledge the doctrinal deficiencies of their own denomination. Mr. Bellows, in the sermon before us, remarks as follows:—"And here, if I may say so without immodesty, seems to be a weakness in our own theological system, as frequently developed, that in its earnest, eloquent, and convincing vindication of Christianity in its absolute nature, in its mighty desire to rescue its practical character from the overlaying of scholastic dogmas and ecclesiastical forms, in its weariness of a cumbrous and tediously ingenious system of theology, or a worn out and effete body of divinity, it has lost sight of the real nature and office of theology: abandoned to a great extent, systematic divinity: or, in other words, given up the idea of any method founded in man's moral nature and moral condition, of applying Christianity to his rescue and salvation. Is not this the fundamental error, rising from which, the whole architecture of modern disbelief has been able to defy assault, because we have blest and not cursed its foundation stone?" We might suggest for discussion, the critical inquiry, how there can be an "earnest, eloquent and convincing vindication of Christianity in its absolute nature," where "the real nature and office of theology" has been lost sight of, and the application of Christianity to the rescue and salvation of man, has been given up? But we have no disposition to do this, when we hear from one who

holds such a position as the speaker, on such an occasion as an Unitarian ordination, and in the presence of such an assembly, so frank and daring a declaration as that which we have quoted. There is a great deal of what is called "faithful preaching," which is but the fervid utterance of what is known beforehand to be the prevailing sentiment of the congregation addressed; but it is not so common to hear wholesome and unpalatable truth set forth, where it is most needed. It is one of the highest efforts of moral courage, when an individual dares to run counter to that which is known to be the popular sentiment of the ecclesiastical body to which he belongs. Seneca has beautifully said, "*Nemo mihi videtur pluris aestimare virtutem, nemo illi magis esse devotus, quam qui boni viri famam perdidit, ne conscientiam perderet.*" Mr. Bellows indeed, does not stand alone in the freedom and honesty of his confessions, but we know of no one who has given so thorough an analysis of the ground upon which his convictions are based.

Another hopeful symptom in this latest Unitarian movement, is seen in a return to a deeper earnestness, and a loftier spirituality, than has formerly been attributed to this denomination. The philosophy of this school takes a more heavenly flight; its ethics have a more religious glow; it looks more profoundly into the condition and necessities of humanity; appreciates more distinctly the dreadful alienation which separates man from his Maker, and allows more openly the necessity of supernatural interposition, in order to the reconciliation of the sinner with a just and holy God.

There is manifested also a wider and more eclectic sympathy than was exhibited by the earlier Unitarians, a greater readiness to weigh the merits of older and more Catholic systems of theology, a waning interest in the propagation of a mere sectarian Unitarianism, a growing tendency toward liturgical forms, an increasing desire to be re-united again to the organic Christianity of past ages, and a vague reaching after a more real and vital *Church-life*, than has ever existed under the influences of the Congregational system.

As it respects the distinctive, doctrinal aspect of this new movement, we observe, that the importance of correct theological opinions is more clearly and frequently avowed and pressed upon the conscience of the people, than in former years. The Rev. Andrew P. Peabody, one of the most learned and exemplary Divines of this school, utters his sentiments after this manner: "I would first speak of the duty of serious and diligent inquiry as to the evidences and funda-

mental doctrines of religion. You cannot doubt that there is such a thing as absolute truth with regard to these subjects. There either is, or is not, a personal Deity. He either has, or has not, given an express revelation. Either our own intuitions are absolute authority on all matters of duty, or else we have some higher ground of authority, and some ulterior court of appeal. Christ either spoke under the special inspiration of God, or else he uttered his own words, which he says that he did not. He either cleansed the lepers, gave sight to the blind, and raised the dead, or else he falsely pretended to these things. He either rose from the dead, or else the whole Christian world have all along built their belief and hope of immortality on a false foundation. It cannot for a moment be pretended that these are unimportant subjects of inquiry, that they hold a secondary place in comparison with any subjects that can occupy the mind of man, or that our conclusions concerning them are indifferent as regards the emotions of reverence, confidence, and love towards God and Christ. Now, outward goodness,—the morality of the lips and the hands,—is undoubtedly of essential importance. But we have higher powers than those of speech or action. We have the capacity of inquiry, of research, of weighing argument and evidence, of investigating the foundations of belief, and the sources of truth. These powers must have been given us, that they might be used, and well used. They cannot have been designed to remain inactive, or to be employed carelessly, or without a sense of accountability for their exercise. Their right and faithful exercise is an essential department of duty, an essential branch of moral goodness. And, if they are to be employed on any subjects, they ought surely to be employed on the most important of all subjects, on those on which a serious mistake may compromise the well-being of our souls, and, through our influence, of many other souls, in the present life and in the life to come." In another connection he asks, "Is there any thing deserving the imputation of bigotry in the determined opposition of those who believe in miracle and revelation, to those who own no authority or inspiration above that which resides in each individual's own soul? The two systems are essentially opposite and irreconcilable. They have no one point in common, and present no ground for the religious sympathy and fellowship of their respective adherents. The one prescribes *implicit faith in Christ*; the other, an equally implicit faith in one's own soul. The one presents a *divine and perfect exemplar*; the other says, 'Be not thou a disciple and follower, even of the best.' The

one holds forth a chart of the way of life, with minute directions from 'the Lord of the way;' the other commands, 'Mark out thine own path, and when it looks dark before thee, obey thine impulses, follow thine instincts.' The one is sustained by the noble army of apostles, confessors, martyrs, missionaries, philanthropists, who have left an enduring testimony in the moral history of their race, and dispensed heaven's choicest blessings among their fellow-men; the other shows no finished record on the pages of the past, it bears witness of itself, and no voice that we have learned to revere bears witness with it. If it be bigotry to maintain the one, and to oppose the other of these systems, if it be bigotry to defend the miracles and proclaim the resurrection of our Redeemer, to set him forth as the way, the truth, and the life, to offer him to my fellow men as the infallible and only safe guide in time and in eternity, heaven grant that I may live and die a bigot, and that my bigotry may stand on the eternal record, without blot or erasure, when I appear before my Judge."

We present these passages to our readers rather as an illustration of the doctrinal *spirit*, than the doctrinal belief of the class whom the writer represents; and still we cannot but feel that in all the extracts that we have given, there is manifested a *tendency* towards the great, central principles of Christian belief, which have, from the beginning, been received by the Church of Christ. There is a disposition to ask, whether fundamental and vital truths may not be concealed under the technical dogmas which the Unitarian system has rejected? Intelligent, reflecting, earnest, and honest men are agitating such questions as this, and that too, perhaps, more profoundly in the secrecy of their own souls than any thing which falls from their lips, would seem to warrant. We are well convinced that a most important and eventful movement is in progress in the Unitarian community; a movement, which deserves respectful, serious, and careful consideration. If those who have wandered from the right way ever return, we do not expect to see them come back at a single leap; if they did, we should fear that they might not remain in the right way very long. And they, who feel that they are "built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets," show very little Christian courtesy, to say the mildest thing that could be said, who would repel any honest advances from any suspected quarter, with coldness or contempt: the orthodox head will hardly save the heterodox heart. There has been already bitterness enough excited by theological controversy to flavor any amount of future discussion that

may be needful, and redeem it from insipidity. "Zealous men are ever displaying to you the *strength* of their belief, while judicious men are showing you the ground of it." It is that zeal, which is *not* according to knowledge, that prompts to contemptuous severity towards an opponent; but it is a zeal, that wins no very illustrious trophies.

Returning now to the subject more directly before us, we would ask, what will be the probable result of this peculiar movement in the Unitarian community? Is it likely to come to nothing, gradually smouldering away and ending in smoke? Not, if the character of the men engaged in it, may be received as a warranty of the result. But is not the doctrinal basis upon which they stand, too brittle to sustain a substantial superstructure? It is our belief that they are feeling after a surer foundation, and it is our hope that they will eventually find it. When a body of men is moved, by its own interior will, in a truthful direction, rousing itself to agitate and question the very principles in which its being consisted, the vitality of the movement is such, that it must produce some important result.

Is it, then, to be expected, that, after a season, these individuals, with their respective congregations, will gradually renew their former connection with their orthodox Congregational brethren; the integrity of their denomination being restored again, and the breach closed, which for years has sundered the two parties? The analogy of things does not render this result probable, except in a very limited degree. The fragments of a sundered denomination are more likely to be united to some foreign body, than to be re-united again. It is not necessary to look very deeply into the philosophy of human nature, to discern the reasons for this fact.

May we then expect that the persons, whose movement we are considering, will emerge into a higher condition of spiritual life; seize with an eclectic grasp upon the real, substantial truths embodied in the creeds of the Church Catholic, and exhibit Christianity to the world in its true and beautiful symmetry, recognizing all its multiform relations, and harmonizing all its apparent discordances? This is undoubtedly the result contemplated and hoped for; *what difficulties exist in the way of its accomplishment?*

We regret that we have so little space left for the discussion of this question, and could earnestly wish that its consideration had fallen into abler hands. We can only hint at what appears to us as insuperable obstacles in the way of

this result, in the hope that some abler pen may seize upon this subject, and treat it as it deserves.

American Unitarianism, in its original form, recognized as the basis of Christian communion, a belief in the existence of Jesus Christ, as an inspired teacher, empowered to perform miracles and declare the will of God ; who, after his mission was accomplished, died as a martyr to the truth, and was raised from the dead by Divine power, and ascended into heaven. This was the unwritten creed of the sect, and the only common ground of agreement. Some believed more, and others less, of the *doctrines* which belong to Christianity : but all who acknowledged the simple facts that we have given, were received into the fellowship of the denomination. Men have since risen up, of whom the sect has found it difficult to rid itself, who deny even this historical Christianity, and now it is suspected by the more devout, that their Unitarian fathers, in the reaction from orthodoxy, almost lost sight of theology itself : Mr. Bellows indeed says that it is so, without qualification. The great want is felt to be this—a *consistent, comprehensive, positive system of doctrinal belief*, as the basis of all moral truth, and the foundation of holy living. The old prejudice against formal creeds may still exist ; and yet one would think that sensible men might see that there can be nothing like a Church organization, except upon some common ground of agreement in fundamental truths, expressed or implied, and that basis, an agreement capable of being put into intelligible language.

But now we suggest the inquiry, how can these persons compass the great want of which they are conscious ; by what process can they establish themselves in the position, which they are undoubtedly striving to reach ? What they need is a code of positive doctrine, enforced by Divine sanction, verified by God Himself, meeting all the necessities of man's sad condition, which they may commend to the reason and send home to the consciences of a race of sinners. In what way shall this necessity be met ?

Obviously, the first point to be determined is this, has God given to us an authoritative revelation of truth ? We may assume that this question will be promptly answered in the affirmative. Now comes up the second point, *when*, and *where*, and *how* has God made this revelation ? Here lies the rock, over which Unitarians must stumble. "The Bible is the *record* of a revelation." There is union of sentiment on this point, but we are not a whit nearer the final answer for this. "The Bible has not in itself authority as a revelation ;

but it is, upon the whole, a credible *history* of the revelation ; and every man must judge for himself in what portions of the book we hear God speaking to us, and in what parts we have only the fallible reasonings of man : " who does not see that, with this principle as their starting point, it is impossible ever to come to an agreement as to what is the declared will of God ?

The question between us and the Unitarians is not primarily one of interpretation, but of authority : " how has God revealed His will, and how has He authenticated that revelation ? " This must be settled before we can take another step.

It is preposterous for any one to deny that latitudinarian doctrines, of all sorts, are the legitimate offspring of that ecclesiastical system, which is known among us as the Independent, or the Congregational. This fact cannot be attributed to the greater freedom of inquiry which prevails in that quarter ; for certainly no one who receives the orthodox faith, will allow that the truth has any thing to fear from investigation. It cannot be owing to a higher mental activity, or power of metaphysical analysis. But modern Independency, in all its modifications, has cut itself off from the *historical life* of Christianity ; has lost its *organic* connection with the early Church ; has set up for itself ; has balloted itself into being, and has thus forfeited all external authority, as " the witness and keeper of Holy Writ." It may, or it may not, continue to receive the Scriptures as the inspired record of God ; but, as a mere voluntary association,—which is the very essential element of Congregationalism,—it has no right to exercise authority in determining this point. Allowing that each individual, in the exercise of his own intelligence, may be expected to weigh authorities and consult ancient records, and balance probabilities, in order to determine for himself the great question of revelation, with its mighty contents ; the decision arrived at, will very much depend upon the stand-point from which he surveyed the subject. If he take up the Bible, as he would any other ancient book, to see what it can say for itself,—blinking the whole history of Christianity, forgetting that it has an organized Church-existence in the world,—indifferent to all the testimony of that Church, and reckless of its legitimate authority,—he may, with God's blessing, possibly at last find more or less of essential truth ; but this we may safely affirm, that he has not made use of all the facilities that were at his command in the prosecution of his inquiries. The same God who gave us the blessed Bible, also established the Church, not to act as an interpreter of Holy Writ in such sense as to supersede the exercise of all private judgment, but to assist

and direct the individual in the use of his reason, to stand through all time as "the pillar and ground of truth,"—to utter her collective voice, gathering into that sound the results of combined research and piety,—to transmit in her historical records, from generation to generation, the convictions and decrees of primitive times,—to check the waywardness of presumptuous speculation, the perversity of ignorance, pride, and prejudice, and all the manifold tendencies to error, which grow out of a depraved heart.

And here it will be asked, has the Church, as an historical fact, really exercised these high and salutary functions? Has not the candle-stick been removed out of its place, or at least been put under a bushel? We do not deny the working of the mystery of iniquity within the Church; we do not deny that corruption was heaped upon corruption, error upon error, falsehood upon falsehood, until it *seemed* as though the gates of hell had prevailed against her. Still let it be observed, that underneath this accumulated heap of rubbish, the primitive Creeds existed in their complete integrity; and, at the Reformation, it was only necessary to remove the incrustations which had gathered about these ancient symbols, and there they were found preserved inviolate *by the organism of the Church*. For, is it to be supposed, that if the Autocracy of Rome had thrown aside the form of the Church, as she did the purer faith of the Church, she would not have renounced the Divinity of Christ, the personality of the Holy Ghost, the great propitiatory sacrifice, and all the cognate doctrines? It is a noticeable fact, that every modern sect, which has separated itself from the organic life of the Church, has never begun to go astray from the simplicity of Christ, without ending its career of heresy with the denial of all these Christian truths. It is an equally noticeable fact, that no sect, having thus discarded these central doctrines, has ever been known, as a sect, to recover itself and return to the primitive faith. If this be so, and no one can deny it, may we not properly inquire into the reasons of these phenomena? And may we not suggest the fear, that the movement which has formed the subject of this paper, will come to no sound and substantial results, unless the respected and earnest men who have given to it its first impulse, shall become willing to *change the position* from which they regard the scheme of Christianity, and exercise their own private judgment, under the enlightened guidance of the collective judgment of the Church! As it is, they, in common with all others who call themselves Christians, are, to a certain extent, under the influence of what may be called

traditional or historical truth: the devout Humanitarian experiences emotions at the name of Jesus, which he never would have felt if the Church had always been Humanitarian; and when he preaches to his congregation, they cannot help attaching a higher import to his words than the language would critically warrant. A doctrine may retain its hold upon the affections after it has lost its grasp upon the understanding; and this explains why so many persons are better than their creed.

In nothing that we have said have we intended to intimate a doubt of "the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation," or that there is any such obscurity in the Bible as to mislead the humblest inquirer after truth. But the question at issue, as we have before intimated, is not one of interpretation, but of authority. It is simply this: *where is the authoritative revelation of God to be found?* That question settled, we approach another: what does this revelation teach? Now we affirm, that it is the vocation of the Church to answer both these questions; "the Church hath authority in controversies of faith." Not authority contrary to Scripture, nor beyond the Scripture, but under the Scripture; it rests with her to declare the fact of a Divine Revelation, to show where this Revelation is to be found, and to *prove* that it is where it is declared to be, not merely assert it; it rests with her to expound the Revelation of God and deduce its essential principles, and because she has authority to speak, and the presumption is that she utters herself deliberately, dispassionately, uniformly, and under the Divine protection, we have the right to take for granted that she speaks *truly*, until the contrary is clearly shown. This is what we consider to be the proper stand-point from which to make our observations; and if the Church have not the prerogatives that we have assigned to her, what, we would ask, is the Divine purpose in her existence? Could the Church exist at all, as an organic body, if she were not competent to define the terms of her existence? "Let her take the Bible, and the Bible alone, for her creed," we hear clamorously shouted from a hundred sides. But some, who call themselves Christians, assert that the Bible is composed of a larger, and others, that it is composed of a lesser, number of canonical books; some say that it is a Revelation, others that it is only the record of a Revelation; some find in it one set of doctrines, and others discover doctrines diametrically opposite; and shall not the Church have the liberty to declare what constitutes the Bible, and what it means? "Let her organize upon the foundation of Christian love and fraternal sympathy," is whispered in gentler tones. Sympathy in what?

"In the great cause of human brotherhood," steals upon the ear, in still milder notes. A somewhat broad and undefined platform, and one from which it would be found difficult to exclude any benevolent Hindoo, who might happen to be propounded for admission. And still there is no other ground that can be consistently taken, unless we are willing to allow that the Church must be built upon the truth; that, in order to this, she must be competent to declare what is truth; and that, in all theological inquiry, this should be the stand-point from which the glorious system of Christianity is to be surveyed.

To recur once more to the position of those individuals whose writings have elicited these remarks, we cannot avoid the conviction, that they have virtually abandoned the theology of earlier Unitarianism. They may still build upon the same foundation with the fathers of their sect, but there is more of gold and silver, and less hay and stubble, in the superstructure. They profess, and, we doubt not, honestly, a willingness to receive the truth, let it come from whatever quarter it may. What they need is a place of anchorage; a defined system of fixed truths—"positive, dogmatical results"—upon which the mind may repose itself and be at rest. This they cannot find in any Congregational system; the existence of their own sect, and the history of its development, bearing witness.

What they need is liberty of thought, under the sway of established principles of truth; the mooring-ground being familiar and always accessible, after their voyages are over. That they cannot have, under the dominion of modern creeds, which define at length the *philosophy* of every doctrine, and demand a rigid assent to the most elaborate analyses of truth.

What they desire, is a comprehensive system, which shall recognize the various relations of Christian doctrine in their just proportion, identifying religion with the pursuits of this world, as well as with the destinies of the next; a religion, doctrinal, ethical, philanthropic, and practical; a theology, with its luminous centre fixed, like the sun, and then, like the sun, radiating light in every direction. Can they find all this in any isolated sect: in any fragment which, in these latter days, has been cut off from the ancient life of the Church?

There was a time when their fathers loved to lift up their voice in the great congregation, singing with the Church catholic, "Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ! Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father!" We doubt not that they still chant the praises of the Lamb in Paradise: how long must there be discord among the children!

THE RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF NEW ENGLAND.

ART. V.—*Pages from the Ecclesiastical History of New England*, during the century between 1740 and 1840. Boston, Dow, 1847; pp. 126, 12mo.

New Englandism not the religion of the Bible, being an examination of a Review of Bishop Brownell's Fourth Charge to his Clergy, in the *New Englander* for January, 1844. Hartford, Parsons, 1844; pp. 60, 12mo.

OUR vocation as New England Reviewers necessarily involves us with some matters which our taste would let alone. We do not live to amuse ourselves with mere literature, nor yet only to discuss questions of abstract theology. We have practical objects in view. We live among the hereditary enemies of our holy religion, and where decaying Puritanism has concentrated all its remaining vitality against the Church. We have to do with Puritanism in its developed form of unbelief; retaining its malevolence, but discarding its principles; and preparing for a death-struggle with the Church, in which it seems willing to surrender its own life, if it can only at the same time impede her progress, and check her victories. The Puritanism which we are called to combat, strives no more for positives, but fights, like a Cromwellian trooper, for mere negatives. It dictates no longer that men must believe Calvinism; but it is as fiery as ever in enforcing its last development, that men must not believe any thing in particular. If it can only destroy the religion of the Creeds, it consents to reduce every thing to the level of Socinian infidelity. It compromises all minor differences, to make war upon the Church; and announces its only remaining principle in the language of Neander—that “it matters little whether a man is an Arian, a Nestorian, or a Calvinist, *if he be only pious.*” We live, then, where this pernicious maxim is diffused among the people in every imaginable way. It is embodied in sentimental songs, and sentimental stories, and sentimental books. It is taught in common schools, vociferated from pulpits, insinuated in colleges, and implied in the universal spirit of the daily press. It infects more or less the flocks of our own New England Church, and is inhaled with every breath, by the souls for which our clergy watch, as they that must give account. In such a state of things, we

must not be too particular as to likes and dislikes. We must forget that we have aversions, and cut into the morbid subject before us like surgeons. It is a duty to which our profession obliges us, for the good of the community; and it is only a sense of that duty, which brings us down to this business of examining somewhat carefully the existing developments of Puritanism.

To supply ourselves with material, we have taken advantage of the preceding labors of two prominent divines of our own communion; and in so doing, we are happy to call attention to a couple of unassuming tracts, which deserve a greater degree of notice than they have yet attracted. To New England Churchmen they are of no ephemeral value; but deserve to be kept for frequent re-perusal, in connection with the progressive demonstrations of an ever-shifting religionism. We regard the latter as a kind of corollary to the former; the one showing historically what "New Englandism" is, and the other stamping it *counterfeit*, without making any apologies. A few words of more particular criticism may well be devoted to each.

Our deep regard for the estimable Prelate who is the reputed author of the former, shall not prevent us from mentioning some of its defects. It is, in our opinion, very inaccurately entitled "Pages from the *Ecclesiastical* History of New England," for it is the history of every thing but the Church, and would more properly be styled, "Pages from the *Religious* History of New England." In his effort to be candid, the author is sometimes so very neutral, that his sympathies seem rather leaning to the other side; and, like our Romanizing divines in England, he flatters the enemy so much, that while reading him, we are almost forced to question his fidelity. This is peculiarly objectionable in a controversy with religionists, who are far more anxious to be admired for genius and attainments, than to be approved for piety and orthodoxy. What is it to Ralph Waldo Emerson, for instance, that our author shows him to be a heretic, when he takes pains to call him "a noble victim?" What does Unitarianism care, that her apostles are infidels, when one is called by so eminent a Churchman, "the admirable Follen;" when others are spoken of as "jewels that had glittered in the crown of liberal religion;" and when Everett is loaded with tributes as "the brilliant scholar, the accomplished orator, the successful statesman, the dignified chief-magistrate, and the ambassador whom princes and universities delighted to honor!" Kirkland and Channing are said to have passed away "after lives of hon-

ored service," when truth required nothing better than judicious silence, or else the flat and honest verdict that their's were the lives of "evil men and seducers, who waxed worse and worse." Orestes Brownson is spoken of as "a very remarkable star shooting up the horizon of letters," where the connection far more naturally suggests the language of St. Jude about "*wandering stars*, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness, for ever;" and scarce a heretic is introduced without some honied epithet of consideration, which is never balanced by an outburst of that indignation and disgust which the effrontery of irreligion demands. We understand and appreciate the author's plan; he intends to let facts speak for themselves; but we deprecate his impolicy in so glossing them with unimportant concessions to the gifts and graces of his heresiarchs, that much of their deformity is kept out of view. More than once we have been forced to imagine him startled with his own suavity, and exclaiming,

Forgive me, oh thou bleeding Lamb of God,
That I am meek and gentle with these butchers;

for we know the spirit of the man, and we are sure of his devoted loyalty to that Cross, which is trampled under foot by those of whom he writes. As we are sure, therefore, that the apathetic spirit of the tract is not the result of indifference, we cannot but regard it as altogether the most successful exhibition of polemical self-government that ever claimed a place in a great religious contest. The amiable author confesses in his preface that "the opinions which are implied relate to subjects on which no Christian can desire disguise;" and yet we have seen sensible men deeply puzzled to determine to what religious system the writer of such a tract might adhere.

But the great value of the *brochure*, is the comprehensiveness with which it gives at one view the detailed history of the decline of Puritanism; or perhaps we should rather say of its natural ripening, and running to seed, in various forms of unbelief. It shows, in short, how the great University of Massachusetts, over the cradle of which old Cotton Mather twanged any thing but prophetic strains of admiration, has passed from the austere Calvinism of its founders, into the flagrant Pantheism of their legitimate children and successors; and how from similar causes, and *pari passu*, not less than one hundred and ten Calvinistic congregations, in that commonwealth, have gone through the successive stages of maturation, by which the Puritan *larvæ* transform themselves into Socinian moths. To an earnest-minded Puritan this his-

tory must be startling indeed. It has been patiently and laboriously gathered, and is compiled with method and skill. The style, though sometimes obscure, is chaste and pleasing; and to us who know familiarly the mood of its gifted author, it occasionally betrays a latent sarcasm, which he must sometimes have struggled hard to suppress. He would have done well, to have prefixed, as a key to his meaning, the text which is so fearfully illustrated in his Review of New England Religionism—"clouds they are without water, carried about of winds; trees whose fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots."

But what the one tract shows by facts, the other does not stick to say in plain words. We like the blunt boldness of the title-page—"New Englandism not the Religion of the Bible." The author of this tract simply takes up "the distinctive religion of New England," as he finds it now, and where the other leaves it, after its successive developments. He finds the strong unbelief of Massachusetts still diluted by something of pious instinct in Connecticut; but does not hesitate to declare, even of the latter, that "its open and avowed sympathy with the foulest heresies, its justification of the most unwarrantable schisms, its rejection of many of the everlasting truths of the gospel, its glorification of man, its abounding self-righteousness, and the unlawful measures in religion, consequent upon it, raise the most fearful apprehensions for the future." Since this was written, five years of that future have unfolded, and, we hesitate not to add, with disclosures more rapid and mischievous, than any one could have anticipated. During that short period a living connection between Yale and Harvard has been formed, in the eccentric person of Dr. Horace Bushnell of Hartford, and a circulation of kindred blood has been re-established, which will probably soon be recognized as an indissoluble bond between this duality of Puritan unity—this Chang-and-Eng of New Englandism. While we write, we observe announced as *just published*, the erratic doctor's long trumpeted improvements in theology, and learn that, in the estimation of an earnest-minded Puritan, holding a high judicial station, "they sap the very foundations of Christianity." Be that as it may, the doctor is now the great exponent of "the distinctive religion of New England," and has secured to himself the leading position among its progressive improvers. True, he may be a little before his system as commonly held in Connecticut, but what draught-horse was ever behind his wain? He stands now, where Dr. Taylor of New Haven stood in his day; and where he will

eventually be regarded as quite as much behind the times, as he regards Dr. Taylor now. *Progress* is the word which now carries him ahead, and which will soon leave him in the rear of his own school—

"For such as *Mather* is, must *Bushnell* be."

It seems to be his *mission* to knock into one compound of philosophical unbelief, the Sabellianism of Andover, the Socinianism of Harvard, and the Pelagianism of Yale; or, in other words, to unite the sentimental scepticism of Massachusetts with the rationalizing revivalism of Connecticut. Matters will become worse before they become better, and he will "have his day," only to prepare things for some daring successor, who will make New England another Germany; unless meantime we Churchmen bestir ourselves, and speak out for the bleeding Truth of God, which hangs crucified between malefactors. To this conviction we are brought by the forcible and judicious remarks of the second tract, as well as by the inferences, which, in reading the condensed disclosures of the former, are irresistibly forced upon our minds.

If this conclusion be correct, the Church, in New England, must no longer hide her candle under a bushel. It is high time for her to show herself, amid this fearful deluge of heresies, as the Ark of Salvation, and the only refuge of those who would cling to the truth as it is in Jesus. Why should we any longer be cautious of showing our colors? Why should we conceal claims, which everybody has a right to examine and understand? How dare we hide the fact that we have Christ's commission to disciple every soul within these borders, and that we believe he is nowhere else fully preached or fully believed, except in communion with the Church? If this be not the case, then our talk about Episcopacy and Apostolical succession is mere nonsense. If we be what we say we are, pure and Apostolic, and witnesses and keepers of Holy Writ, then our position loads us with a solemn responsibility, for the state of every errorist who has not been fully warned of our true character. "The pillar and ground of the Truth" was not set up to be concealed from "those who have erred and are deceived." We have no right to withhold the bread of life, when thousands are in a state of spiritual starvation around us. Souls, ready to perish, have claims upon the ambassadors of Christ, and upon all "the royal priesthood," whom He has made the light of the world, and who ought to be the salt of the earth. They have a right to demand of us apostolical zeal and boldness, and not merely a *tabular view* of the Apostolical succession! The time has

come when the Church must leave her spiritual genealogy to exhibit itself, and begin to show more of the spirit of her Catholic progenitors, in a doctrinal plainness, and a practical fidelity, which cannot be gainsayed or resisted. "The distinctive principles of the Church" are no longer the ritual and three orders of clergy; they are the doctrines of the New Testament, and the Creeds. We say it earnestly, because we believe it, that the fundamental doctrines of salvation, the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and Regeneration, are nowhere purely or harmoniously believed in New England, except in our own feeble and despised communion. In other words, the cardinal verities of the gospel, in their completeness and unity, are already the peculiar characteristic of what is known as Episcopacy.

There is a story of Bishop Seabury, which the temper of these times makes memorable. While he was yet with us, he preached often, and always very earnestly, on the doctrine of the Trinity. So often did he exhort his people to hold fast the faith in this fundamental part, that somebody ventured to ask him whether there appeared to be any doubt on that head, and why he dwelt so feelingly on what no one seemed disposed to question. His reply was, that, in his opinion, the time was not distant, when Churchmen in New England would be the only remaining defenders of that essential doctrine, and that he was resolved they should understand its radical importance to practical piety, as well as to sound Divinity. It was foresight worthy of a suffering confessor, and an instinctive adaptation of himself to the future necessities of his flock, which well became the high calling of a founder of a Church.

And now the time which he predicted has undoubtedly arrived. Where, except among Churchmen, is the doctrine of the Trinity clearly and fully upheld, in New England? Various doctrines of a Trinity, are retained by various teachers; but the doctrine of the Trinity is apparently obsolete among the Puritans. The nominal "orthodoxy" of Boston is notoriously rotten to the core; and even in Connecticut, we suspect nine-tenths of the Congregational pastors would demur to the Nicene Creed, while not one of them would lift up his voice in the Athanasian Hymn. Their congregations know almost nothing on the subject, and their belief, whatever it may be, is of little practical importance, in their own estimation. So far as we can learn, every congregation has its separate confession of faith; and these are changed in each, by every new pastor, the people subscribing, without any hesitation, whatever formula of religion a popular pastor may

invent, especially if he presents it with the admired announcement, that it is *wholly original*. In this way the grossest Sabellianism, and the most glaring copies of every exploded form of heresy are often dictated to unsuspecting congregations, as novel and ingenious elucidations of dark and intricate subjects, and by them gratefully accepted, as relieving the anxious believer of many gloomy doubts, and making the whole gospel as clear as the noon-day sun. And this among a people who profess such a horror of Creeds! Consequently, there will sometimes be, in the same town, some three or four pastors, who, though professedly of the same religion, do not worship the same God: for one is a Sabellian, and another a semi-Arian, and another receives *the Trinity of a late number of some German Review*. Yet they may often be seen together, in the same enormous pulpit, in practical exemplification of Neander's principle, that it makes no matter what one believes, *if he is only pious*. Not one of them prays to the only living and true God, with any clear dogmatic notion of the Mystery of Trinal Unity, and so neither is shocked to find his devotions shaped by the views of another, though all the while he regards them as erroneous. Thus the strictest Calvinist now extant will allow his Sabellian brother to make the prayer before his sermon, while the innocent congregation take it for granted that all is right that comes from two good men, and never discover that if the preacher be true, the prayer-maker is a deadly heretic. In fact, they know not what heresy is. It is an exploded term. And no wonder; for the true doctrine of the Trinity, and with it the true doctrine of the Incarnation, are no longer parts of the popular divinity of New England. We do not mean that the words are obsolete; we mean that New England Puritans do not believe the Athanasian Creed.

How is it with the doctrine of Original Sin? What Puritan pastor, that is not proverbially "behind the age," pretends to assert this doctrine, in its Augustinian terms, or to make it of practical importance in his pastoral ministrations? That it is, to all intents, extinct among them, we need not take pains to show, while the fact stands in monumental prominence on the shores of the Connecticut, in a tenantless pile of red brick, called "the East Windsor Seminary;" the desolate butt of Dr. Bushnell's sarcasm, and the dreary *caput mortuum* of Saybrook orthodoxy. And how is it with the Atonement? Doctor Bushnell, like Dr. Channing, believes in the *At-one-ment*, and so does every Socinian; but we have not learned that his Harvard *denouement* has, in any wise,

affected his position as the pastor of an "orthodox society," and a prominent "evangelical" divine! As for the other doctrines of the Creed, they are notoriously disregarded. The Descent into Hell, the Remission of Sins, and the Holy Catholic Church, are as thoroughly abjured as any Romish superstition; and though we know of one instance where the Apostles' Creed was nominally adopted, and recited to an astounded auditory by a very prince of theological empiricism, we suppose no one gave him credit for really assenting to any one article of the Symbol, which he produced *as a curiosity*, and which he was understood to receive only "in a non-natural sense." We are unable to see how the Apostles' Creed can be honestly professed, in its original and plain sense, by any dissenting minister in New England. We have spoken of the most intelligent of the sects, but our remarks apply too generally to the legion of schisms which distract the land; among which, if we must distinguish, we should select the despised Methodists, as least infected with the spirit of unbelief, however bowed and tied by the spirit of ignorance.

Let us come to the practical. What is the popular religion of New England doing for the multitudes who know no other gospel? Never was such a test more fairly applied, for Puritanism has had every thing in its own way—schools, colleges, the press, the laws. What have been the results? What is the religious condition of congregations, and villages, and towns, and cities, where it has always been predominant? We concede that there is much outward morality among us, and that, socially, the Puritans are not far behind the Quakers. But if it be true that without regeneration, and sanctification, and the profession of faith, and the habitual use of sacraments, souls cannot be saved—then what is to become of the thousands of unbaptized men and women who, without the least suspicion of their heathenish condition, grow old under Puritan pastors, and die with some general expressions of trust in God, but without ever being asked to put on CHRIST in baptism, or warned of their perilous condition in dying out of Him? Has Puritanism any system of religious nurture, at all adequate to the wants of the *homo viator*, at all stages of his passage from the womb to the grave? Are little children suffered to come unto CHRIST, and not forbidden to be baptized? What proportion of the children of a Puritan congregation are partakers of the covenant? How often are they catechized by their pastor? Are they not generally left entirely to be crammed with crude interpretations of Scripture, by benevolent young men and women, in the Sunday School?

Are they taught any distinct doctrinal outline of what they must believe? Are they taught to regard themselves as responsible for their baptism, and bound to adorn it with consistent piety? We know that, until lately, they were made to pass the ordeal of "a revival" at some time between the ages of twelve and twenty-one, but now that such machinery is generally disused, what has taken its place?

There is another important matter. What are the real spiritual privileges afforded to the pious and devout communicants of a Puritan congregation? We know the high estimate which such persons set upon the "ordinance of preaching," and the comfort which they profess to derive from the sermons of gifted and eloquent men. But gifted and eloquent men are not the staple of the Puritan ministry, nor of any ministry. We ask what does *the system* do for its people, where the minister is, like his flock, plain and homely, but perhaps earnest and devoted? Has it any thing but *the man* to give them? Even in the few congregations where rhetoric flows like a river of oil, or where "original thought" is forged on the thumped pulpit, like thunderbolts on Vulcan's anvil, what do the means of grace amount to? How often is their communion celebrated? What proportion do the prayers and lessons from Scripture, bear to the preaching? Are the prayers really *prayers*, such as the people can reverently follow and appropriate? We know of one congregation of which the pastor is proverbially incapable of *making a prayer* in which any one can keep track of him; and a professional gentleman, one of his admirers, and, we believe, one of the best of his people, told us that it was really painful to hear him pray, but that his preaching surpassed every thing in the market. By his own confession, this gentleman never thought of *worshipping* God, as part of his Sunday duties: he only attended preaching and *worshipped man*. And what was the preaching? It was, in this case, the mere popular harangue; sometimes an oration on steamboats, railways, or the improvements of the age; sometimes a startling and elaborate commendation of heresy, as *new truth*; and sometimes new readings of Scripture, highly dangerous and irreverent, but always original. Such being the preaching and praying, what of the pastoral care? We have seldom known of its being made a prominent part of the Puritan minister's relations to his people. The poor and needy are generally turned over to the lay-deacons: others are seldom visited, even in sickness. Pious communicants receive but a perfunctory call, when *in extremis*, and are seldom, or never, presented with the Vi-

icum. Even the dead (unless they be *influential* persons) are buried with no other ceremony than a hackneyed form of extemporaneous sympathy, in the shape of a prayer *at the house* of the deceased. It is very seldom that these shepherds show any feeling for their dead sheep; the parson being often the only friend who does not follow the deceased parishioner to his long home! We have been present, as neighbors, at Puritan funerals, and never elsewhere have we more devoutly blessed God that we belong to the Church that receives mortals into its bosom, at birth, and does not leave them till the last sod is laid upon the grave.

Thus, in every New England town, hundreds attend the Sunday ministrations of preachers, who never dream of seeking them out and claiming them as parishioners, in return. Of these, the younger and more important portion are well pleased to have it so. Such cities as Hartford and New Haven are full of young men, in mercantile employment, who are far away from the influences of home; and these are a class of attendants on Puritan preaching, who are literally "as sheep having no shepherd." Their anxious mothers, with true New England instincts, "wish their boys to go *somewhere*, they are not particular where;" and when the hopeful youths write home that they attend the Reverend Mr. Newlight, the venerable ladies are consoled with the idea that the lads are in a promising way. The truth is, they go once on Sunday "to meeting," sit in the gallery, and cut the pews with jack-knives; and in the evening, they beset the outside of the meeting-house, smoking cigars, and waiting the breaking-up, to seize upon a damsel, and conduct her, somewhat circuitously, to her dwelling. No man cares for their souls. We might speak of many New England *villages*, where religion has absolutely died out, under two hundred years of Puritanism, and where the places of worship are scarcely occupied, even on Sundays, by a score of people; though the first day of the week is generally observed as a day of bodily rest, and of reading the newspapers. But we have no disposition to make the picture more minute. Enough, that the evils grow worse and worse, and there seems to be no remedy. A generation of confessed unbelievers will soon be on the stage, as the inevitable result.

The theological and pastoral system of the elder Puritans, with all its faults, was based upon a foundation of comparative orthodoxy, which they earnestly believed to be the truth of God, and which they held with firmness, and guarded with jealousy. They had an idea of Truth, and of the utter abhor-

rence in which the God of Truth must hold all false doctrine. But their perverted metaphysics, and their lack of creeds and a ritual, entailed upon their immediate descendants an uneasy longing for something palatable and new, which created a race of theorizers, and has ended in a general contempt for truth, as any thing positive, and self-subsisting, and independent of men's views and convictions. The Socinianism of the northern portion of New England is the unimpeded and natural consequence. In Rhode Island and Connecticut, the Church, though very feeble, has not been unfelt. The Creeds have been familiar to thousands; and Christmas and Trinity Sunday have leavened a portion of the population with the Athanasian doctrines, so that all denominations have been forced to know something of them, at least by the hearing of the ear. In these parts, therefore, the Socinian stage of degeneracy has been much longer kept off. Pelagianism is the rankest corruption that has yet made triumphant progress against the surrounding salt of the Church's testimony. A rationalizing "Evangelicalism" is still the popular divinity of Connecticut; but this is becoming, every day, more rationalistic and less evangelical; and probably the time is near, when a *morbidly excited rationalism* will prove the rapids, by which the remaining orthodoxy of New England will take its final plunge into the unbelief of Channing or of Parker.

The prevailing influences of the popular theology are also, for a time, kept from a full development, by one cause which we are glad to recognize. Among Puritan pastors themselves, are many earnest and pious men who shrink from the coalition that seems to be inevitable, and whose consciences, better than their system, revolt from its legitimate results. Educated in hereditary Puritanism, and deriving *through* it, the spiritual light which the Church only has preserved to the world, they have devoted more time to the cultivation of practical religion than to the study of theology; and having attained a good degree of Christian experience, in the discharge of their pastoral relations, and having seen some spiritual fruits which they attribute to their ministerial fidelity, they cannot persuade themselves of their fundamental deficiencies, though they are painfully sensible of *something wrong*, they know not what, and they suspect not where. From a few bright examples of this kind, a faint and ineffectual protest is occasionally heard, and their weight of character is not unfelt, in retarding the rash confidence of their less scrupulous brethren. Believing such examples of Puritanism far "more sinned against than sinning," and nothing doubting, that under less adverse provi-

dences, their piety would have found a congenial soil and climate in the Church, we cannot but record for them our entire respect, while we would earnestly pray God to show them the way of the Lord more perfectly. Though we see not "eye to eye" with such men, we are far from rejoicing in our differences, so far as they are personally concerned. For pious earnestness and moral worth, wherever it is exhibited, we cherish a spirit of cordial recognition, as well as a desire to copy the example; and this we deem wholly consistent with an unaltered estimate of orthodoxy, and not unnatural to an unswerving conviction of the essential importance of all Catholic Truth. In individual cases it is pleasing to see that conscience may get the mastery in practical matters, while false theory holds the mind in fetters; but in the greater number of instances, error enslaves mind and heart together, and little assistance can be given to captives by those who are themselves half bound. In the end, and very speedily too, conscience will be destroyed. When the fathers die, and children take their places; when the old preachers leave their shoes to the new generation of pulpit-orators, and when lips that breathe the last remonstrances have become sealed in sepulchres, then will the Puritanism that has conceived and brought forth so many spiritual diseases, be finished by bringing forth spiritual Death. As scores of congregations in Massachusetts have made the transition already, so we see not what is to stay the remaining ones from Universalism, Socinianism, Parkerism, Socialism, Swedenborgianism, Romanism, or Pantheism! The unclean spirit that now wanders through dry places, seeking rest and finding none, will at length return to the home whence it came out, and taking to itself *these seven devils*, will enter in and dwell there, and the last state of New England Puritanism will be worse than the first.

If any one imagines that we have inadvertently included Romanism in this catalogue, or have only introduced it to eke out our Heptarchy of heresy, we shall not leave him long in his error. We have made out our descending scale of unbelief, advisedly, regarding the Romanism of Mr. Newman as a mere system of rationalism, of which the formula might just as well be set to Swedenborgianism, or Pantheism, as to Tridentine Popery. The Development of Mr. Newman is only a dignified name for *the progress* which is so everlastingly bleated by the disciples of Dr. Horace Bushnell. Mr. Orestes Brownson has demonstrated the identity dialectically, in his Review, and exhibited it practically in his person. Besides, we wish to be understood as distinctly asserting that *Romanism is already*

as really enshrined in one Puritan College in New England, as Socinianism is in another. We could be particular, but we shall be sufficiently clear to those who know the facts, when we say, that if there be concealed Jesuitism in New England, it is embodied, not in any high-churchman, but in a Puritan doctor of divinity, who presides over a New England College. Many will know where to look, as we whisper without, as yet, pointing the finger—

Ecce ! latet Romæ vultus sub veste Genevæ !

With Romanism we have placed on our list the more refined and imaginative forms of rationalism, just in the order in which they seem naturally to succeed. In Pantheism there is something large and pseudo-catholic, into which, as an ocean, the others naturally empty : and we think, even now, we might find in Boston, a man of intelligence and education, who in precisely the order we have set, has become the epitome of Puritan degeneracy. He first adopted a loose and vague negation of Calvinism, and came to man's estate in the good-humored persuasion that no heresy was so bad as to be accursed, and no sinner so reprobate as to be damned. Passing lightly through the vulgar stage of Universalism, he soon avowed more distinctly an entire coincidence with the less fetid and revolting, but not less noisome, unbelief of Channing. A Yankee habit of free inquiry, soon carried him, by inferences, quite as far as he could now be led by Theodore Parker ; but here he was arrested by the more systematic infidelity of Fourier, whose Socialism at least appeared to descend to actual humanity, and to propose something remedially adequate to its innumerable ills. He was already a disciple of Mesmer, when he was introduced to a Swedenborgian treatise on the resurrection, which seemed to him the very essence of Philosophy and Poetry together. The credulity of scepticism had nearly identified him with a "New Jerusalem" congregation, when he was met, in company, by a fascinating Congregational minister, whose learning and accomplishments are never fully exhibited except in table-talk, and social intercourse. There was, in this gentleman, a mysterious combination of frankness and concealment, and an air of mingled sympathy and respect, conveyed in a certain keen suavity, which, in America, is not frequently encountered, though in Europe it is instinctively recognized as the only livery of a Jesuit. The vague, yet apparently deep suggestions of this extraordinary apparition, had thrown our inquiring friend into a new train of reflection, when he found himself introduced by his new guide to the society

of a lady, who gave him more definite directions as to the books he ought to read, and the course he ought to adopt. The later writings of Mr. Newman, with those of certain French sophists of the reactionary school, were put into his hands, and he soon began to think that his own principles, if honestly developed, would infallibly carry him into the unsuspected necessity of joining extremes, and resting at last in paradoxical, pictorial, poetical, and even *philosophical* Rome. Our friend was of an imaginative mould, and soon owned to a *new yearning*, which his fair promptress was not slow to stimulate. He began to feel the awful beauty of the Madonna; he soon yielded entire assent to Newman's argument for her *deification*; he was next found hovering, at the side of his Sybil, around the dim interior of the Romish Cathedral; and then, he was easily brought to his knees, by her example, or, as she explains it, by virtue of a vigil, which she had celebrated in his behalf, appealing to the Blessed Virgin for the salvation of his soul. Finally, before he knew it, kneeling on his knees, one evening, he actually bowed his head, and adored the Holy Sacrament, as it was lifted among the tapers, and shown in the glittering monsternace, amid the smoke of incense which curled around it like clouds about the Transfiguration, while a melting female voice—from the Opera—gave forth that ringing melody of Aquinas,—

Pange lingua gloriosi
Corporis mysterium!

That Latin did the business! To be sure, it was somewhat marred by the fact, which afterwards transpired, that the whole artistic effect had been the result of special negotiation for his sake, and of some broad suggestions to Father Dermot to be graceful in his part of the business, and to omit (for that night only) the taking of snuff, and blowing of his nose, just before the final genuflection; but it was, on the whole, successful. The newspapers announced the *conversion* of "an accomplished and highly gifted young Bostonian," and for awhile the proselyte outdid his confessor in the multitude of his devotions, and the rigor of his fasts. It deserves also to be noticed that, from a mistaken idea of the nature of purgatory, which his ghostly fathers never took the pains to correct, he found great consolation in *purchasing* masses for a long line of heretical grandmothers, who had died as hardened in Puritanism as Plymouth Rock could make them. It was not till a nice little portion of his patrimony had been thus piously appropriated, that he discovered that it was *de fide* to believe

the whole tribe of his ancestors unentitled to purgatorial benefits, and, beyond all peradventure, lost eternally, unless, in bar of judgment, they had put in the plea of *invincible ignorance*, which their great reputation for veracity rendered impossible. This discovery gave the first shock to our friend's sense of the value of cash and self-respect, and prepared him for an introduction to those publications of an English Society, called "The Catholic Series," which a member of Harvard University recommended to him as grafting a broad philosophy upon a stock of Romanism. He was soon carried away with Michelet and Quinet, whose confession of the great services of Romanism, in times past, gave him so comfortable an escape from modern *Ultramontanism*, into the noble Catholicity of all-absorbing Pan. He now saw clearly the natural unity of all religions and creeds. He could be, at once, a Romanist, a Brahminee, and a Ghebir. Even the æsthetical ritual of the Latins need not be relinquished. He found, even in Chateaubriand, a confession that its most bewitching ceremonies were but reproductions of oriental idolatries.* "What else," says that author, "are the tonsure, the stole, the host itself—when the holy sacrament is lifted radiant in priestly hands! Is it not the same symbol which, among the Persians, represented the sun's disk and glittering rays? Would not the Magi claim the whole scene for their own?" True, answered our friend, as he thought of Father Dermot; and in short, he is now a Pantheist: and may the Lord have mercy on his soul!

That such may, very possibly, be the various stages of New England degeneracy, unless Providence graciously gives mastery to the Truth, must be apparent to any one who knows the religious condition of the "modern Athens,"—as it is the fashion to style Boston, probably because so many of its inhabitants "spend their time in nothing else, but either to hear or to tell some new thing." The prediction is justified by glaring facts; by the very waning of Socinianism, which has emptied itself into the pulpits and seminaries of reputed orthodoxy, and dismissed its disciples to the lower seats of irreligion. Many, who care not to join a sect, are nevertheless, in fact, the disciples of Parker and Fourier. Swedenborgianism has got possession of some strong *points d'appui* in Massachusetts, and the state of Maine. Romanism dwells hard by, and confidently bides her time, while she secretly pulls every wire to hasten a reactionary development of ra-

* In his *Revolutions Anciennes*.

tionalism; while if the religious influence of Harvard be worthy of a name, it is already Pantheistic. A feeble attempt has indeed been made by one of its doctors to save the modicum of faith which he retains, and for which he fights, like an Athanasius; but there is not a straw's worth of difference between Pantheism and his own Ism, in the estimation of a Catholic. So true it is that even unbelievers love to imagine themselves Abdiels, and that—as our historical tract has noticed—they who all their lives have promoted the issues from which they shrink at last, will die in the last ditch, for the shadows of truth, to whose standards they profess to cling.

But we will not embarrass our own position by undertaking for the future. It may be that none of the seven Isms will ever win the day: the Truth may be graciously allowed to prevail. We are content to speak of the present. What actually is—is bad enough. RATIONALISM, in its broad comprehensiveness, is already the distinctive religion of New England. We appeal to the tracts we are reviewing; we appeal to the *movements* of the day; we appeal to the eyesight of every educated and pious man in the Six States. Again, we appeal to every New England Churchman, and we beg him to ask himself *where is the remedy, if not in the religion of which he is a professor?* Where else is the New Testament fully preached and fully believed? We look then to Churchmen to show their colors, and “to speak the truth in love.” Let a firm, consistent front be maintained; let us know ourselves, and show our antagonists that we know them. And, by *knowing ourselves*, we mean knowing what are truly the “distinctive principles” of our religion, as it exists among heresies so various and so flagrant. Episcopacy and the Apostolical succession may be regarded as matters of course. Our ritual system should be less commended, and more thoroughly carried out: for merely to talk about Lent and Ember-days is pharisaism, while the keeping of them, in unobtrusive sincerity and truth, would be letting our light shine before men. But our distinctive principles are **THE CREEDS**. The Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, Regeneration, Justification, and the Resurrection of the dead—these doctrines, and those which are inseparable from them, as they are revealed in the Gospel, and as they were originally believed in the Church—are, in short, confessed, in our own Communion, and nowhere else in New England. This is a truth which every day is making more and more apparent; but as there are many persons involved in the spreading degeneracy, who do not suspect it, it is our duty to give them

warning, in the spirit of frankness and charity. Having no standards of doctrine, they cannot see whither they are drifting, nor how far they have already floated from the anchorage which they intended to hold. Let us then light up the beacon fires of Truth and Love. Let us lift up the Cross. Let us claim that as our great principle. To such an appeal, many an ear will be open, that closes like a bivalve at the first syllable about Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. We have depended too much upon cold logic and dry history; we have felt that the plain matter-of-fact doctrines of the Succession and the Apostleship were enough to persuade men. And so they would be, if men were ordinarily capable of seeing the bearing of these things, and of feeling their necessity. In our Church's feeblest day, and while she but lisped these alphabetic verities, amid scorn and contempt, their force was felt. Yale has never forgotten the searchings of heart, the hubbub and the havoc, that were made among her doctors a century ago, by the few *stubborn things* discovered in her library, by her own sons, ere yet habitual imperception had blinded their moral vision. To the merest outside truths, which we preach, the head and front of Puritanism bowed down in 1722. Yale never had a President of whom she has more reason to be proud, than of Rector Cutler, who leaving all she gave, came out from Puritanism, to join a feeble handful of Churchmen, because among them only he could find and exercise a valid ministry. Let her remember too her Johnson, and others with him, who made themselves martyrs for the same constraining truths; and let her not affect to sneer at doctrines which, however elementary, she has been made to feel so deeply, and to which she has paid such tribute! Yet we repeat it, these triumphs were gained upon a giant, with the sling and pebble-stones of our youth. We cannot do the feat again, for the simple reason that truth felt, and yet resisted, is less forcibly felt another time. The blow made all New England reel: but when Puritanism recovered itself, and found that it had retained here and there an important name, it could say to her youth, "the worst is over, and we are yet alive." This single assumption has been its preservation. It has taken for granted that the Church had no more to say, and has always represented the contest as one about forms, to which, sound minds refused to listen. This we have too much encouraged by consenting to make no advances, and by fighting the battle over, on the old fields. But it must be so no longer. The true issues now, are more serious, and by God's good providence we have grown strong. A hundred Churches

in Connecticut alone ; six Bishops, where once there seemed no prospect of one ; and a College baptized into the Trinal Name, and capable of being made an armory and a fortress of the Faith,—these are our sinews ; and for our strength—the Lord of Hosts is with us ; He teacheth our hands to war and our fingers to fight ! Now then, let us quit ourselves like men. We no longer dispute for outposts ; it is the citadel which is attacked, and which we must defend. In plain words, we are not contending for Episcopacy, but for the Faith once delivered to the Saints.

CHURCH MISSIONS AND CHURCH EXTENSION.

ART. VI.—*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Domestic Committee*, presented at the Annual Meeting of the Board of Missions, at Providence, Rhode Island, June 20th, 1848.

Fourth Triennial Report of the Board of Missions, to the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, held in New York, in October, 1847.

THE conviction has become general among us, that in the Missionary work, as now conducted by our Branch of the Church Catholic, there is *something* wrong. This feeling is exhibited in reiterated complaints; in a withdrawal of confidence and coöperation on the part of many important parishes already, and in the certainty of more of this hereafter; and in the adoption of extraneous methods and policies for the disbursement of missionary funds. As to the question, *what is the real difficulty*, in our present Missionary system, there is probably much diversity of opinion. Some, suppose it to center in a want of the "missionary heart," or in a prevailing apathy on Missionary subjects. Others, regard the difficulty as *organic*, and as growing naturally, and necessarily, out of our present system, which they deem unwieldy, expensive, untrustworthy, and inadequate to develop the capacities and energies of the Church, or to meet the wants of the world.

In offering a few suggestions upon this most important subject, we are not, we think, going out of our province as Church Reviewers. We shall speak as one wholly disconnected with our present Missionary organization; and yet with no indistinct view of existing facts; and not altogether unmindful of their present and prospective importance.

It is evident enough, that to the successful prosecution of the Missionary work on the part of the Church, two things only are necessary: *first*, the vigorous existence of a true missionary spirit; and, *second*, a suitable instrumentality, or agency, by which that spirit may act. Hence, the best methods for the production of such a spirit, and the ascertaining such an instrumentality, are the only important objects of inquiry.

In examining both these points, we shall reverse the order in which they have been named.

It seems to us, that the question, what is the proper agency or instrumentality for carrying on the work of Missions? is

not left for the first time now to be raised. The missionary work, or, in other words, to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature, baptizing them into the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, is a work imposed by HIM who is HIMSELF the AUTHOR of the scheme, as a distinct and imperative duty, upon a distinct Body or Organization of men. And He added thereto His own promise, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." Churchmen, who see in that commission the appointment of an Order of men, perpetual and unchanging until the end of time, cannot but see in it, also, the imposition upon that Order, of a specific duty; the committal of a special and unchanging trust. The Apostolic Commission must be as special and binding, in its duties and trusts, as in its persons; and the Church may, with equal propriety, discuss the expediency of dispensing with one as another part of that Commission. Hence it necessarily follows, that the Church of CHRIST, is herself CHRIST's own chosen appointed instrumentality for spreading the Gospel; and instead of stopping to raise the question of the Church's adaptedness to such a work, she would do better to leave that question with her Master, looking in a spirit of docility and obedience unto Him who is the Author and Finisher of her Faith. This view, simple as it is, was that upon which all the early missions of the Church were conducted, and her triumphs achieved. The early Church was a Missionary Church. The Apostles were themselves Missionaries. St. Paul was eminently a foreign Missionary. St. Peter was eminently a home Missionary. Nor did the leaders of the Church then dream of divorcing the Church from her work, much less of organizing a society to do it for her. Such an alternative has been left to modern times, and is, we think, one of the bitter fruits of defective views of her nature, design, and true glory. The Church has come to be viewed as something that is merely external and formal; as having, to be sure, authority and power, but not as God's chosen instrumentality of grace and blessing. She thus "assumes the austerity of a Sabine mother, rather than the affectionate, loving-kindness of the daughter of Zion." But this is far from answering to that specialty of trust, which CHRIST, the Head, imposed upon the members of his own Body; and it is far enough from that spirit, in which the lofty eloquence of Isaiah, and the descriptive strains of the Psalmist, speak of *her* mission and victories.

We do not deny that there may be circumstances, under which the Church may be obliged to do her work indirectly

and virtually. She may be so hampered by worldly entanglements, that, in her ecclesiastical capacity, she cannot act; and just to this extent, her position is unnatural and humiliating. Such, we believe, to be the condition of the Church of England, at the present day. Her alliance with the State, her loss or abandonment of Ecclesiastical Councils; her inability, fancied or real, to act distinctly and directly as a Church of God, have led, and, under the circumstances, necessarily led, to those voluntary organizations which, during the last century and a half, have done so much in the cause of missions. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Church Missionary Society, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and other kindred Societies, are but the outworkings of a true missionary spirit, deprived of the medium through which that spirit would more naturally flow. Her House of Convocation, her Provincial or Diocesan Councils, in which the Church of Christ herself should be seen doing her own work, these are the proper organs for the missionary spirit there. And there are evils in the practical workings of the English Missionary Systems, which, though obvious enough, we do not care now to discuss. But it is obviously illogical and absurd, to graft on to the American Church a Missionary scion, taken from such a stock. The state of things among us, is wholly dissimilar. Here, the Church is left free and unhampered by the State, to execute the commission with which she is charged; and, in our judgment, she has no right to shrink from her work, or hand it over to others to do it for her.

Here then, we think we have reached the first great obstacle to the Missionary work, in our Branch of the Church. Our present Missionary Organization is not the Church herself, doing that with which she is solemnly charged. Nor is it enough to say, that she has control over present missionary operations; or that the officers of the Missionary Society are responsible to her. Still, the humiliating fact remains, that she herself, as Christ's own chosen instrumentality, is not in the field, bearing the burden and heat of the day.

Neither does the present Missionary Society possess the elements of efficiency. It is not a merely voluntary society, in which a spirit of affinity brings together men of the same likes and dislikes; and in which that *esprit du corps* may exist, so necessary to success. Neither is it a properly constituted representative body; for it has in it representations made upon other bases than those which the Church herself recognizes. Hence, in a Society so constituted, it is no won-

der that practical difficulties at once spring up, as they always must and will. Difficulties are inseparable from such a system. And so we see, that when the Church assembles in her General Convention, and in her Church capacity, instead of proceeding to consider some of her most important duties, she first, as if these duties were no part of her legitimate work, abandons those constitutional elements, those specific departments of labor and counsel, which she possesses, and enters into an arena, where all the distinctive features of Christ's appointment are given up, and where, in exchange for that harmony of counsel and unity of action which she so much needs, hitherto there has been exhibited a mortifying lack of both.

We say then, let the Church, as such, assume the missionary work. If the field is the world, and the Church a Missionary Society, of which every person is a member in virtue of his baptism, let the Church attend to the duties of her vocation, and let the Missions of the Church come in for their place in her counsels, efforts, and prayers.

Such a method, besides its claim of consistency, would be found to have another, of simplicity and efficiency. The Church in her General Convention, a body representing every portion of that Church, might specify which portions of the entire field should be regarded as missionary ground, and might allot to each of the Missionary Dioceses, such a quota of the general offerings of the Church, as should be fair and equal. These offerings should all be lodged in some central position, subject to the orders of Bishops in charge of missionary fields, who would draw at regular intervals for their portion of the general fund. These contributions from the Church would be measured by the actual strength of Christian charity; and being less dependent upon temporary expedients, would soon assume a more systematic and stable character, upon which a good degree of reliance could be placed. In this case also, the Bishops would have entire control over the expenditures in their several fields; which would be a most important point gained; and would soon be enabled to decide very exactly to what extent the wastes around them might be entered upon. In what proportion this distribution of the general funds of the Church should be made, should be determined by a Committee fairly representing every portion of the whole Church. And the harmonious carrying out of the plan, as well as a spirit of justice, would require that the allotment be equitably made.

The same method might also be adopted with respect to the Foreign Missions of the Church; the vigorous prosecution of

which, must always be no bad index of true missionary zeal among us. That activity and energy of charity, which attends to the Church's real wants at home, is an element which scans not over nicely territorial limits, but overleaps all such barriers to bless a brother in need, for whom CHRIST died, wherever he may be found. These Missions would necessarily be placed under appropriate supervision, and so far from suffering under the plan presented, would, we think, soon assume a more vigorous and cheering character.

During the intervals, between the Sessions of the General Convention, the Church might appoint annual or semi-annual Convocations, for the express purpose of awakening in every section of the country, missionary zeal; and might also establish, in some central position, an agency to act as the organ of communication between the Bishops of the mission fields, and the Church at large; and by which agency, the Missionary periodical of the Church might be conducted. To mature this arrangement would demand great wisdom and prudence. For experience would doubtless prove, that the real wants of the Church must be brought to bear steadily and distinctly upon the hearts of her members, before they can be stirred to faithful action. To give authority also to these calls of duty, the Church might, by Canon, make it imperative upon every minister, to take up stated collections to meet the Church's missionary wants.

The plan, as now briefly sketched, would of course lead to the ultimate abandonment of the machinery now connected with our missionary operations, but which should be kept in vigorous motion, while retained and until exchanged for a better. It would be simply the Church herself doing that which some other body is now attempting to do in her stead. Nor do we hesitate to predict the happiest results from such an exchange, and especially if adopted with unanimity and confidence. The plan professed is Church-like. It is simple. It is fair and equal in its bearings. It is economical. It can be made authoritative and obligatory. It is, more than all, the expression of Faith in that scheme which HE contrived, who is the Author and Life of the missionary work. It would show the Church to be what it really is; not a mere system of externals—a mere theory; but the living Body of Christ, doing that which He imposes, and the world requires. It is one on which we believe different views in the Church may harmonize. The late Dr. Milnor, writing in 1837, says of the missionary work, "It still appears to me the appropriate concern and bounden duty of the Church, through its regular organiza-

tion, and ought not to be devolved, but on the default of the Church, on mere voluntary associations."

And then, when the Church assembles in her general Councils, how would the Missionary heart be quickened and animated by those earnest appeals, which are now worse than wasted in conflicting and disheartening agitations! Confidence would be restored. And streams of charity, now withheld from indifference, or want of confidence, flowing in from every nook and corner of the Church, would make glad the City of our God.

Aside from a plan which shall embody, at least the prominent features above presented, we see no alternative but the adoption of another, in which every one of those features must be lost. In other words, in giving up the present organization, which seems now next to inevitable, the only other alternative, is the system of Voluntaryism, in which of course, all the conservative elements of the Church are at once lost. And if such a course is contemplated, by any true lover of the real prosperity of our Zion, (and to no other do we appeal,) what results, we ask, are sure to occur, as the fruits of such a choice! Instead of that broad and Catholic basis, on which the Church can, and ought to meet in a spirit of conciliation, harmony, and love, there must come into necessary play, the action of party affinities and sympathies, party animosities and recriminations, party organizations and agencies; and these worldly and jarring elements of discord must be distributed into every Diocese and parish of our land; to be borne with, perhaps, in some of the larger fields: but to become absolutely ruinous to the Church where she is weak, and struggling for existence. And yet, between a more Church-like system of missions on the one hand, and one in which every distracting element shall be introduced and perpetuated, we see no practicable alternative.

In the above remarks, there has been no recognition of Diocesan Institutions already existing; and in some of the larger Dioceses in vigorous operation. It is evident enough that, as all such Institutions are the creatures of independent Dioceses, so the Church, in her National Councils, can have no power to touch them. It is scarcely conceivable, however, that any Diocese should so forget her duty as not to sympathize with, and contribute to, the general missions of the Church at large; while it is certain that several of the weaker Dioceses must, for many years, be greatly dependent upon the munificence of the older and stronger portions of the Church.

In so far as the proper agency for conducting missions is

concerned, we have presented the above suggestions, with no confidence, except so far as they are found to harmonize with the nature, constitution, and duties of the Church of Christ, and as the Church herself is ready to act upon them unitedly and vigorously. It will be remembered also that we have not been discussing at all the principle of voluntary Institutions. What we have been contending for, is, that the Missionary work is one which cannot be left to voluntaryism, and one which has been immediately committed to the Church as such. Those, therefore, who place no confidence in such institutions, will admit at once the correctness of our views; while those who contend for the expediency of the voluntary principle under certain limitations, yield nothing by admitting the facts upon which our plea is based.

We turn next to another inquiry, How can a true missionary spirit best be promoted?

In order that this spirit may thoroughly pervade the Church, and exactly appreciate the work to be done, it is necessary to have done with superficialities; to place no reliance on temporary and spasmodic excitements; to use seldom, if ever, those special appeals to which the Church has become so coolly accustomed; and to lay broad and deep a foundation on which a massive superstructure may be reared. And to do this, we must begin with elementary principles. We must go back to the baptismal vow; to early catechetical instruction; to the distinctive principles of Christianity; and there learn what we are by nature; what we are by Grace; and what we must be, and do, as members of Christ. This is a slow process, but it is sure in the end; and it is the only one on which the Church can rely. Christian charity must be taught as an unfailing test of Christian character; and Christian parents, sponsors, and children must all be taught, that if they have not the spirit of CHRIST in this respect, they are none of His. And here we stop to ask, have not the Clergy of the Church failed in thus declaring the whole counsel of God? Has not the spirit of the "Offertory," which recognizes the giving of alms as a qualification for the Holy Communion, been lost sight of? and has not a spirit of self-indulgence and self-enthronement intruded itself into our holiest hours, and sought to hallow even its grasping avarice with the most solemn mysteries of religion? We cannot stifle such inquiries, when we see how meagre are the missionary contributions of the Church, compared with her ability and her wants. There is wealth enough in the Church. There

is a readiness to give, and give largely, for every object for which there is a heart to give. Within the last few months more money has been expended by a single parish, upon the structure of a Church edifice, than has been contributed in three years by the whole Church in the United States for Foreign and Domestic Missions; and yet scores of faithful pioneers of the Cross, sent forth at the Church's bidding, are bitterly suffering for the bare necessities of life, ashamed to tell the world the story of their trials and the Church's neglect. The Spartan mother may well remind Churchmen, where, and what, the Church's brightest ornaments are.

There is another illustration of this same spirit, demanding attention, and pointing to its corresponding duty. We refer to the final disposal of worldly goods at the hour of death. There is a rubric in the "Order for the visitation of the sick," which directs, that, in the preparation of the soul for its departure, the minister shall "not forget earnestly to move such sick persons as are of ability to be liberal to the poor." Here the Church, recognizing the same radical principle of charity, regards all her members, not as owners, but only as stewards, and, as such, bound to render unto God of the fruits of their labors. Yet who of our ministry, summoned to the bedside of the dying, are faithful, at that hour, to Christ and His Church! In some of our parishes there have been, and are now, persons of princely fortunes, who might give their thousands and hundreds of thousands in charity, without infringing upon any claim of kindred; and yet there is not a sentiment prevailing which prompts to such noble deeds. Alms which might come up as a memorial before God, are withheld. It was not so in the early Church. Even Rome, with all her corruptions, understands the genius and claims of Christianity in this respect, better than we. And those past ages, which, in our conception, are shrouded in darkness, witnessed free-will offerings to Christ, worthy of emulation now. To what this vitiated public sentiment is owing, is a question which we shall not now discuss. We doubt not, however, that it has resulted, partly, as a reaction from doctrinal Romish errors as to the nature of good works, partly from imperfect or mistaken views of Church obligations, duties, and privileges, partly, and more especially, from want of an all-engrossing spirit of love to CHRIST, which consecrates all we have and are to HIM; a want of that living union with HIM, the living HEAD, which should cause the pulsations of His heart to be felt throughout every member of His Body. Whatever the cause may be of such a false sentiment, the duty of opposing and counteracting it is obvious.

In inculcating, however, Christian charity, as a necessary test of character, we may not lose sight of one jot or tittle of that Christian System, every part of which we believe belongs to the Body of Christ. However highly we may regard and esteem those who differ from us, for their zeal, piety, and good works, yet we may not ourselves forget any one of the visible features of Christ's Church; and we should embrace and maintain them, not in a spirit of asperity, or of controversy, but of meekness and love. The whole tendency of the age is in another direction. Creeds, and confessions, and platforms, are fast becoming merged in an all-engulfing indifferentism. Indeed, there is a harshness in the severity, and a boldness,—we might say, insolence,—in the dogmatism, with which self-styled reformers of the day are denouncing every doctrinal and ecclesiastical feature of Christianity, which are peculiar to our times. Creeds are assailed. Action is deified. Sincerity is now the genuine test of orthodoxy, as if there could be right action without right belief. Here then is another point which must be met. Of course, the hue and cry of bigotry will be raised. Infidelity and a spurious charity will echo and re-echo the charge of exclusiveness. But the Church will be true to her Master, though she is “foolishness to the world,” and the faithfulness of a covenant keeping God, will be hers.

These remarks will show where we must begin in laying the foundation of a true missionary spirit. The little child must be taught from the moment it leaves the baptismal font, that it is not its own; that it is bought with the precious blood of CHRIST; and is bound to glorify HIM with its body and its spirit, which are His. Let such a generation grow up in the Church, baptized in heart and life with the Spirit of CHRIST, and intelligently attached to His Institutions, and the work of Church Extension has been well begun. It will be felt in all our older parishes, uniting and invigorating them, and making them fruitful in good works. It will give tenacity of character to every son and daughter of the Church, wherever they may go, which will manifest itself in new and widening influences.

For the production of a true missionary spirit in the Church, there is also needed, we think, a much bolder presentation of *Missionary Obligation*.

A spirit of Christian charity may exist, and yet not prompt to missionary effort, for want of a right direction. There are those in the Church, of noble hearts and abundant means, who always cheerfully respond to the calls of local charity, but who yet view at least with indifference, *missionary* claims.

This class of persons must be reached ; while throughout the length and breadth of the Church, the conviction of missionary obligation needs to be greatly quickened. And this can be done. The formal assumption of this work by the Church, in her official capacity, would silence a thousand objections. Even the declaration, by the General Convention of 1835, that every baptized person is a member of the Missionary Society, sent forth a startling sensation and holy joy throughout our whole Communion. Perhaps it was all for which the Church was then prepared. Let her now act consistently with herself, and meet claims, the justice of which she then so nobly acknowledged, and a great point will be gained ; more, we venture to say, than can be effected by the appeals of mere voluntarism for half a century. There is an element of character in the Church which cannot be reached but by the Church herself. It is the gentle tone of a mother's voice, which, whether in accents of authority or encouragement, always meets with its response in the heart of her child ; and it is a tone which no servant can ever successfully imitate. This element of character is to some extent accidental. It has grown up from the position of the Church in these modern times. It is a conservative element. It deprecates a spirit of revolution and ruthless change. It loves the quietness and peace of home, and the associations which cluster around its sacred hearth. It plants its roots deeply and silently, and cultivates the lovelier graces of the Christian character. Not so with many, perhaps most of the denominations, by which she is surrounded. They attract the noisy, restless elements of society. They are society in action, or rather in the attitude of action ; and if they fail to reach the promised goal, (and they almost always do,) it is yet from no want of the din and confusion of change. We said this element of character in the Church was accidental, and so it is. But this feature of the Church herself is not accidental. It belongs to her nature and constitution. While with the rapid growth of the Church, larger portions and more varied elements of society will be brought within her folds, giving of necessity to her future character, a union of energy and solidity, from which, directed aright, every thing may be expected. In the missionary work of the Church, she herself must give that direction ; and with such an authority, a sense of obligation can be awakened, which shall be felt wherever the heart of piety exists. The duties and motives of the work are such, that when fairly urged, no Christian heart can or dare resist them. Let the missions of the Church then be planted upon such a basis, and be carried on in such a spirit,

and we shall witness the workings of a missionary policy, such as is worthy of the Church, and of the world's necessities; not creeping, contracted, and faithless; but bold, comprehensive, and earnest; a policy which shall seize hold of providential events; which shall conceive great things, and do great things for CHRIST and His Church. At the present day, the progress of events, and the watch-word of the world, is, ONWARD. This, too, must be the watch-word of the Church; onward, in trustful obedience; onward, in a spirit of self-sacrifice; onward, in far-reaching plans of beneficence; onward, in her bright career of blessing and honor.

The above remarks present our views as to the proper medium for conducting missions, and the method for producing in the Church a true missionary spirit.

There are, however, two or three suggestions remaining to be made, in connection with this subject of Church Extension.

It is of immediate and vital importance to sustain, in suitable positions, Colleges and Seminaries of learning for the express object of training young men for the Christian ministry. Institutions nominally connected with the Church, or under the general superintendence of Churchmen, are not what is needed. As to an unchristianized civilization, it is no blessing. France, with all her Universities, is but a great cauldron of raging and devouring elements. The great secret of her troubles, is the infidel heart of the French nation. Nothing can save our Republic from a similar destiny, but God's own chosen instrumentality, of a living ministry: of men thoroughly trained and devoted to this high and holy object; and yet for such a supply, we can look only to institutions established for this very end. A miracle only can meet the wants of the Church and of the age, if it be not met as we propose. As a mere profession, the Christian ministry has few worldly attractions. Young men of commanding talents, and of ripe scholarship, find other avenues to exertion far more inviting. Commerce, Science, each of the other learned professions, the Army, the Navy, the facilities for amassing easily and almost certainly large fortunes, the spirit of restless enterprise which is electrifying the public mind, all these are operating successfully upon the minds of young men. The Christian ministry cannot but appear in contrast, in a most unattractive aspect; where they must toil in patience upon a stinted and reluctant support; where they must encounter the whims and caprices of ignorance and self-conceit; where they must be tempted to trim to the popular breeze and compromise the plainest

truths of Christ and His Church, or meet with obloquy ; where they must stem the torrent of numbers, and of what the world calls respectability. Under such circumstances it is not strange that few, comparatively, are willing to devote themselves to this self-denying but holy work ; and that these few are not always the men to give tone to society, and direct public sentiment. And hence it appears that there is no practicable remedy for these wants, but planting strongly, and sustaining vigorously, Colleges and Seminaries for the special purpose of training up a ministry, and such a ministry as the age demands. The Romish Church is acting upon this policy. Several of the leading denominations of this country are pursuing this plan. The Bishop of Illinois, and the Bishop of New Jersey, are engaged in incipient labors, and beginning to plant seed which, with God's blessing, will bear fruit an hundred fold, when they shall have gone to their rest and reward. And we think we notice a growing determination in other portions of the Church to make institutions of learning more positively Christian in their character and influence. But these institutions must be such that they will command respect in all quarters ; and be so endowed that they can open their doors freely, and gratuitously if need be, to every young man, properly qualified, in whose breast there has been enkindled a desire to serve CHRIST at His holy altar. The Church can well afford to train up a ministry, suited to her wants and subject to her bidding. But that training must be of no ordinary character ; and that ministry of no common stamp. They must be men and gentlemen. They must be men of ripe and varied learning, skilled, like St. Paul, in the wisdom of this world, and in all the arts of the Church's wily foes. They must be men of Faith ; men of fortitude ; men of practical wisdom and common sense ; men of humility ; men of patient self-denial ; men willing to live and labor, and die for Christ ; men who magnify their office ; men content to labor in the humblest position where the Church needs them ; men who, caring little for "the loaves and fishes," and not seeking for a respectable parish, where they may doze away a life of ease and comfort ; on the contrary, count not their own lives dear unto themselves, so that they may win souls to Christ. These are the men for which the Church now pleads ; and again we say, that the planting and sustaining schools, colleges, and seminaries, in the East, the West, and the South, for the raising up such a ministry, is vitally connected with the work of Church Extension.

In the work of Church Extension, regard should be had to the fields which should first be occupied, and the manner of occupation.

There is no portion of our country, which must not be looked upon as, in a certain sense, missionary ground; and where the Church should not contemplate planting her holy institutions. And never did the eye of faith survey such a field, as that which our country now presents. Prospectively the view is appalling. Our wildest dreams can hardly catch the magnitude of realities. The hand of Providence is opening a door of the widest usefulness, with the smallest expenditures. It is a field where all the resources of national greatness are developing with inconceivable rapidity. It is a field filled with great cities, springing up as by enchantment, in which nearly one tenth part of the population of our country now exists. It is a field, into which a foreign immigration is pouring its quarter of a million annually, comprising multitudes of the better, as well as the lower classes of society. That vast region, which is to be the central and controlling division of our country, lying between the Alleghany and Rocky Mountains, embracing its seventy rivers and nearly 17,000 miles of navigable waters—the richest portion of our globe, in every thing which contributes to the physical greatness of a nation—is being filled by an industrious and enterprising people. At the past and present ratio of increase, more than one hundred millions of souls will be numbered in our American Republic, within the life-time of some who may read these pages. Under these circumstances, we say, in the language of a far-seeing British writer, “Our policy is emphatically a home policy.” Our duty, even to the heathen world, should lead us to withhold no possible efforts to Christianize the American mind. Let American literature, commerce, and influence, be baptized with the baptism of Christ, and a great work for the conversion of the world is at once effected. Let this work fail; let infidelity erect its temples, and plant its standards, and mould our social and civil institutions, as it is now busily and ingeniously attempting; let the heart of this nation be poisoned; and the world’s conquest to Christ is delayed perhaps for centuries.

With such a work before her, the Church should be careful as to the fields which she occupies. And we think the Apostolic rule should be the rule now. St. Paul, in speaking casually of the details of his work, says, “We came . . . from thence to Philippi, the *chief city* of that part of Macedonia, and a colony; and we were in that city abiding certain days.”

Upon which, St. Chrysostom observes, "the writer goes on to mention the places, as writing a history, and marking where he spent any time; and he shows that he *tarried in the great towns*, but passed by the others." And again he remarks, "It is mere senselessness to run at random. Let us then do the same. Let us instruct the foremost first, that these be not a hindrance to our dealing with the rest." In this policy of St. Paul, and thus commended by St. Chrysostom, we learn a lesson for our own times. The strong points of our country; the large cities and towns, must first be occupied, both as thus giving readier access to a larger number of souls, and because they always have exerted, and always must exert, a controlling influence upon the intellectual, social, and religious condition of a country.*

And yet such is the aspect of society in the newer settlements, and so unlike any thing known in Apostolic times, that means must be employed, which shall also bear directly upon the increasing multitudes scattered over our wide prairies, and in the new and newly forming States, soon to teem with a vast population. To reach these, a system of itineracy seems indispensable. A class of men is needed, who shall search out every log house and cabin of our western wilds; men who know how to accommodate themselves to the rude habits and uncultivated tastes of such a people; and who, carrying there the Gospel, in its simplicity and purity, shall anticipate the movements of infidelity, ready to start into a rank and luxurious growth. The Church has already anticipated the employment of such a class of pioneers, in her Fifth Canon of 1847, and the practical application of its provisions, could not but be attended with the most cheering results.

* The growth of American cities is unequalled in the history of the world. Half a million are embraced within the limits and suburbs of New York; and a quarter of a million within those of Philadelphia. New Orleans contains about a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; Boston, one hundred and thirty thousand; and Baltimore, one hundred and five thousand. Cincinnati, in 1800, contained 110 families; now it numbers a population of a hundred and twenty thousand. St. Louis, in 1810, had a population of 1600; now it numbers 60,000. Buffalo, in 1825, numbered 2,412 inhabitants; now it contains about 45,000. Lowell, in 1828, had a population of 3,532; now of more than 30,000. Chicago, having the growth of a few years only, has reached a population of 18,000; and Milwaukie, of still more recent origin, is rivalling that city.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

GOD IN CHRIST. *Three Discourses, delivered at New Haven, Cambridge, and Andover, with a Preliminary Dissertation on Language.* By HORACE BUSHNELL. Hartford: Brown and Parsons, 1849; pp. 356.

Many years ago, as we have been informed, the members of a Congregational Society somewhere in Connecticut, came to the conclusion that their house of worship would not be any thing worse for a new coat of paint on the inside. The choice of color was left to the Pastor, who, with a very commendable reliance on his own abilities, went to work in the premises, as if no laws of coloring, no rules of mixture, no proprieties of shade, no adaptations of tint, had ever been settled or decided; as if, in short, no other interior had ever been painted, but it devolved on him then and there, to take for the first time the seven primary colors, and combine them. To work accordingly he went, mixed and stirred in a very original way, produced a very original tint, beautiful to him, if to nobody else, and rested no doubt in the conviction that he had done a very wonderful thing. What to him were artist-laws, the decisions of genius, or the rules of masters, consecrated though they might be, by the assent of centuries! To him there was nothing beyond his seven colors, then for the first time, so far as he seemed to know, to be put together; and the occasion was only one, in which he was to bring to a practical settlement, a question which colorists had for centuries erroneously imagined to be settled.

The author of the "Three Discourses," and the "Preliminary Dissertation on Language," has been setting himself to work in Theology, in much the same way as our painter did in colors. The "General Association of Connecticut" laid upon him the duty of "discussing" the "Divinity of Christ," a point which the GENERAL COUNCIL OF NICE so settled, as to render discussion a very needless thing. And he undertook the duty, because he thought the time had come "when a reinvestigation of the subject would be more likely than at any former period, to issue in a practical settlement, or approach to settlement, of the questions involved." The "Divinity (!) School of Harvard University," invite him to address them, and having at the moment "just emerged from a protracted state of suspense or mental conflict," in relation to the "theologic view" of the Atonement, he concludes to settle that question also. The Porter Rhetorical Society at Andover extending to him a similar invitation, he determines then and there to settle another very important question as to Dogma and Spirit. And then, being, as it would seem, instinctively certain, that on no ascertained laws of language or logic, can his Discourses be sustained, he crowns his work by prefixing a "Preliminary Dissertation," in which he advances an *original* theory of language, and endeavors to annihilate the syllogism.

Now, really, there is in all this a boundlessness of self-reliance and complacency, not to say conceit, which verges on the sublime. We wish some one would take the trouble to count the number of times the personal pronoun "I," is used, throughout the work; opening the book at random, we have found it repeated thirteen times on one page, and we hugely suspect the printers must have furnished themselves with extra sets of that very significant letter. What a pity, that the venerable Fathers of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, could not have listened to the practical settlement of a question which their unanimous voice, and the assent of fifteen centuries, pronounced upon so definitely, but to so little purpose! A little puzzled, no doubt, they would have been with the *modus operandi*, for, at Nice, for instance, the question was not, "What do you, and you, and you, think about it?" but, "What has ever been held in that Diocese over which you preside, from the time of that Apostle or Apostolic man, whom you

succeed?" People in those days did not try to "think themselves together;" but they came together on the ground of Antiquity, Universality, and Consent. We acknowledge, however, that the Nicene question would have been a very awkward one to ask in the body which our author was addressing at New Haven, if for no other reason, yet for this; that in the majority of cases each congregational minister, with the aid of his "Church members," alters the creed to suit himself. We know one Society which within half a century has had three Creeds! Still, the sublimity of the Orator's complacency remains intact and unapproached. It is the one great feature of the Book, paramount and splendid.

As to the work itself, its claims to originality are very small. The theory of language is perhaps new, at least in parts, and at all events it is crude. The attack on the syllogism is much more ably put by Mr. Bosanquet in his *Logic*, and is most thoroughly exposed and replied to by Mr. Stuart Mill, in his Chapter on the Value and Functions of that important instrument in *Logic*. The first two Discourses contain a new mixture of old forgotten and exploded heresies, which never had enough of vitality in them, even to leave in the intellectual atmosphere, the customary odor of decay, together with some truths distorted or half realised. The combination is new perhaps, but the elements are as old as Paul of Samosata. The third discourse is a meagre *rechauffé* of Dr. Hampden's Bampton Lectures, quite as hazy and wrong headed, but by no means as learned. The author thinks the work will call forth no controversy, and here we entirely agree with him.

On one point, we have a single practical remark to make. Dr. Bushnell seems to grant, that the great Doctrine of the Trinity was committed to the Christian Church in the Baptismal Formula. Most undoubtedly it was; the elements of all essential Doctrine too, are contained in it. But to whom, let us ask, was that Formula committed, to be handed on and perpetuated, whether as Formula of Baptism, or Doctrine, till the end of time! To the Apostles and their Successors. And they who would like to see how the doctrine fares, when it passes to other hands, may look at Germany, Geneva, and New England.

On one other point we shall venture a suggestion. Dr. Bushnell lays it down as a rule, that those who differ concerning the Divinity of our Lord, must "think themselves together." We might as well expect to make a wounded man whole, by chopping him in pieces. The only method by which a return to Unity in this, as in other things, can be accomplished, will be by returning to the Catholic Creeds; received not as the excogitations of individuals, nor yet as *oral* traditions; but as written Formulas, containing the solemn declaration of that Faith which was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be. And these Creeds must be stripped of all those additions, with which Tridentine Councils and Westminster Assemblies, both doing the self-same thing, have overlaid and smothered them.

With a few words more, we will close. However much the self-opinionated complacency of a person, who makes himself to himself the center of all truth, may provoke a smile, and warrant an expression in words of the emotion which that smile also expresses, yet is there no position more truly pitiable, than that of one who stands thus alone amid elements of theological truth, and tries to rear up from them for himself, a theology—like a boy attempting to build a pyramid. Cut off from all association with a glorious past; deaf to its many voiced witnessings and worship; owning no fellowship, and feeling no brotherhood, with its Confessors and its Martyrs; taking what he does take of its Creeds, only as his own excogitated results, not as the received testimony of the Universal Church; left like a motherless child to find out things for himself, instead of learning them from her loving lip; without a Liturgy or even a Hymn that has echoed on for ages; without a holy year with all its sacred influences, teaching doctrines in just the most powerful way in which they can be taught; beginning at the beginning for himself, instead of starting with the vantage way of the wisdom of ages; he presents a spectacle of loneliness and isolation, which chills the very heart. There is for him no rest, no repose, no genial hours of hallowed memories; nothing but rude questioning, and sharp debate, uneasy doubts, quieted by uneasy solutions. His truths to-day, become to-morrow falsehoods. He is ever in painful motion, strain-

ing after something new, and when he has got it, throwing it aside. Speculating, theorizing, planning to utter weariness he may be, but—

“Meanwhile, the Heart within the Heart, the seat
Where peace and happy consciousness should dwell,
On its own axis restlessly revolves,
Yet nowhere finds the cheering light of truth.”

THEOPHANY: *Or, the Manifestation of God in the Life, Character, and Mission of Jesus Christ.* By REV. ROBERT TURNBULL, Author of “The Genius of Scotland,” “Pulpit Orators of France and Switzerland,” &c. Hartford, 1849; 12mo. pp. 239.

Mr. Turnbull is known to the public as a popular and pleasing writer on themes somewhat less elevated than this, the loftiest of all. The work which bears this exalted title is one which a Christian reader will be gratified to see amongst the literary appearances of the age, as indicating a taste for the sublimest, holiest, and most instructive of contemplations; and cannot but wish that it may find many minds whose fervor may answer to its own.

Of the two Parts of this volume, the first treats of the Life of Christ, the second of His Character and Mission; and each is divided into six Chapters. A rapid and interesting survey of the state of the ancient world at the birth of the Saviour introduces some reflections on His birth itself; from which we pass to His childhood and youth, and the scenes of His ministry, and so to His death, resurrection, and ascension; and at each step, the thoughts of the author are illustrated or enforced by passages from the English Divines, and from various other writers of different nations. The book is one of those, in which a fine quotation is preferred to the development of an original thought at greater length. Repeated citations from the eloquence of Jeremy Taylor, declare that the great master of devout contemplation has not been left without study. Indeed, the tone of Mr. Turnbull is that of one who admires and appreciates the older and profounder theology; and there are few things in his volume which a conscientious Churchman might not have written.

The second Part is the more important. It opens with an admirable exposition of the sinlessness of our Lord; and then dilates, with great force of argument, on His divinity and the mystery of His incarnation. With the chapter entitled “Theories of the Incarnation,” we are least satisfied. The author rejects the error of Sabellius, yet thinks Athanasius a little bold, and seems desirous to relinquish the expressions which involve an “eternal generation,” as if they designated a theory. We apprehend that “eternal generation” signifies neither more nor less than, in two abstract words, what is declared by the concrete terms “the Son,” who “was in the beginning with God, and was God.” This chapter closes with “that fine old prayer, of mingled thanksgiving and supplication, addressed to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the *Te Deum Laudamus*.” The next chapter is on the Atonement, which the author regards as strictly “an expiatory sacrifice or substitutionary sufferings,” though not as “purchasing” the very mercy from which it proceeds. His argument against the Unitarian perversion of the doctrine is pointed and cogent. Seldom have we been so shocked as at the language which is here attributed to Dr. Gannet, the successor of Channing. Speaking of “the conduct of the conscience-stricken sinner,” who “makes Christ his refuge as if the mercy of God were not large enough to overshadow him,” “leans on the merits of Christ,” “and when pointed to the mercy of God, feebly reiterates that he trusts in his Saviour,” Dr. Gannet says, with a “startling consistency” which makes our blood run cold, “to me language of this kind is indescribably painful. It robs the deathbed of the sincere Christian of half the influence which I wish it to exert over me.”

In his last chapter, Mr. Turnbull declines admitting that “the higher nature of Christ could not suffer.” On so awful a theme, however, he is profoundly reverential; and although we do not perceive that any thing is gained by his argu-

ment beyond the common doctrine of the perfect union of the two natures, we apprehend from it no serious injury to any reader. The work concludes with a fervent prayer to the Saviour, from Jeremy Taylor's *Life of Christ*; and it is in general such a practical book as we rejoice to see, where the operation on the feelings is not only preceded, but effected by a broad and thoughtful display of truth, into which angels desire to look deeper and deeper.

THE FAMILY PRAYER BOOK: *Or, the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America; accompanied by a General Commentary, Historical, Explanatory, Doctrinal, and Practical, &c.* By THOMAS CHURCH BROWNELL, D. D., LL. D., Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Connecticut. New York: Stanford and Swords, 1849; 8vo. pp. 800.

At the time when Bishop Brownell first announced his intention to prepare this book, such was the estimate of the importance of the proposed work, and such confidence was felt in the faithfulness with which it would be executed, that letters were immediately sent to him from, we believe, every one of the Bishops then in the Church, expressing their warm approbation of the plan; and we are happy to see those letters of Bishops White, Hobart, Griswold, Moore, Kemp, Croes, and Bowen appended to the volume before us; together with the names in commendation, of the most distinguished Bishops and Presbyters of the Church, of more modern times. No individual book has ever been written and published in our Communion, which has received such universal approbation. It bears throughout, the marks of that varied reading, that elegant scholarship, that severe taste, that matured judgment, that sound Churchmanship, that chastened and elevated tone of piety, for which its venerated author is so universally respected and beloved. The volume needs not our praise; but every Churchman will love his Prayer Book more, if he will study it in connection with this Commentary; and the clergy can hardly do their parishes a better service, than by promoting its widest circulation. The respected and well known publishers have just issued a large and elegant edition, and at a price of which no one can complain.

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE OF JAMES MILNOR, D. D., late Rector of St. George's Church, New York. By REV. JOHN S. STONE, D. D., Rector of Christ Church, Brooklyn. Published by the Am. Tract Society, New York. 8vo. pp. 646. New Haven: Mr. Stebbins.

There is one point in this Memoir, not noticed in the more formal Review upon our previous pages, which we cannot overlook. Dr. Stone, in describing the early Missionaries of the English Church to this country, draws but a sorry portrait. He says that the "*early theology and early practice*" of the Episcopal Church "received not only an *anti-Puritanical*, but also an *anti-evangelical* stamp and tendency," and that "probably the only exception to the foregoing remarks, as they may apply to the times which preceded, accompanied, and immediately followed the Revolution, was the Rev. Devereux Jarratt." And again, speaking of the fragments of the English Church after the revolution, he says, "the life which they retained, had little or nothing in it, of the true evangelical spirit. And yet these were the beginnings, from which the present Episcopal Church in this country has since grown."

Now, concerning this whole matter there are two things to be said. The first relates to the position of Churchmen toward the revolutionary struggle. Since the hope of preventing the introduction of Episcopacy into the colonies, was a potent incitement on the part of the Puritans, in precipitating the colonies into a war with the mother country, it is not strange that Missionaries, dependent for their daily bread upon the Mother Church, should sympathize strongly with the English government. Besides, they were bound by solemn "Oath of Allegiance" to uphold that government. Nor was this all. Multitudes of the colonists believed that the war was unnecessary, inexpedient, and unrighteous. Nor was

his opinion confined to Churchmen. Great numbers of leading Congregationalists took this position. In all the eastern and middle portions of Massachusetts, at the breaking out of the war, a large majority of the Congregational clergy were Tories. Especially was this true in the county of Worcester, as the town and parish records of those times will now show, where the litigations between the clergy and the people are recorded. On the other hand, a very large number of the leading spirits of the Revolution, and of men who moulded our infant Institutions, were Churchmen. The very first prayer ever offered in an American Congress for Colonial liberty, was offered by a man who was a Churchman. Such was the first President. So were Madison, and Hamilton, and Jay, and Marshall, and King, and Henry, and others. *We express the opinion, that the conservative character of the American Constitution, and the conservative elements of our Government, had a Church origin.* We believe this can be proved.

There is another point, however, to be noticed, of a much more serious character. The extracts above quoted contain a sweeping charge against the entire body of the clergy of the Church of England in this country, both before and after the war of the Revolution, (with a solitary exception,) a charge against their doctrinal belief, and their private character. We are not surprised to see how greedily this precious morsel is caught up already by those who oppose every distinctive principle of the Church, and who repay the Doctor, by adding his name to the list of really pious and evangelical Churchmen.

We fear, however, that this compliment has been dearly purchased. We have before us a list of English Missionaries in these Colonies in the year 1751; a list numbering seventy-one, of course not including the Colony of Virginia. That list contains names of some men sacred to the hearts of those who are now reaping the fruits of their labors; men, whose published writings show that none ever preached more plainly Repentance toward God, and Faith toward our Lord JESUS CHRIST; men content to toil on amid obloquy, and want, and persecution, that they might plant what they believed to be a true Vine; men, sneered at in their own day as formalists, bigots, and Romanists, and yet thoroughly instructed in the principles which they professed, and abundantly able to maintain them. On that list, are the names of such men as Cutler, Johnson, Leaming, MacSparran, Cheekley, Beach, Mansfield, Ogilvie, Punderson, Lyons, Chandler, names embalmed in the grateful memory of Churchmen; of some of whom, we know enough to affirm, that they were men of deep and earnest piety, sound in doctrine, and wholly irreproachable in private life. The Church in all coming time will owe a debt to those men which she can never pay. Nor should we dare to cast a stigma upon their memory, or do dishonor to their graves.

ESSAYS AND REVIEWS. By EDWIN P. WHIPPLE. In two volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1849; 12mo. pp. 360, 370.

If any of our readers have been in the habit of turning the pages of the North American Review, during the past five years, and have marked articles, or pages, for a second reading, we doubt not they have hit upon the productions of the author of these "Essays and Reviews." Indeed, the volumes before us are mostly a collection of articles written for the above named Review, or its cotemporaries. That Mr. Whipple is an exceedingly clever thinker and writer, cannot be doubted. That he possesses genius, to appreciate and define true genius wherever it exists, is equally certain. That he is a close reader of English Literature, ancient as well as modern, is evident from his pages. His review of Wordsworth, and his papers upon the "Old English Dramatists," and the "English Poets of the Nineteenth Century," fully corroborate this estimate of his character as a writer. His style is pointed, lively, and rich. It has been pronounced *epigrammatic*, and has been thought to partake strongly of what has been termed "Boston Mannerism." Truly enough it lacks that massive and stately grandeur which characterizes Burke, and several of the best English writers of the present age; but yet it is not chargeable with that silly pertness, and graceful imbecility, into which his drivelling copyists will be sure to fall. We feel the want of that marshalling of

sentences, that rapid accumulation of lofty thoughts, that connected utterance of a great and master-mind, which carries every thing before it. There is little of all this in Mr. Whipple; still his style is nervous and graceful; and there are passages scattered throughout the volumes, which, in power and brilliancy of expression, have been rarely equaled. As a whole, these volumes must be regarded as among the best specimens of American composition.

There is one subject upon which we wish Mr. Whipple would write less, or read more. We mean by this, every thing which relates to the progress of civil liberty in England. There are certain stereotyped opinions, and cant phrases, which have become oracular responses with a class of writers among us, which no historic facts, no remonstrances of truth and justice, no power of ridicule and sarcasm, can in the least affect. It is a perpetual ringing of changes upon "Puritanism, Liberty of conscience, and Plymouth Rock"—"Plymouth Rock, Liberty of conscience, and Puritanism." And we make no question that lecturers, anniversary-orators, school books, and newspapers, will echo the cheat from age to age, even though it provoke, alternately, our indignation, pity, and mirth. We are sorry to see Mr. Whipple so eloquent in endorsing such nonsense. He might pay a well deserved tribute to the massive and stern virtues of the Puritans, without answering for such an unscrupulous botcher as Neal. His labored panegyric upon that brilliant utterer of truisms and falsities, Thomas Babington Macaulay, is in the same spirit. And his papers upon South and Sheridan are tinged with it. We account for this phenomenon, in such a writer as Mr. Whipple, only upon the supposition, that the opinions of men, as well as men themselves, are too often the mere creatures of circumstances. Some of his historical statements in these volumes would deserve a more formal examination, but that they have been already in part incidentally corrected in the review of Macaulay, in our present number, and other historical papers in our previous pages.

We should do injustice, however, to this writer, not to notice with gratitude the noble tribute which he has paid to American talent and literature. That we shall have our own national literature, and that strongly marked, is a certain result of the peculiar structure of our national institutions. The review of the "Poets of America," and "Prescott's Histories," are discriminating, and written in a spirit of national pride.

AN APPEAL TO THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC, on the evil and impolicy of the Church engaging in Merchandise; and setting forth the wrong done to Book sellers, and the extravagance, inutility and evil-working of Charity Publication Societies. Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1849; 8vo. pp. 24.

The writer of this pamphlet, (who is unknown to us,) if he is ambitious of notoriety, need have no fears. The press of the country, religious and secular, are discussing the question which he has raised, and it is one which affects a great number of persons and interests. The propositions which he lays down are these:

"1st. That it is a perversion of Christian charity to publish books which private enterprise and capital would furnish quite as cheaply.

"2d. That the publications of these societies, when all expenses which are paid by charitable contributions are reckoned into the account, cost the religious public more than the same would in any other way of producing them, besides the incidental evil of driving or tempting a large amount of capital into injurious channels.

"3d. That the action of the societies is, therefore, inexpedient.

"4th. That charity, given for such an object, is not only wasted, but works a positive evil to the community, by violating every sound principle of political economy.

"5th. That every institution of the kind should be conducted on self-supporting principles, and thereby leave a fair field for competition to individual enterprise.

"6th. That the Church has no charity which she can rightfully employ in disregard of these principles.

"7th. That charity must be just and sensible, or it degenerates into a mischief-working weakness, not to be reasoned with.

"8th. That when this institution, or any one acting in the name of charity, and for the public good, violates the plain principles of morality, as has been often done, by publishing the same books as other publishers, and thereby depreciating, and, in some cases, destroying the value of the property in their hands, it does in the name of the Church, and with a religious sanction, what offends the moral sense of an irreligious world."

The arguments by which he sustains these positions, we have not room to present. But there are certain obvious facts bearing upon the subject, which are deserving attention. It is certain that very large sums of money are contributed annually in our country for "Charity Publishing Societies." It is certain that some of these Societies own large and extensive business establishments in the very heart of our great commercial metropolis. It is certain that some of these Societies publish books, embellished in a costly and expensive manner. It is certain that Bibles (for example) can just now be purchased at a cheaper rate than is furnished by the Society nominally established for its cheap circulation. It is certain that some of these Societies are engaged very extensively in the general traffic of religious books. These, we say, are facts publicly stated, and not, that we are aware, denied.

To us, it seems a fair question, whether charity funds should not now be devoted to the *distribution*, rather than the *manufacture*, of those books which private enterprise and competition will be sure to afford at the lowest possible rates. Still it remains true that these Societies, aside from their religious influence, (which is not now the question involved,) have been directly instrumental in reducing the price of the books which they have published, and the whole subject is one which deserves the most deliberate examination.

So far as the Protestant Episcopal Church is concerned, a single question arises, the answer to which is less doubtful. Can she rely upon the general press of the country, in the hands of individuals, to furnish that Christian literature which she would wish to place in the hands of the thousands of children in her Sunday Schools? This is not at all a question of dollars and cents, or whether private shrewdness would not furnish them cheaper than she can furnish them for herself. The question is, would they be furnished at all!—without some *imprimatur* as a guide, would not Sunday School libraries soon be of such a character, that the desirableness of their very existence would be questionable!

That evils have grown up out of these general systems is admitted on all hands. Thus far, we have been less liable to their abuses; and in our ultimate systems of charity, we may well profit by the experience of others. We are willing therefore to see the whole question discussed. It is a poor cause which cannot bear examination, and the evils alledged are such, that that examination is fairly demanded.

WALTER LORIMER, AND OTHER TALES. By the Author of "Amy Herbert," "Gertrude," &c. Illustrated with six colored plates. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1849; 12mo. pp. 240.

Miss Sewell's account of the origin of this volume will awaken a deep interest in it. As a Christmas amusement, it was proposed, that one of a party should draw a series of sketches, which the rest should severally interweave into some short story or description. Subsequently it was determined to publish these in a volume, for the benefit of schools and a church at Bon-Church. Hence, these engravings are not illustrations of the letter-press, but the letter-press is a fanciful illustration, by different writers, of the engravings. The whole plan is exceedingly imaginative; and the execution of it sufficiently attractive to chain the attention of the reader to the very last. Miss Sewell writes with great beauty of style and purity of sentiment. There is a slight recognition in the work of a certain doctrinal error, which the whole Catholic Church, as well as her own, have formally and solemnly denied. Out of that error have always sprung wrong conceptions of the Christian life, its duties and its temptations. We reverence the earnest tone of devotion apparent in the volume. There is a reality in it which will not waste itself in words.

POEMS: by WILLIAM THOMPSON BACON. Cambridge: Geo. Nichols. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1848; 12mo. pp. 276.

The author of this volume has given in his Preface, his definition of Poetry. He says, "truth, sense, and vigor, are the three constituent elements of good poetry." And yet a Presidential Message, or a newspaper report on "commercial and money matters," may possess "truth, sense, and vigor," without having any very high claims to "good poetry." We believe that poets themselves have never agreed upon a satisfactory definition of poetry, and for the simple reason that it is wholly undefinable. Poetry is an inward conception; it is the truest language of the heart's deepest emotions; it is the rustling of a leaf, the warbling of birds, the murmur of a wave, the bursting of a flower, the breathing of sweet odors, the twinkling of a star, the stillness of the forest, the fury of the storm, the madness of the ocean. The poetic faculty, to give outward form to poetry, must be inborn; *poeta nascitur, orator fit*.

In our judgment of the execution of this volume, we should pass by pages where artistic severity has been most diligent, and cull out passages, here and there, throughout the volume, which glow with true poetic fire. The present age, we fear, is becoming too sensuous and artificial, to appreciate poetry. Golden mines and steam engines have the public ear; and if the present volume should be comparatively "unsuccessful," it will be no disparagement to its author. It is beautifully printed, and we cannot but wish for it that patronage which it truly deserves.

THE [ROMAN] CATHOLIC ALMANAC, for 1849. Baltimore; 12mo. pp. 320.

We shall only now allude briefly to this work, as we design to give a complete summary of its information hereafter. Notwithstanding its size and its large amount of statistical matter, it is yet sold for a trifle. It contains a suppression or abridgement of the Decalogue; a list of 254 Feast and Saint's days, besides Sundays; a notice of the Seventh Council of that Church to be opened in Baltimore on the 4th Sunday after Easter of the present year; a notice of the confirmation by the Pope of the choice of the Blessed Virgin Mary as Patroness of that Church in the United States; a notice of certain plenary indulgences; and full Diocesan and general statistics. It contains also, a long letter from the Rt. Rev. Dr. Retord, Vicar-Apostolic of Western Tonquin, China, which describes the scenic and summary manner in which Pagans are converted to Romanism.

THE LEGENDS OF MONTAUK. By J. A. AYRES. *With an Historical Appendix.* New York: Geo. P. Putnam; 8vo. pp. 128.

The author of this pleasing volume, having passed several days upon this almost unknown and desolate tongue of land, stretching far out into the Atlantic, has here embodied emotions enkindled by that wild and romantic place. Legends of an Indian race now almost extinct; the awful grandeur of the ocean breaking in its rage across miles of sandy wastes; the innumerable throngs of sea birds; the sense of loneliness and yet of freedom from conventional restraints; these are the attractions of Montauk, as seen by the poet's eye. The author's verse is moulded by his subject. It is bold, irregular, and shows much versatility of poetic talent. If any of our readers sigh for the depths of solitude, we refer them to the shores of Kongonock, nor must they forget to take with them these Legends of Montauk.

The following is a specimen of the author's sentiment and manner.

"There's a lull of the whirlwind, I hear on the deep,
The song of the dead in the ocean that sleep;
They are many, they are many, in their light-rolling car,
As it driveth along on the swift-flying air,
And their voices are strange to all save me,
As they shout with the tempest or hum to the sea."

ACTON; OR THE CIRCLE OF LIFE. *A collection of thoughts and observations designed to delineate Life, Man, and the World. Macrones Verborum—Pointed Speeches.* New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1849; 12mo. pp. 384.

This volume must be classed among the novelties of the season. Its tasteful illustrations are as unique as its plan. The author arranges his maxims under four classes, of which, the Crystal, the Hour Glass, the Rainbow, and the Fountain, are his chosen symbols; and under the one or the other of these heads, almost every thing in life, from the cradle to the grave, passes under review. The writer's observations are almost always striking; sometimes pithy; occasionally witty; now and then a little common-place; and usually just. If, as a whole, the style is less sententious than the "Lacon" of Colton, the volume embraces a wider variety, and is pervaded by a deeper sentiment. It shows an extensive acquaintance with the world; and by one who knows how to discriminate between the *alleged* and the *real* motives which govern the "Circle of Life."

GRACE LESLIE. *A Tale.* From the last London edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1849; 12mo. pp. 310.

The incidents in this story are drawn from every-day life, and really seem to have the charm of reality. The fair authoress delineates character with that nice and delicate discrimination, in which the best writers of her sex so often excel. Young misses who have proud or naughty tempers, as well as those adorned with gentleness and the nobler virtues of the true heroine, will find in this volume an excellent mirror.

HISTORY OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By JACOB ABBOTT. With engravings. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849; 12mo. pp. 278.

This is a beautiful book; written in a neat style; handsomely printed; tastefully illustrated; and will be sure to catch the attention of the youthful reader, and prompt to more thorough acquaintance with this great hero of antiquity. The intoxication of success, as seen in the dazzling career of this youthful warrior, is a sad commentary upon human nature.

"TRACTS FOR CITIES," and "TRACTS FOR THE PEOPLE." New York: J. S. Redfield.

We have before us specimens of two series of tracts, under the above general titles. Their design seems to be to awaken attention to important evils and dangers now arising from the state of society in our country, and to suggest remedies for them. The topics to be discussed embrace a wide range, and thus far the *Essays* are ably written. In one of these series we have a treatise on the "Uses and Abuses of Air, its influence in sustaining life, and producing disease, with remarks on the ventilation of houses." This subject is discussed with much learning, and the facts adduced and substantiated relative to diseases and proper ventilation of habitations, are of the most important character. While these facts are more especially applicable to the crowded cities of the old world, they are of immense importance to us in respect to the nursery, the treatment of the sick, the construction of sleeping apartments, of school rooms, churches, and hospitals. The "Tracts for cities," before us, treat upon the "Social position and influence of cities," "the temptations of city life," and the importance of "mental improvement," on the part of young men. These subjects are not discussed by quack reformers, or shallow-brained empirics, but by some of the ablest writers and profoundest scholars in our country. While the remedy for moral and spiritual evil, in cities and elsewhere, lies far deeper than these Tracts seem to suppose, we are glad to see the evils themselves portrayed in such vivid colors. A single fact respecting the career of young men in cities is thus given: "It has been estimated that not one in ten, attempting business in our large cities, and not one in a hundred

commencing as clerks, have succeeded." In stimulating to high mental efforts, and improvement, the writer cites as examples of success under every discouragement, Franklin, Rumford, Arkwright, Stephenson, Whitney, Davy, Bowditch, Warburton, Murray, Drew, Clarke, Ben Johnson, Linnaeus, Herschel, Gifford, Simpson, and others, all of whom struggled with poverty and obscurity.

DR. TOTTEN'S LETTER about Jubilee College, addressed to a friend in Hartford, Connecticut. Dated Nov. 24, 1848.

From this letter we gather the following satisfactory particulars pertaining to Jubilee College. The College is situated in Peoria County, near the centre of Illinois, on elevated ground, covered with a native forest. The system of education is essentially Christian, and the College is a Theological Seminary as well as a College of Arts. Twelve clergymen have received their education, wholly or in part, within its walls; it has now six candidates for Orders; seven parishes, embracing more than 200 communicants, have already been established; and the Church has become the leading denomination of Christians in that part of the State. The following is a concise statement of its pecuniary affairs:

The property belonging to the College may be safely estimated at a little over sixty thousand dollars, but most of it is now unproductive. It owns 2500 acres of land in its immediate vicinity, and 1760 in other parts of the State, and in Michigan. This last is intended to be sold, and by provisions of the charter must be sold, within three years from the present time. Besides this property in land there is a grist and saw mill on the Kickapoo creek, distant about three and a half miles from the College. Besides the College building there are on the premises two boarding houses, one for the students and the other for the men employed on the farm; five dwelling houses and a store. The remaining possessions of the College are, the goods in the store, the live stock on the farm, and farming utensils.

Putting down the buildings at cost, the productive property of the College may be estimated as follows:—

College farm of 800 acres, having inexhaustible beds of bituminous coal,	\$10,000
Farming utensils and live stock on the farm, including 2000 sheep, 40 head of cattle, 20 horses, and 70 or 80 swine,	9,000
Grist and saw mill,	7,000
Dwelling houses, out houses and store,	9,000
Value of goods in the store paid for,	6,000
	\$41,000

The unproductive property is estimated as follows:—

170 acres of unimproved land in the county of Peoria,	\$5,100
Other lands in the State and in Michigan 1760 acres,	4,400
College building and boarding house,	9,000
College library, 3,200 volumes, and philosophical apparatus,	4,500
Types and printing press,	600
	\$23,600

Whole amount,	\$64,600
---------------	----------

THE BEAUTY OF HOLINESS. *The Sermon at the Consecration of Grace Church, Newark, Oct. 5, 1848.* By the Bishop of the Diocese. Text, Ps. xcvi, 9. *Theme, Beauty; Consecrated Beauty; Acceptable to God as an accessory of worship.*

No man could have written this sermon but a Christian Poet; and no Poet could have written it but Bishop Doane. There is more poetry in it, and better poetry than in most of what appears under the name. It glows with truthful conceptions, and lofty imagery, and Christian sentiment, all in harmony with the subject and the occasion.

REV. PROF. HAIGHT'S MATRICULATION ADDRESS, *before the Students of the General Theological Seminary, on Ember Monday in Advent, 1848.* New York: D. Dana, Jr., 1849; 8vo. pp. 20.

The text chosen is Titus ii, 6: "Young men likewise exhort to be sober-minded." The spirit of this text is applied peculiarly to the formation of religious *opinions* and *habits* on the part of candidates for Holy Orders. The discourse is characterized by the sound sense of its instructions, and the plainness and faithfulness with which they are presented. We quote a sentence or two. "What must be the result of reckless speech, of the exhibition of wayward tempers, and of affected singularity in deportment, and this on the part of a few only of the whole number? Melancholy experience gives the answer. Suspicion, and distrust, and antipathy, have been excited." Let it be known, and known distinctly, that the admirable spirit of this discourse thoroughly pervades the Seminary, and that public confidence will be commanded, which the self-conceit and spurious Catholicity of a few novices in theology are sufficient to destroy.

ST. MARY'S HALL. *Sermon on Nurture, with Catalogue and Prospectus.* Burlington, 1849.

St. Mary's Hall and Burlington College contain nearly three hundred pupils; and in St. Mary's Hall more than twenty Professors and Teachers are employed. The course of study is comprehensive, embracing Christian Morals, English Literature, Criticism, Composition, Chemistry, the Natural Sciences, the Italian, Spanish, French, German, and Latin Languages, Drawing, Writing, Music, Painting, Mathematics, Physical and Intellectual Philosophy, Secular and Sacred History, &c. There are two terms in a year of five months each, for each of which the charge is \$150, in advance.

While most among us are *dreaming* about "Christian Nurture," and quietly building castles in the air, Bishop Doane is awake, and hard at work. There is an earnestness of zeal, a fearlessness of determination, a disregard of popular whims, a comprehensiveness of plan, and a straightforward undeviating fidelity of execution, in the Bishop's projects, which, with God's blessing, will not be in vain.

THE WEEKLY EUCHARIST. *No. IV. of Pastoral Tracts, printed chiefly for the members of the Church of the Holy Communion.* By Rev. W. A. MUHLBERG, D. D. New York, 1848.

This neatly printed and well written tract is the substance of several discourses on a more frequent celebration of the Holy Eucharist. The following are the topics discussed: The Liturgy proper; the weekly celebration of the Eucharist contemplated and provided for but not made obligatory; the weekly Eucharist desirable; the chief objection to the constant celebration of the Eucharist; the objection answered; advantages of the weekly celebration; a practical question answered; counsel in regard to more frequent Communion; effects of custom; an explanation; the Sunday Eucharist.

If any of our readers have noticed, or think they have noticed, a tendency in later times to a development of formalism or ritualism, to the neglect of, or the substitution for, the inward and subjective life of God in the soul, we think they may be assured that the present contribution from the pen of Dr. Muhlenberg is to be excepted from such suspicion. It is written with an earnestness and yet a kindness and gentleness of manner, and with a full appreciation of the objections which may be sincerely and conscientiously urged to the plan which he recommends: Perhaps it ought to be added, that the Morning Prayer being offered as usual in the "Church of the Holy Communion," at an early hour, the Communion Service of course commences with the Litany. In the large majority of our Parishes, so scattered are the congregations, and such their occupations, that a system might be impracticable, which might not be so, under different circumstances. However this may be, there is in this argument before us, a recognition of the Christian life, as a great and all-pervading reality, such as distinguished the early from the modern Church.

The view held by Dr. Muhlenberg of the nature of the Holy Eucharist, is, we think, that taught by Hooker, and the great mass of sound English Divines; and he carefully eschews those unguarded statements which are so liable to abuse.

THIRTY SECOND ANNUAL REPORT of the American Colonization Society, presented at its Annual Meeting, Jan. 16, 1849. Washington, 1849; 8vo. pp. 60.

Judging from the Report before us, and other documents which the pamphlet contains, this Society is entering upon a new era in its history. During the past year 443 persons, mostly liberated slaves, have been sent to Liberia, from 13 different States; and the receipts have been a little more than 50,000 dollars. Since the organization of the Society in 1816, it has expended about one million of dollars, and has furnished passage for upwards of 4,000 emigrants. As the fruits of the Colony, the Republic of Liberia has commenced a national existence. Its Declaration of Independence was dated Aug. 24th, 1847. Within the past year, its national independence has been acknowledged by the English and French Governments. Its line of sea-coast extends upwards of 300 miles, with an average breadth of 45 miles, and contains excellent harbors, a salubrious climate, and a fertile soil. Monrovia, the Capitol, has a population of 1,000, and considerable commerce. Free schools supported by law, two high schools, a Lyceum, and two newspapers, are established. The Colonization Society, which numbers among its officers many of the most distinguished men in every section of the country, is memorializing some of the State Legislatures, for appropriations. From the memorial to the Legislature of Virginia, we extract the following noble passages:

"From this rim of light, central Africa will be illuminated; its darkness, intellectual and moral, will be expelled; its fertile lands reclaimed from sterility; its physical resources regenerated; and Africa—whence civilization and the arts passed into Greece more than 3000 years ago, through Rome to England, and thence to America—Africa, the land of heroes, and scholars, and Christians, of Hannibal, Hanno, Jugurtha, Terence, Origen, Tertullian, Augustine, and Cyprian—of a race that wrought the pyramids, chiselled the proudest monuments of marble, and left in her tombs the evidence, that she has done all for the material body but to give it eternal life,—*this Africa*, will be again raised to her place among civilized nations, received to the circle of the human family, and for the civilization she has centuries ago imparted to others,—repaid by *Civilization and Christianity* too."

In this connection we add, that this new Republic seems to us a most promising and important field of missionary effort, hitherto overlooked. The nascent civilization of the Republic, must be a powerful auxiliary in planting, permanently and speedily, schools and parishes of the Church.

CATALOGUE of the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, containing names of its Board of Trustees, Officers, Students, &c. &c. 1849.

To Churchmen at a distance, unacquainted with this long established Institution, and especially to those at the South, who prefer to send their sons to the North for an education, preparatory to admission to College, or to an entrance upon mercantile pursuits, we commend with much confidence, the Academy at Cheshire, under the superintendence of Rev. Mr. Paddock. Its location is pleasant, healthful, and accessible; its course of instruction thorough; and its government parental and efficient. By means of its endowment, its expenses are moderate.

THE LORD OUR HELPER, A Sermon preached Nov. 29, 1846, on occasion of Divine Service for the last time in St. James' Church, Greenfield. By Rev. TYTUS STRONG, D. D., Rector of the Parish. Greenfield, 1848.

We perceive by this Sermon that we were mistaken in our last number, in associating the Rev. Dr. Strong with the first establishment of the Church in Greenfield. He commenced his ministerial services there in the spring of 1814; and was the first, and has been its only Rector. The Parish was organized Sept. 24, 1812, under the direction of Rev. Philander Chase of Hartford, Ct., now Bishop of Illinois. The sermon gives a brief sketch of the history of the parish, and inculcates duties essential to its future prosperity.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
John G.,	Whittingham,	Dec. 4, 1848,	St. John's, New York City.
Mr. John W.,	Brownell,	March 4, 1849,	Christ, Middletown, Ct.
T. M.,	DeLancey,	Dec. 29, 1848,	St. Peter's, Cazenovia, N. Y.
J. J.,	Potter,	Oct. 7, 1848,	
Henry N.,	Whittingham,	March 4, 1849,	Trinity, New York City.
F. W.,	Doane,	Sept. 24, 1848,	
Edw. C.,	Gadsden,	Dec. 24, 1848,	
J. A.,	Potter,	March 2, 1849,	St. Peter's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mr. Henry,	Doane,	Oct. 8, 1848,	
E. W.,	Burgess,	Sept. 29, 1848,	
Mr. W. B.,	Potter,	Dec. 24, 1848,	St. Stephen's, Philadelphia.
Chandler,	McIlvaine,	Dec. 3, 1848,	Christ, Springfield, Ohio.
J.,	Doane,	Dec. 27, 1848,	Holy Innocents, N. J.
Wren W.,	DeLancey,	Dec. 24, 1848,	Trinity, Geneva, New York.
Mr. Joseph B.,	Gadsden,	Dec. 24, 1848,	
S. K.,	Whittingham,	Advent, 1848,	St. Andrew's, Pr. Anne, Md.
Alonzo G.,	"	March 4, 1849,	Trinity, New York City.
Mr. Daniel,	Potter,	Dec. 24, 1848,	St. Stephen's, Philadelphia.
Moses E.,	DeLancey,	Dec. 24, 1848,	Trinity, Geneva, N. Y.

PRIESTS.

Henry B.,	Whittingham,	March 4, 1849,	Trinity, New York City.
Mr. John J.,	Henshaw,	Jan. 24, 1849,	St. James', New London, Ct.
C. R.,	Whittingham,	March 4, 1849,	Trinity, New York City.
Rees C.,	Potter,	Dec. 24, 1848,	St. Stephen's, Philadelphia.
Mr. J. W.,	Whittingham,	Dec. 7, 1848,	Holy Cross, Troy, N. Y.
Michael,	"	Dec. 3, 1848,	All Saints, New York City.
F. William,	"	Dec. 3, 1848,	All Saints, New York City.
J. H.,	Johns,	Nov. 26, 1848,	St. Paul's, Richmond, Va.
D. F.,	"	Jan. 3, 1849,	St. Paul's, Richmond, Va.
Mr. John C.,	Whittingham,	March 4, 1849,	Trinity, New York City.
Mr. W. A.,	Cobbs,	Dec. 17, 1848,	St. Paul's, Selma, Ala.
R. S.,	Potter,	Feb. 7, 1849,	Ascension, Philadelphia, Pa.
T. R. R.,	Whittingham,	Advent, 1848,	St. Andrew's, Pr. Anne, Md.
John L.,	"	Dec. 7, 1848,	Holy Cross, Troy, N. Y.
Dudley A.,	McIlvaine,	Jan. 14, 1849,	Christ, Cincinnati, Ohio.
W. T. F.,	DeLancey,	Dec. 24, 1848,	Trinity, Geneva, N. Y.
Whittingham, R., Jr.,	Whittingham,	Dec. 3, 1848,	All Saints, N. Y.
Mr. J. A.,	Potter,	Dec. 18, 1848,	St. Thomas, Morgantown, Pa.
C. B.,	Potter,	Feb. 18, 1849,	St. James Less, Philadelphia.

REMOVALS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>To Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Ambler, C. E.,	Christ,	Scottsville, Albemarle Co., Va.
Aahley, William B.,	St. Paul's,	Syracuse, N. Y.
Aydelott, B. P., D. D.,	Trinity,	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Banister, J. M.,		Demopolis, Marengo Co., Ala.
Battin, S. H.,	Christ,	Cooperstown, N. Y.
Brooke, J. T., D. D.,	Christ,	Cincinnati, Ohio.
Capron, Alexander,	St. Mark's,	New Britain, Conn.
Colton, Asa S.,	St. Peter's,	Montgomery Co., Md.
Clarkson, David,		New Providence, Essex Co. Md.
Denison, George, Prof.	Kenyon College,	Ohio.
Downing, T. G.,	St. James',	Schuylkill Haven, Pa.
Field, George,	Emmanuel,	Holmesburg, Pa.
Flower, Thomas B.,		Snow Hill, Md.
Gardiner, C. H.,	St. Stephen's,	New Hartford, N. Y.
Gibson, G. B.,	Holy Innocents,	West Point, N. Y.
Good, William H.,	St. Thomas',	Greenville, Tenn.
Hille, Horace, Jr.,	Trinity,	Newtown, Conn.
Hobart, J. H., (assist't.),	Trinity,	New York City.
Hubbard, F. M., Prof.,	Chapel Hill Univers'y,	North Carolina.
Killikelly, B. B., D. D.,		Kittaning, Penn.
Lord, W. W., (assist't.),	St. Ann's,	Anne Arundle Co., Md.
Minnigerode, C.,	Brandon Parish,	Prince George Co., Va.
Morse, J. B.,		Baltimore, Md.
Patterson, A. C.,	Mission,	Dedham, Mass.
Phelps, Charles E.,		Homer, Western N. Y.
Pratt, H. E.,	St. Peter's,	New York City.
Ross, William Henry,	St. John's,	New Milford, Conn.
Savage, T. S., M. D.,		Sumterville, Ala.
Simmons, J. W., (assist't.),	St. Stephen's,	Charleston, S. C.
Stanley, Henry,		Le Roy, N. Y.
Stewart, Samuel K., (assist.),	Coventry Parish,	Somerset Co., Md.
Waite, J. M.,	St. James',	Wooster, Ohio.
Wilmer, J. P. B.,	St. Mark's,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Woodward, J. A.,	St. Thomas',	Morgantown, Pa.
Zimmer, William J.,	Trinity,	Apalachicola, Florida.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>
Ascension,	Amherst Court House, Va.	Johns,	Oct. 7, 1848.
Grace,	Charleston, S. C.	Gadsden,	Nov. 9, 1848.
Grace,	Randolph, Vt.	Hopkins,	Dec. 14, 1848.
Grace,	Rochester, N. Y.	DeLancey,	Dec. 21, 1848.
Grace,	Hungary Neck, Somerset Co. Md.	Whittingham,	Dec. 28, 1848.
Holy Cross,	Troy, N. Y.	Whittingham,	Dec. 6, 1848.
Redeemer, (Floating.)	Philadelphia, Pa.	Potter,	Jan. 11, 1849.
St. Mark's,	New Britain, Conn.	Brownell,	Dec. 23, 1848.
St. Paul's,	Annapessex, Somerset Co. Maryland.	Whittingham,	Dec. 21, 1848.
St. Peter's,	Cazenovia, N. Y.	DeLancey,	Dec. 28, 1848.
St. Stephen's,	Eutaw, Ala.	Cobbs,	Nov. 5, 1849.

DIOCESAN.

Ohio. The Journal of 31st Annual Convention of this Diocese, gives the following particulars. Parishes, 77. Clergy, 70. Baptisms, adults 62; infants 448; total, 510. Confirmations, 207. Communicants, added, 425; lost, 310; present number, 3859. Marriages, 200. Burials, 233. Sunday School Teachers, 477. Scholars, 1919. Contributions, \$9,636.37. The Convention adopted the following Resolutions:—

Whereas, The property of the Theological Seminary, and Kenyon College, remains burdened with a debt, the interest of which, by diminishing the annual income, seriously interferes with the regular payment of the present limited salaries of College officers, and prevents such repairs as are indispensable to the due preservation of the College edifice and other buildings: and whereas, an assessment during the past year of five hundred dollars for taxes on the said property, has greatly increased these embarrassments: and whereas, the Board of Trustees of the said Institution, in their efforts to meet this exigency, have asked the advice of this Convention respecting the propriety of changing a portion of the investment of said Corporation, from real to other estate: therefore,

1st. *Resolved*, That it is essential to the present efficiency and ultimate welfare of the Institution, that its debts be liquidated as soon as practicable.

2d. *Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to attempt to obtain donations in the Diocese, or in the Church at large, for the payment of said debts; and that there appears to be no way of relieving the Institution but by selling the whole or a part of its real estate.

3d. *Resolved*, That it is desirable to retain so large a portion of the land, as will enable the Institution to test by further experience that part of the plan of its venerable founder, which contemplated a domain of sufficient extent to keep off from its immediate vicinity establishments for the sale of spirituous liquors, and all other like moral nuisances.

4th. *Resolved*, That the sale of about a fourth part of the land of the Corporation, consisting of one thousand acres, more or less, and lying on the southwest side of Vernon river, would, without materially interfering with the above plan of its founder, relieve the Institution from its present embarrassments: therefore,

5th. *Resolved*, That the Board of Trustees be and they are hereby advised to sell the above described tract of land, and apply the proceeds of the sales thereof, as fast as they are received, to the payment of the debts of the Institution: Provided, that before any sales shall take place, the said Board shall be satisfied, by the opinion of such counsel learned in the law, as they may think proper to consult, that they have a full and clear legal authority to make such sale.

WESTERN NEW YORK. The Journal of the 11th Annual Convention of this Diocese, gives the following statistics. Parishes, 126. Clergy, 111. The Journal omits the *synopsis* of its contents, which every Journal ought to contain, so that no certain knowledge of the growth of the Church in this Diocese, can be obtained, without collecting the particulars scattered through *forty-six* closely printed octavo pages. We learn, however, from the contents of the same, that the Church is prosperous and onward.

VIRGINIA. The Journal of the Convention of this Diocese, represents the Diocese as in a flourishing condition. The Parishes and Churches, 128. Clergy, 114. Communicants, about 4,500. The reports on other points are too defective to give a fair representation of other parochial matters.

NEW YORK. The Journal of the 64th Annual Convention of this Diocese, makes the number of Clergy belonging to it, 248. Being without an acting Bishop, the Journal contains no Parochial Reports, and consequently we are without any particulars of its growth. The Appendix gives the Parishes, 193. Ordinations,

Deacons, 10; Priests, 9. Churches consecrated, 10. Corner Stones laid, 3. Confirmations in fifty-five Churches, 990.

MISSISSIPPI. The Journal of the 22d Annual Convention of this Diocese, lacks the ordinary tables, so that we are without definite information in regard to many points of interest. We gather from it, however, that there were thirteen Clergymen entitled to seats in the Convention, and thirteen Parishes in union with the same. Seven new Parishes were admitted during the session. The Parochial Reports are too defective to afford any sure criterion of the progress of the Church, though we learn from other sources that it is good. The donors of St. Thomas' Hall, Laurel Hill, have presented that institution to the Church in that Diocese, for a Diocesan School, and it has been accepted by the same.

ROMANISM IN THE UNITED STATES. The "Catholic Almanac" represents no increase of numbers during the past year in the Dioceses of Baltimore, New Orleans, Louisville, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Charleston, Mobile, Detroit, Vincennes, Natchez, Pittsburg, Little Rock, Milwaukee, Albany, Galveston, and Buffalo. Other Dioceses as follows:—

Cleveland,	loss	5,000.	Number last year,	30,000
Cincinnati,	gain	15,000.	" " "	50,000
Dubuque,	gain	500.	" " "	6,500
Nashville,	gain	1,500.	" " "	1,500
Chicago,	gain	30,000.	" " "	50,000
Oregon,	gain	600.	" " "	8,100

CHINA. Bishop Boone makes the following report of the state of things in China. The pamphlet alluded to, is the one noticed in our last.

To the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

Dear Brethren:—The even, quiet character of our labors for the past year, furnishes but few items for a report.

The services in our chapel have been regularly sustained by the Rev. Mr. Syle, my own health not permitting me to officiate. We feel very much the need of a Church in a more central situation, and hope the subscriptions sent from home will soon enable us to commence the erection of one.

The school has steadily progressed. We are anxiously awaiting the arrival of a male superintendent. It is of much importance to his own comfort and efficiency, that he should join the school before the ladies and boys get more start of him in the language.

On the 6th of April, I attended a meeting of the foreign community of Shanghai, to take measures to organize a congregation and to build a Church. This enterprise is prospering; the Church is nearly completed. A clergyman has been written for, and is expected to arrive from England in the course of the year.

On the 6th of June, I laid the corner stone of Trinity Church, Shanghai, the one above mentioned. This is the first Episcopal Protestant Church built within the dominions of the Emperor of China. Since the laying of this corner stone, we have been rejoiced to hear that a Church is also in the course of erection at Canton.

The delegates appointed to revise the translation of the New Testament into Chinese, assembled at this place on the 28th of June. Being a member of this Committee, I have given as much time and labor, to this most important work, as the state of my health would permit. There exists, unhappily, a difference of opinion with respect to the proper word by which to render Elohim and *dees* into Chinese. This subject occupied the attention of the Committee of Delegates for five months. After the most patient investigation, being unable to agree on a term, the delegates have been obliged to appeal to their Missionary brethren in China, and to the great societies in England and America.

On the 28th of August, we had the pleasure to welcome the Rev. P. D. Spalding on his arrival. He enjoys excellent health, and promises to be a most efficient coadjutor in our work. Though most grateful for this assistance, we were constrained on his arrival to exclaim—"Where are the nine?"

During the past year I have administered the Sacrament of Baptism twice. On the 30th of May, A. Calder, Esq., an English merchant, was, according to the solemn services of the Church, dedicated to the service of the Triune God. He was, on the fifth of July, confirmed, and admitted to the Holy Communion. The other case of baptism was one of peculiar interest to all the members of the Mission. It was of Kway Chung, a little boy belonging to our school, who was one of the very first taken under our care. Ill health had for some time laid him aside from his studies, and he began himself to realize the approach of the last enemy, when he requested to be baptized.

Chae, whose baptism was mentioned in my last report, has given satisfaction by his uniform Christian deportment, and by diligence in his studies. He perseveres in his desire to become a Minister of the Gospel. I have recently appointed him a lay catechist, with an allowance of \$5 per month. It is only by much painstaking, humble labor among those who are the poor of this world, as well as the spiritually poor, that we can hope, in this portion of the Lord's vineyard, to gather into the Church, God's elect, who are scattered in these ends of the earth.

We entreat the continual remembrance of our work in the prayers of the members of the Church at home, and that our hands may be strengthened by the annual arrival of new members to increase our Mission. I am, dear Brethren,

Affectionately and sincerely yours in the Lord,

WILLIAM J. BOONE,

Miss. Bp. of the Prot. Ep'l Church of the U. S. to China.

The following Missionary statistics will be interesting in this connexion. The Romish Missions are not included.

Names of the Missionary Societies, and the Period when they first sent laborers to the Chinese.

1. The London Missionary Society, 1807.
2. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1829.
3. The Rhenish Missionary Society, (Barmen, Prussia,) 1832.
4. The American Baptist Missionary Union, 1834.
5. The Church Missionary Society, for Africa and the East, (England,) 1836.
6. The Morrison Education Society, (China,) 1836.
7. The Board of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S. A., 1837.
8. The Board of For. Mis. of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., 1837.
9. The English General Baptist Missionary Society, 1845.
10. The Evangelical Missionary Society of Basle, (Switzerland,) 1846.
11. The Board of For. Mis. of the Southern Baptist Convention, U. S. A., 1846.
12. The Mis. Soc. of the Sabbatarian (Baptist) Church, U. S. A., 1847.
13. The Mis. Soc. of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the U. S. A., 1847.
14. The For. Mis. Soc. of the Presbyterian Church in England, 1847.

The Netherlands Missionary Society, in 1827, sent out the Rev. Chas. Gutzlaff; his connexion with it was dissolved in 1835. It has had no other missionary to the Chinese.

"The Medical Missionary Society in China," was established in Feb. 1838. Its sole object has been to afford to medical missionaries, "hospitals, medicines, and attendants, without support or remuneration" for their services.

EDUCATIONAL.

GENERAL PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.—*Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the Board of Managers.*—The affairs of the Institution generally have undergone no material change since the last Annual Report, and excepting that the measures of enlarged usefulness which it commenced, by reducing the prices of its Books of Instruction, and by the issue of a Library of unequalled cheapness—which have been set before the Church in various ways—have not as yet met with that full response which it was hoped would be given, the prospects and promise of the Institution are as great as at any former period.

The following books have been published since the last Meeting of the Board :

Simple Stories for Children,	45 pages.
The Doubt Settled,	24 "
Charlie Burton,	144 "
Stories Illustrative of our Duty to God,	68 "
Michael Ashdell's Trial,	60 "
Emma, The Child that Jesus called,	82 "
Confirmation and Communion,	32 "
The King's Messengers,	142 "

Ravencroft Seminary, Columbia, Maury County, Tennessee, under the control of the Bishop and Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Tennessee. The Collegiate Department of this Institution will be opened in Columbia, on Monday, the 4th day of September.

Instead of the customary college arrangements for boarding—(one large building for dormitories, a steward, and table in common,)—our students will be received into the family of the President or of a Professor, that they may have the constant care and tenderness of parental oversight ; no head of a household being allowed to take a greater number than will consist with the order and quietness of a strictly home circle. Particular attention will be paid to every thing affecting their health and proper physical development ; such as diet, exercise, bathing, and prudent changes of clothing. Personal habits in the chamber, at table, and in the parlor, will be formed under a circumspection and refinement which, we trust, will satisfy the fondest parental solicitude.

A much more solemn responsibility is assumed in their RELIGIOUS TRAINING. As, in our sober judgment, "a Christian is the highest style of man," so we must feel, in the case of every student, that we are successful in his proper education, only in the degree in which he understands, loves, and obeys the Faith of the Gospel in the Church of Christ. The Bible and Prayer-Book will be our guides in this, the most important part of our duty, and will be in daily use.

The course of Academical Instruction will comprise all the branches of Classical, Philosophical, and Business Education ; so as to prepare the student, by both his training and his acquired knowledge, for the retired pursuits of the Scholar or Man of Science, the active duties of the Learned Professions, or the successful dispatch of business in the diversified occupations of Commercial Life.

The Plan of Study, being the distinguishing feature of our tuitionary system, and that on whose results we shall mainly rely for the literary character of the Seminary, we give it a separate and conspicuous place in this Circular, and invite especial attention to it.

The Discipline of the Seminary will be maintained with such *strictness* as will render *severity* unnecessary. Loving back to his duty him that has been overtaken in a fault, and patient even with the refractory, a due regard to the safety of the rest will oblige us to dismiss the vicious and incorrigible. A *monthly report* of particulars in their studies and behavior will be given in the 'GUARDIAN,' to which the particular attention of parents is requested.

VACATIONS. The academical year will be divided into two sessions of five months each. The first will begin on the first Monday in September ; the second on the first Monday of March. The month of August will be the Summer vacation, and the month of February, the Winter vacation.

EXPENSES. For the academical year the charge is fixed at \$250, payable in advance ; viz., \$125 at the beginning of each session. In this charge are included board, lodging, washing, fuel, and lights, and tuition in ALL THE BRANCHES OF EDUCATION TAUGHT IN THE SEMINARY, embracing those for which students are usually subjected to extra charges, such as the Modern Languages, Music, Drawing, &c.

Episcopal Female Institute, Philadelphia.—The Trustees have appointed the following teachers. Others will be appointed when needed.

Rev. J. A. VAUGHAN, D. D., Rector ; Prof. FELIX DROUIN, French ; Miss E. M. CRAFTS, First Department ; Miss E. BUTLER, Junior Department ; Miss M. E. AKERTSEN, to assist at Recitations ; Mrs. HILL, Drawing.

With the exception of the teacher of the First Department, the above are favorably known to large circles of friends in that city, and enjoy their entire confidence. Miss Crafts, who will have charge of the First Department, possesses much experience, and has for some time past discharged, most acceptably, the duties of teacher in the highest department of the Rutgers' Institute, New York—a Female Institution numbering more than 500 pupils. A strong preference for a Church Institution induces Miss C. to relinquish an honorable and lucrative post, to engage in the present undertaking. The tried abilities, experience, and Christian character of this lady claim for her the confidence of parents, and the love and respect of the pupils about to enter her department.

New Jersey.—*Burlington College*, which numbers only two years of existence, is already a flourishing and efficient institution. The scheme of instruction, the manner of carrying it out, the constant supervision under which the pupils are, their entire separation from the world, the beauty and healthfulness of the locality, and the home-like treatment which the scholars receive, all combine to recommend that college to parents who are seeking for their sons a place, where instruction can be had without danger to morals, and where the youth is secure from bad examples, bad associations, and bad habits.

The buildings are on the banks of the Delaware, with spacious grounds around, the noble river in their front. Within their own domain the collegians find room for manly sports and exercise; rowing on the river, always accompanied by a tutor, being among these.

There are now ninety-nine boarders, and nine day scholars, and constant applications are made for new admissions.

The Rev. Moses Stuart, D. D., who has for many years held the Professorship of Sacred Literature in Andover Theological Seminary, has resigned in consequence of ill health, and the Rev. B. B. Edwards, D. D., has been appointed his successor.

Mr. Everett has resigned the Presidency of Harvard College, on account of ill health.

The "*Board of National Popular Education*," of which Gov. Slade, of Middlebury, is the Corresponding Secretary and General Agent, consists of twenty-five members; Ex-Gov. Morrow, of Ohio, President; and Judge McLean, and Judge Lane, Vice Presidents. Through appropriate agencies it explores the West, for the raising up Schools and making arrangements for the reception and competent support of female teachers; while it receives application for supplies, invites such teachers from the East, collects companies of them, semi-annually, at Hartford, Conn., where it carries them through a six weeks' special training—a sort of "Teachers' Institute"—and thence under proper escort, sends them to the places provided.

The Board has sent out 110 teachers in two years, mostly from New England; 34 to Illinois; 31 to Indiana; 12 to Wisconsin; 11 to Michigan; 7 to Iowa; 5 to Tennessee, 3 to Missouri; 2 to Kentucky; 2 to Ohio; 2 to Western Pennsylvania, and 1 to North Carolina.

OBITUARIES.

Rev. JOHN CHURCHILL RUDD, D. D. was born at Norwich, in 1780,—admitted to Holy Orders in 1805. After preaching a short time on Long Island, he was called to St. John's Church, Elizabethtown, N. J., where he remained about twenty years, faithfully discharging the duties of his office, until the combined duties of a Pastor, Teacher, and Editor, undermined his health, and obliged him to resign. Soon after, he was called to Auburn to superintend the Academy there, and not long after, finding his health much restored, he was induced to accept the Rectorship of the Church in that place; and soon after that, at the desire of Bishop Hobart, became the Editor of the *Gospel Messenger*. In 1836, he resigned all his duties but the Editorial, and removed to Utica, where he died on the 15th of November, 1848, aged 68 years. He was a man of sound mind and sober discretion, and possessed an accurate knowledge of men and things. Openness, frankness, hospitality, and

firmness, seem to have been leading traits in his character. As he lived, so he died, seeking those things which make for peace. He was buried in the Cemetery of St. John's Church, Elizabethtown.

Rev. Dr. Rudd was the Editor of the *Churchman's Magazine*, published at Elizabethtown, from 1813 to 1817, and, we believe, of the *Christian Journal*, which succeeded it, for some time. He had been at the head of the *Gospel Messenger* for nearly twenty-two years. We are unable to give a list of his publications, of which there were several besides his Editorials. The effects of his labors will be felt for generations to come.

Rev. CYRUS MUNSON was born at Greenfield, Saratoga County, N. Y., July 13th, 1815. In 1834, he entered Kanyon College, Ohio, where he was confirmed by Bishop McIlvaine, in 1835. The western climate not agreeing with him, he was transferred to Trinity College, Conn., where he graduated in 1838. Mr. M. had had the ministry in view from his first entering college, though he wavered long between a strong conviction of duty, and a deep sense of insufficiency. He entered the General Theological Seminary in New York, and having completed the regular course of studies in 1843, was admitted to Deacon's Orders by Bishop Doane, of N. J., on the 8th of October, of the same year. He received Priest's Orders from the hands of Bishop Brownell, in St. James' Church, Danbury, Nov. 9, 1844. From July, 1844, to July, 1848, he had charge of St. Andrew's Church, Meriden, and from that time to his death, that of St. John's, New Milford. He died August 1st, 1848, aged 33 years, and was buried at Meriden, at the very time when he expected to have celebrated the nuptial rite. He was a man, whom to know was to love, and whose whole desire seemed swallowed up in duty.

Rev. SAMUEL LEE JOHNSON, Rector of Christ's Church, Indianapolis, Indiana, Dec. 24, 1848. We have not been able to gather the particulars of his life.

Rev. MAJOR ANSON NICKERSON was born at Sharon, Conn., April 12th, 1809. After pursuing a course of legal studies, his attention was turned to theology, and having passed through the requisite studies, he was ordained Deacon, by Bishop DeLancey, in June, 1841, and the year following was admitted to the Priesthood by the same Prelate. From the time of his ordination until the Autumn of 1844, he labored as a Missionary of the Diocese at Catharine and Corning, in the County of Chemung, when he was called to the Rectorship of St. John's Church, Stillwater, and St. Luke's, Mechanicville, in Western New York. His death was very sudden, as he was able to sit up and converse with his friends, until within about five minutes of his departure. He was called away in the midst of his usefulness, from a wide field, in which he was faithfully and perseveringly engaged.

Rev. JOHN B. GALLAGHER.—The deceased was born in the city of New York, Nov. 20, 1812. Three years of his Collegiate course were passed at Yale College, when he transferred his connexion to Columbia College, where he graduated in 1832, with distinguished honor. Three years were then spent in the study of law under Peter A. Jay, Esq., of New York, and Judge Whiting, of Geneva. In 1835, he entered the General Theological Seminary, where he completed a full course of study. At his ordination to the Order of Deacons, in 1838, by Bishop B. T. Onderdonk, he accepted an invitation to the care of St. Paul's Church, Syracuse, N. Y., where his services were active and useful. In the Spring of 1839, an alarming hemorrhage of the lungs reduced his already enfeebled constitution, and he spent the Summer and Autumn of that year in Europe. The Winter of 1840-41, was spent in clerical duty at Wilton, S. C.; and that of 1842-43, as assistant of Rt. Rev. Bishop Elliott, in charge of St. John's, Savannah, Ga. Soon after the General Convention of 1844, he accepted the rectorship of St. Paul's, Louisville, Ky., where his labors were most abundant. During the past severe Winter, he was compelled to leave his parish for a milder climate, and reached Tuscumbia, Ala., where he dictated an affectionate message to his people, made his "will," in which he "committed his soul in faith to Almighty God, trusting alone for salvation to the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, repenting deeply of his sinfulness, and having nothing of his own to plead," and calmly fell asleep in Jesus, on the morning of Feb. 1st, 1849, at the age of 36 years.

Rev. PETERUS S. TEN BROECK, aged 57.—Mr. Ten Broeck was Rector of St. Paul's, Portland, Me., from 1818 to 1831. From 1831 to 1837, he performed service in the village of Saccarappa, when he removed to Concord, N. H., where he officiated until about 1841. In 1844, he removed to North Danvers, Mass., where he died January 24, 1849. During his residence at the latter place, he was without parochial charge, but assisted his brethren in the neighborhood as he had ability. The disease which terminated his life had been preying upon his constitution for eighteen years. He was ever faithful and energetic, to the extent of his ability.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

ROME.

Since our last number was made up, events have transpired on the Continent of Europe, of the greatest importance. Foremost among these is the flight and humiliation of Pope Pius IX. Having been elected as the liberal candidate, and commencing his reign with manifestations of a liberal policy, he lacked the wisdom or fortitude to persist in it, and by courting Austrian sympathies, alienated from himself the confidence of his subjects. The Swiss Guard had become odious to the Italians, and the Pope's Minister, Rossi, underrating the strength of popular resentment, while proceeding to open the Assembly, was poniarded, and immediately expired in the apartment of a Cardinal. The Pope finding his temporal authority gone, and his person in danger, escaped, on the 24th of November, in the disguise of a servant, to Gaeta, about sixty miles from Rome, within the Kingdom of Naples, where he still remains. Meanwhile the people have taken the government into their own hands, and on the 9th of February, the Representatives of the people, 144 in number, proceeded to depose the Pope, and declare in favor of a Republic, by the adoption of the following decree:

ART. 1. The Popedom has fallen, in fact as well as in law, from the temporal Government of the Roman States.

ART. 2. The Roman Pontiff will enjoy all the guaranties necessary to the independence of the exercise of his spiritual power.

ART. 3. The form of Government of the Roman States will be pure democracy, and will take the glorious name of the Roman Republic.

ART. 4. The Roman Republic will have, with the rest of Italy, the relations which a common nationality requires.

These declarations were carried almost unanimously; and on the 11th of February, a *Grand Te Deum* was chanted at St. Peter's, on occasion of the proclamation of the Roman Republic. The Pope can only be reinstated by the interposition of foreign influence. This is a new era in the history of the Papacy. It is not a contest between Popes, but the deliberate action of the people in behalf of constitutional and civil liberty. What are to be the final issues of these results to the Church of Rome, is yet a mystery. The Pope's claim to universal supremacy over all nations has never been withdrawn, and the distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power, has not been clearly recognized. To us, it seems that the loss of temporal power on the part of the Pope must revolutionize the whole system of Romanism. A different opinion is by some entertained, who predict that these new movements will be the destruction of that Italian exclusiveness which has surrounded the Pope with a college of sixty Cardinals, nearly all of whom are from the Peninsula, and introduce into the councils of that Church a more Catholic policy. It is, however, emphatically one of those subjects, upon which it is vain to speculate; and where we may rejoice to believe that Divine wisdom is overruling all things to the ultimate good of the Church.

In any event, however, the changes which are transpiring are of the greatest importance, and prove, at least, that the whole system of Romanism, the cumbrous growth of centuries of ignorance and superstition, is surely crumbling to pieces.

FRANCE.

The election of President of the French Republic has resulted in the choice of Louis Napoleon, nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, by a large majority. General Cavaignac, the next prominent candidate, received only about twenty per cent. of the popular vote; and Lamartine, one of the most distinguished men in France, had but a nominal support. That France is ready to sit down quietly under a system of self-government, there is no reason to believe. The Provisional Government of France first reviewed the National Guard on Sunday. The election of Louis Napoleon was commenced on Sunday. His first review of the National troops was on Sunday. The horrid massacre of the citizens of Paris was the holocaust of a Godless nation on the altar of Atheism. Besides this general prevalence of infidelity, France is just now agitated and cursed by another spirit which has seized hold of the lower classes, and which is destructive of all law, order, and peace. Socialism extensively prevails throughout the French nation, as it is striving to pervade our own; and is waging war against government, property, family relations, and religion. The first Assembly under the new Republic has found it necessary to protect itself, and the peace of Paris, against these mobs or clubs, by an army of 75,000 or 100,000 men. There is no rest, no peace for such a nation, but under the iron arm of military despotism; and this they are too intelligent to endure. Anarchy and Revolution must succeed each other until they have learned the necessity of Christianity by bitter experience. And yet what a living commentary is France upon the practical workings of the Church of Rome! She has had the ear and heart of France for centuries, and these are the fruits.

A proposition made to the National Assembly, to interpose in order to reinstate the Pope, was earnestly debated, but was passed by.

ENGLAND.

The commotions which have agitated almost every nation of the Continent, Austria, Prussia, Germany, Denmark, France, and Italy, have still left the British Constitution and Government not only unshaken, but riveted more strongly in the hearts of the people. Those restless agitators, the Chartists, in league with Dissenters and Romanists, after an ineffectual demonstration, have only met with disappointment and mortification. Englishmen have tried the experiment of a Rebellion once, and do not care to repeat it. The English Church, the guarantee of constitutional liberty, is gaining strength every year, while the sects are gradually but surely diminishing. As a correspondent of a Scotch Presbyterian paper says, "The other denominations are perceptibly waning. The star of the Church is rising to the zenith."

The secession of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel from the Establishment, seems to have created no sensation in England, and not to have been unanticipated. The exultation with which this unimportant event is announced and commented upon in the United States, in certain religious papers, is worth remembering. The real difficulty in the case of Mr. Noel is not the union of Church and State, but his own want of attachment to the distinctive principles of the Church, as his lately published volume clearly shows.

Among the important events which have recently transpired in England, we observe, with great pleasure, the final completion of arrangements to erect a Colonial Bishopric in China. The Bishop's See is to be in the Island of Hong-Kong, with jurisdiction over the members of the English Church in the five free ports, and elsewhere, in China. Her Majesty, the Queen of England, has signified her approval of the plan; and the See is to be named "Victoria." The Bishop of London, in a Pastoral Letter, first called attention to the project; and upwards of £18,000 have been contributed for the endowment, of the Bishopric, and the establishment of a College; of which the new Bishop is to be Warden. The Rev. George Smith, M. A., of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, is appointed Bishop of the new Diocese.

On the Sunday before Christmas, being one of the stated times for Ordination, there were admitted to the Order of Priests, 205 persons, and to the Order of Deacons, 182.

ENGLISH CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The Report for 1847-48 presents the following picture of this Society's labors :

"The present is the forty-eighth occasion on which the Committee of the Church Missionary Society have met their constituents to render an account of their trust. But as the Society was instituted on the 12th of April, 1799, and as the first public meeting was deferred till the close of the second year from the formation of the Society, there is a very special interest attached to this epoch, as the commencement of the Fiftieth Year of the Society's existence—the year of Jubilee, according to the reckoning of a Divine ordinance under the old Law."

During the year, one European layman and two wives of Missionaries have been removed from their labors by death; twelve Clergymen and four Laymen have left their Stations, principally on account of ill health; two laborers, one a Clergyman and the other a Catechist, now in Holy Orders, who had left their Stations with the view of being transferred to another Mission, have gone forth to their new scene of labor; ten other Clergymen and two Laymen have been sent out; and seven Clergymen, whose arrival in this country had been reported in former years, have returned in recruited health to their respective stations. The number of missionary laborers who have been sent from Europe, now at their Stations, or on their way thither, has thus been increased only by three.

Five Clergymen, two East-Indian and three Native, have been added to the laborers in South India, and two Clergymen to those in New Zealand.

The number of laborers at present in connexion with the Society, exclusive of the wives of those who are married, and of country-born and Native Catechists and Teachers, is as follows:

Ordained European Missionaries abroad.....	121
Ditto at home.....	9
European Catechists, Schoolmasters, and others, abroad.....	33
European Layman at home.....	1
European Female Teachers abroad.....	9
Ordained East-Indian, country-born, and Native Missionaries.....	13
Ordained country-born Missionary in England.....	1
Total.....	187

Ten of the Society's students at Islington have been admitted to Deacon's Orders by the Bishop of London; one European Catechist to Deacon's Orders by the Bishop of Calcutta; two East-Indian and three Native Catechists to Deacon's Orders by the Bishop of Madras; and one European Catechist to Deacon's Orders by the Bishop of Colombo.

GENERAL SUMMARY OF THE MISSIONS.

Stations.....	102	East-Indian and country-born Catechists and other Teachers.....	21
European Ordained Missionaries...	125	Native Catechists.....	156
East-Indian and Country-born Ordained Missionaries.....	5	Native Teachers of all classes.....	954
Native Ordained Missionaries.....	9	E. Indian and country-born Schoolmistresses.....	5
European Catechists, Schoolmasters, and other laborers.....	34	Native Schoolmistresses.....	163
European Female Missionaries...	9	Communicants.....	13,010

Though the Committee have not been able to report great accessions to the class of Inquirers or Catechumens in any one of the Missions, yet in every one there has been not only an advance and consolidation of the Christian Churches, and of the Educational and other Benevolent Institutions, but an increase in the number of baptized persons and Communicants. There has also been abundant evidence of an awakened spirit of inquiry, and of a favorable disposition toward Christianity, among the surrounding Heathen. That which one Missionary reports respecting

New Zealand may be said of almost every other Missionary field—It seems as if the whole population would soon become nominally Christian, either as Protestants or Papists.

The number of Ordained Missionaries now upon the field amounts to 134, being a larger number than in any previous year. Fourteen native Clergymen are included in the number.

In the last Report the Committee had the privilege of congratulating the members upon a most favorable financial position. This year our position has been reversed; partly by a falling off in the income; partly by an unforeseen increase in the expenditure; and partly by the depreciation of public securities.

As the income of the Society is barely sufficient to keep up its present establishments, it will be impossible, until there be a prospect of a permanent increase of income, to send out any fresh Missionaries, except to supply actual and pressing vacancies. The Committee are prepared faithfully, economically, and diligently to distribute the funds placed at their disposal. But here their commission before God and man ceases. Beyond this limit they cannot knowingly advance. They cannot incur liabilities, or contract debts, which they have no means of meeting.

Such is the position of the Society at a time when its success is rapidly augmenting; when the Divine blessing is poured out more largely than ever upon its operations; and when there is on every side the most urgent and affecting demand for an enlargement of those operations.

The most striking evidence of a Divine blessing upon our Missions is found in the increasing number of the Communicants, who are only admitted to the Holy Communion after strict examination, and under the exercise of Christian discipline. During the last five years the returns of Communicants from the several permanent Stations of the Society—omitting the West Indies—have been steadily advancing. Thus:

In 1844, the number was	7569.
1845,	9058.
1846,	10,668.
1847,	11,328.
1848,	12,386.

The following details concerning some of the missionary fields will be read with interest.

WEST AFRICA MISSION. A missionary at the Colony of Sierra Leone writes, that within the last five years the number of candidates for Baptism in Waterloo has been more than doubled, and the number of Communicants nearly trebled; that to see so large a Church well filled, to witness the eager attention of the people to the Word of Life, and the decent approach of 120 African Christians to the Lord's Table, is indeed an interesting spectacle.

Another Missionary writes: I always enjoy our beautiful Liturgy at this Church, where the voices of the people, as far as earth can imitate Heaven, are like "the voice of many waters." Could many of the cold hearted worshippers of our own favored land hear and see this congregation, I am sure they would be ashamed of themselves.

Another missionary thus gives his first impressions: I was indeed very much surprised to see that Christianity has already made such great progress in this Colony. The necessity of building new Churches and Chapels, and of enlarging educational Institutions, is certainly a good sign. The crowded Churches on the Lord's Day; the fair attendance on Divine Service on week days; the hearty and unanimous responses to the prayers; and the attention to the preaching of the Gospel; are worthy of imitation by many a congregation of the Mother Church.

CALCUTTA AND NORTH INDIA MISSION. In this mission there are more than 1000 Communicants, more than 3000 attendants on Public Worship, and more than 4000 scholars in the schools. In the educational department the encouragement is of a marked character. One missionary mentions the return to the Communion of the Church of 59 perverts to Romanism; and another reports that 70 persons perverted to Popery had been received back again.

MADRAS, AND SOUTH INDIA MISSION. At this vigorous Mission, four natives had been recently ordained to the sacred Ministry. At the Tinnevely station more than 11,000 persons have been baptized in all, and the number of Communicants amounts to 2,621. A missionary writes: "When I commenced my labors there were about 8,000 souls under Christian instruction in connexion with the Church Missionary Society. Now there are nearly if not quite 30,000 souls in connexion with us. Great pains have been taken to prepare Catechumens for baptism, and a large number have been admitted into the Christian Church. At this Mission there are 3,521 Communicants and between 8000 and 9000 Seminarists and scholars."

NEW ZEALAND MISSION. This Mission, under Bishop Selwyn, has been somewhat affected by the collisions between the natives and the British Colonists, especially respecting land purchases. There are more than 30 European Missionaries and teachers, and between 300 and 400 native teachers of all classes. At Mata-mata, Archdeacon Brown writes: "I held a full service this morning with the natives, at which there were assembled 1000 in their noble Chapel. What a contrast, in numbers and manner with the first congregation to which I preached on this spot, composed of a few boisterous savages drawn together by the one feeling of curiosity! After morning service nearly 900 natives stood up in classes, and a large proportion repeated the Church Catechism, read a chapter in the New Testament, and were examined on the principal doctrines of Christianity."

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

The last Annual Report of this Society gives the following information:

The Society continues to follow up, to the best of its power, the great and holy objects for the attainment of which it was originally established; and it is an interesting, and may be an important task to trace, in its present line of operations, the features by which it was distinguished one hundred and fifty years since. Its zeal for the religious instruction of the youthful poor is still manifested in the large grants of books and tracts made from month to month in behalf of schools in destitute districts, both at home and abroad. Its regard for the spiritual welfare of particular classes of persons continues to be shown towards soldiers, sailors, bodies of the police, railroad laborers, and emigrants; as well as towards prisoners confined in this country, and convicts whose crimes have led to their removal to distant and penal stations.

Ready assistance is constantly furnished by the Board in supplying the means, where needed, for the establishment of Lending Libraries; while the praiseworthy efforts of pious individuals, in the erection of churches in different parts of the country, meet with the encouragement of the Society, in the grant of suitable books for the performance of Divine Service in these new buildings.

One of the chief and most costly works in which the Society is engaged, is its endeavor to advance the Redeemer's kingdom, and strengthen the cause of His Church, in the colonies and dependencies of the British empire. In this excellent and needful duty it has never ceased its labors since the early period of its history, when, under its auspices, one hundred and fifty years since, successful efforts were made for the spiritual welfare of some of the Colonies and Dependencies of the empire. Placing funds for the promotion of its general objects in the hands of Bishops in the colonies; and giving an impulse to the erection of colleges in the Colonial Dioceses for the education of candidates for Holy Orders, the Society has indeed incurred considerable outlay. But it enjoys the satisfaction of doing good, and of acting in a manner in which, it cannot be doubted, its founders would have done, had such opportunities of Christian usefulness been opened to them.

In addition to the aid which it has rendered in the fulfillment of this important design, and in the erection of churches for the scattered flocks in British America, and the new converts of Southern India, the Society has, in accordance with the spirit of its former transactions, provided from its catalogues books and tracts for the use of clergymen and catechists leaving this country for scenes of missionary labor abroad. These grants, which are made after due inquiry into the several cases, generally prove very acceptable and useful; and it is hoped that, by means of some

additions recently made to the Permanent Catalogue, the Society's help, in this respect, may become yet more available for the purpose intended.

The total number of Books and Tracts circulated since the publication of the last Annual Report, has amounted to four millions, one hundred and fifty-four thousand, four hundred and twenty-eight; namely: Bibles, 129,242; New Testaments, 90,880; Prayer-Books, 287,372; other bound Books and Tracts, 3,646,934; being an increase on the year of two hundred and ninety-one thousand, eight hundred and twenty-four.

The sale of books and tracts in the Society's retail departments, during the year, has amounted to the sum of £16,062 10s. 9d.

The Society has published, during the last twelve months, under the direction of the Foreign Translation Committee, an edition of Luther's German translation of the Bible; the New Testament, according to the original Greek, in the Spanish and Maltese language; new translations of the Book of Common Prayer, into the modern Armenian, and the Maori or New Zealand languages; and new and revised editions of the Italian and German versions of the Liturgy. An account of other translations, at present in progress, will be found in the Report of the Foreign Translation Committee, which is given in the Appendix.

CANADA WEST. The Bishop of Toronto, in a recent letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, gives an account of a visitation to the Indian Missions in the island of Manitoulin, and at the Straits of St. Marie. 2,300 Indians were assembled; 20 were confirmed, and 57 received the Holy Communion. His voyage on Lake Huron occupied five days, and was in an Indian canoe; he encamped at night on the shore under a tent. He thus states the prospects of his Diocese.

"By a census of the province, which has just been taken, it is said that the population of this Diocese, or Canada West, is about 700,000. Lower Canada, which had double our population a very few years ago, now exceeds us by 70,000 only. We increase so much more rapidly than Canada East, that in five or six years we shall leave them far behind.

"I believe a full third of the population belongs to or may be attached to our Church. The whole Diocese is filling up with astonishing quickness. This is the great field for the Church in British North America; for in thirty years she may, with the Divine blessing on her exertions, count a million of adherents."

CHURCH IN THE WEST INDIES. The English Church in the West India Colonies is reported to be in a sad condition. Ten years ago an Act of Parliament proclaimed Liberty throughout the Colonial Empire. Notwithstanding the temporary depression of business following that Act, and the difficulty of competing with slave labor as existing in foreign colonies, business was beginning to revive, when in 1846, the spirit of *free trade* opened British markets to slave labor produce; and Cuba, Porto Rico, and Brazil, are now supplying them with their own productions at ruinous rates to British industry. The consequence is, a general prostration of industry; idleness is prevailing; poverty ensues; and the missionary and religious interests of the Islands partake of the general depression. A want of funds to maintain Church institutions threatens a complete suspension of her ministrations in large and important districts. No portion of the English Church seems to be so depressed, none so unpromising, as in these Islands. Urgent calls are made upon that Church at home for funds to meet the emergency brought about by British legislation.

CANTERBURY COLONY. A project for a Church Colony, to be established in New Zealand, has been before the English people for several months. Practical difficulties, however, in regard to the purchase of suitable lands, and anticipated interference on the part of the New Zealand Company, bid fair to defeat the project for the present, and perhaps entirely. The plan contemplated the planting of a Colony, upon a system never yet adopted; all the colonists being members of the Church of England; with arrangements to carry out the system in all its details. It is to be regretted that so beautiful a theory, could not have the trial of a fair experiment. It might have formed a new era in colonial enterprise.

DIOCESE OF NOVA SCOTIA. This Diocese includes the Province of Nova Scotia, and the Islands of Breton and Prince Edward. Besides the Bishop, Rt. Rev. John Inglis, D. D., there are 47 Clergymen. During the year 1847, the Bishop consecrated six Churches and Chapels; held 22 Confirmations, at which 513 persons were confirmed; traveled about 1,500 miles; admitted five persons to the Order of Deacons, and one Deacon to the Order of Priests. In this Diocese there are now 111 Churches and Chapels; of which *three* only were in existence when the first Bishop landed on these shores sixty years ago. The Eleventh Annual General Meeting of the Diocesan Church Society was held at Halifax on the 28th of February last. The Lieutenant Governor took the chair, supported by the Lord Bishop, and the Ven. Archdeacon Willis. Among the subjects of important interest brought before the meeting, were the prospects of King's College at Windsor. The Provincial Legislature were then attempting to withdraw the annual appropriation to the College of £444 currency sacredly pledged to the College since 1789. The Lieutenant Governor, and several other speakers, denounced this radical movement with becoming severity; and maintained the necessity of Christianity as the basis of education, in language which we should like to quote at length. The College has, within three years, suffered the loss of the annual grant of £500 from the Society for Propagation of the Gospel; and recently of £1000 annually from the Imperial Parliament. Thus crippled at every step of its progress, Churchmen are rallying around the College and around the Church. As one of the speakers truly said, alluding to the Irish Church, "so long as that Church remained comparatively inactive, she was permitted to enjoy tranquillity and repose; but the moment she began to gird herself to the work she had to do, the moment she went forth with the Gospel into the dark places of the land; *that moment* the tide of clamor and opposition set in against her; and her resources must be crippled; her Bishops must be removed; and her endowments must be taken away." It was determined at this Annual Meeting to employ six additional Missionaries in the Diocese; and at an adjourned meeting of the General Committee of the Diocesan Church Society, on the next day, March 1st, it was resolved to inquire into the best mode of forming Endowments for the respective Parishes. The discussions at this Annual Meeting at Halifax were very able; and the spirit manifested in a high degree earnest and premising. It appears from later intelligence that the King's College Spoliation Bill was lost in the Legislature by a vote of 12 to 9. The Annual Meeting was closed with the singing of the Doxology, and the Apostolic benediction.

It is gratifying thus to witness in every part of the Church of England the development of new life and energy. The enmity of her foes was never so bitter; but "no weapon that is formed against her shall prosper."

A MISSIONARY DIOCESE.

The following document is interesting and valuable for several reasons. It reminds us of the missionary labors of the early Church.

DIOCESAN SYNOD OF NEW ZEALAND.

The first Diocesan Synod was assembled in the Church at the Waimate, on the 26th of September, 1844, at which were present:

President.

THE RIGHT REV. THE BISHOP.

Archdeacons.

VEN. H. WILLIAMS, Archdeacon of the Waimate.

VEN. W. WILLIAMS, Archdeacon of Waiapu.

VEN. A. N. BROWN, Archdeacon of Tauranga.

Presbyters.

REV. W. C. COTTON,

REV. R. BURROWS,

REV. R. MAUNSELL,

REV. W. C. DUDLEY.

Deacons.

REV. C. P. DAVIES,

REV. R. DAVIS.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SYNOD.

The Prayers of the Church were offered up for Divine blessing upon the deliberations of the Synod.

The Bishop then explained the objects of the meeting, and recited in order the subjects to which he wished to call the attention of the Clergy, and to hear their opinions. The questions proposed were carefully considered; and the decisions of the Synod embodied in the following Canons:

I. BAPTISM.

CANON I. *On the Baptism of Infants in places where proper Sponsors cannot be obtained.*

That in places where duly qualified sponsors cannot be obtained, infants be received to baptism on the application of their parents, and on their giving a written pledge to submit their children to the education of the Church. In these cases, that the Bishop, the officiating Clergyman, and his wife, be considered as the sponsors of the children so baptized; and that a separate registry be kept of all children so brought under the sponsorship of the Church.

CANON II. *On the Baptism of the Infant Children of unbaptized Parents, &c.*

Children of unbaptized parents, or of one baptized and one unbaptized parent, or the issue of persons living in concubinage, or of persons married according to other rites than those of the Church of England, may be admitted to baptism upon the earnest desire of their parents, according to the regulation specified in the foregoing canon; or upon other good and sufficient sponsors being found willing to answer for the children.

CANON III. *On the Baptism of Adults.*

That the Archdeacon, at his annual visitation, receive and enrol the names of all persons considered worthy to be admitted into the class of Catechumens, who shall then enter upon a stated course of probation, and continue at the least one year under the immediate instruction of the Missionary of the district.

That the times of the admission of Catechumens to Holy Baptism, the standard of qualification, and the length of probation, be determined by the Archdeacon, who "Is appointed by the Bishop for that purpose," according to the Rubric prefixed to the Ministration of Baptism to such as are of riper years; but that the Archdeacon be at liberty to delegate this authority to any clergyman whom he shall consider sufficiently acquainted with the Native language and character: "that so due care may be taken for their examination, whether they be sufficiently instructed in the principles of the Christian religion."—[*Rubric Baptism, riper years.*]

Catechumens in extreme sickness may be baptized by clergymen not authorized by the Archdeacon, upon their own urgent entreaty, and after such examination as "the time and present exigence will suffer." Catechumens, who die without baptism, may receive Christian burial, if their baptism has not been delayed through their own fault or neglect.

CANON IV. *On the qualification for Baptism.*

That a knowledge of reading be required as a qualification for Baptism, except in the case of aged persons, or others in whose favor the Archdeacon may see reason to make a special exception. That in all cases, a knowledge of the Church Catechism, illustrated and enforced by Scripture references, be required.

That a book be kept at all the Mission Stations, in which the attendance, progress, and other particulars relating to Catechumens, may be regularly entered; and that it be laid before the Archdeacon at his Visitation.

CANON V. *On Bigamy.*

That no man, married to, or cohabiting with two or more women, be admitted to the class of Catechumens; but that a woman, being one of two or more wives of a heathen man, not having power over her own body, but subject to her husband, may be received as a Catechumen and admitted to baptism, without separation from her husband.

II. CONFIRMATION.

CANON VI. *On the Probation of newly Baptized persons.*

That persons admitted to baptism as adults remain in a state of probation, and under the instruction of the Missionary till the Bishop's visitation; that they be then examined by the Bishop or his deputy, and, on being approved, receive imposition of hands, and be forthwith admitted to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

That a book, similar to that used for Catechumens, be kept at every Mission Station as a register of the attendance, progress, and conduct of candidates for confirmation.

CANON VII. *On the admission into the Church of England of persons baptized in other Communions.*

That persons baptized, either in infancy or as adults, by ministers of other Churches, or religious communities, may, on their declaration of their desire to be received into communion with the Church of England, be presented to the Bishop for confirmation, if it can be shown that they were baptized with water in the name of the Holy Trinity, and that, after confirmation, they be admitted to the Lord's Supper.

III. THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

CANON VIII. *On the Examination of Candidates for admission to the Lord's Supper.*

That the candidates for the Lord's Supper be required to attend the Missionary at least one day before for examination and instruction, and that a written certificate of attendance be then given them, to be presented to the Clergyman at the time of administration.

CANON IX. *On the Offertory, &c.*

That one or more of the sentences of the Offertory be regularly read in the Communion Service, and opportunity given to all who desire to make their offerings, but that no person be required or solicited to give.

That all persons be exhorted to come to the Holy Communion in seemly clothing; but that no one be excluded on account of his inability to procure a dress of foreign manufacture.

IV. DISCIPLINE AND SYSTEM.

CANON X. *On the Census.*

That a census be made throughout the country, containing the name and condition of every man, woman and child among the native people: that one copy be kept at the Mission Stations, and another in the Bishop's registry; and that additions and corrections be made in an annual report of births, baptisms, deaths, &c., to be transmitted regularly to the Bishop.

CANON XI. *On the Marriage and Burial of unbaptized persons.*

That no heathen be admissible to marriage according to the rites of the Church; and yet, that the baptism of heathens be not hastened with a view to their marriage; but rather—inasmuch as it is reasonable to believe that a lower degree of faith may be accepted as a qualification for marriage than that which is necessary for the due reception of baptism—that they be marriageable upon their admission into the class of Catechumens.

That marriage according to heathen usage be no bar to admission to the class of Catechumens, provided that the man shall have lived faithfully with one wife, or be willing to put away all his wives except one.

That every man and woman married, as aforesaid, according to heathen usage, be married by the rites of the Church after their admission to the class of Catechumens.

That persons wishing to marry after illicit cohabitation, remain in a state of separation one year before they can be received.

That Catechumens dying unbaptized be buried with the rites of the Church, if their baptism was delayed by the absence of the Clergyman, and not by any fault or neglect of their own.

CANON XII. *On Cycles of Visitation.*

That a cycle of visitation be formed in every Archdeaconry, to secure the more effective administration of the Sacraments and greater regularity and frequency of pastoral instruction in every village in the district; and that copies of the cycles, specifying names of the places, and the number of visits of the Clergy, be forwarded annually to the Bishop.

CANON XIII. *On Native teachers and their duties.*

That a body of teachers be organized in each Archdeaconry, and divided into the two classes of Kai Whakaako and Monita: the Kai Whakaako being the head teacher of an extensive district, and the inspector of the small settlements assigned to his charge, and of the Monitors who are appointed to conduct the daily service in them.

That the Kai Whakaako be furnished with a certificate, to be signed annually by the Clergyman of his district, and presented to the Bishop at his visitation, to be countersigned by him.

Duties of the Kai Whakaako.

1. That the Kai Whakaako be regular communicants.
2. That they visit the Clergyman at stated times, to receive instruction.
3. That they visit all the hamlets of their district, and report to the Clergyman the state of the people.
4. That they conduct the daily service with regularity and devotion, and do not give it up to any strangers, or other persons, except to the accredited teachers.
5. That they instruct their people regularly in reading, writing, and in the Catechism; that they assemble the Christian Natives weekly, or oftener, for the reading of the Scriptures, and also the candidates for Baptism, for catechetical instruction; that they visit the sick, and report to the Clergyman of their state and wants.
6. That they keep the Native Chapel in a sound, cleanly and orderly state.
7. That, in their own houses, they set an example of order and cleanliness; that they have a bed-room divided from the rest of the house; and discourage the promiscuous sleeping of men and women in the same room.
8. That they be respectful at all times to the head chief of their tribe.
9. That they do not leave their station without informing the Clergyman, and obtaining his permission.
10. That they do not assemble public meetings to try and condemn persons accused of moral offences; but that they report the cases privately to the Clergyman.
11. That they shall not delegate their duties to the Monita, except in the case of their own sickness or absence.

Duties of the Monita.

1. That they be regular Communicants.
2. That they be respectful and subordinate to the Kai Whakaako of their district.
3. That they assemble their people for daily service on week-days, and bring them to the Central Chapels on Sunday.
4. That they be orderly in their habits, and cleanly in their persons and houses.

CANON XIV.—*On Discipline and Excommunication.*

That the rule contained in Matthew (xviii, 18) be strictly followed in the administration of Church discipline.

1. That the Native teacher, or other witness of the offense, report it privately to the Minister.
2. That the Minister expostulate with the offender; and, in the event of his remonstrance being ineffectual, suspend him from the Holy Communion, and, in extreme cases, from public worship,—reporting the case at the same time to the Bishop.
3. That the Bishop shall admonish the offender; that, if he persist after repeated admonitions, he will be liable to the greater excommunication, and debarred from public worship and Communion,—from the society of his fellow Christians; and, after death, that his body will not receive Christian burial.
4. That offenders under censure of the Church, upon their repentance, be pre-

sent to the Bishop at his visitation, to be reconciled to the Church, and restored to their privileges.

CANON XV.—On Central Schools.

That efforts be made to establish and maintain Central Boarding Schools at the chief station in each Archdeaconry, to be placed under the charge of a resident Deacon; and that the most promising children of both sexes be selected from all parts of the country for admission into the Central Schools.

The following subjects were also discussed, but no definite conclusion was embodied by the Synod in the form of a Canon:

1. The best mode of establishing a parochial system throughout the country.
2. The management of Church estates.
3. The formation of a series of useful catechetical and homiletical works for the use of Native teachers.
4. The supply of necessaries to the distant Mission Stations; the best system of trade with the Natives; the improvement of their temporal condition by means of clothing and provident funds.

RECEIPTS OF ENGLISH RELIGIOUS AND BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.—A table is here presented, of the respective incomes of the various benevolent and religious societies of England, collected from the last annual reports, and calculated upon an average of the last three years.

British and Foreign Bible Society.....	\$517,000
Church Missionary Society.....	522,000
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.....	457,000
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.....	405,000
Society for Building and Repairing Churches.....	106,000
Church Pastoral Aid Society.....	202,000
British and Foreign School Society.....	67,000
Religious Tract Society.....	256,000
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.....	522,000
London Missionary Society.....	337,000
Baptist Missionary Society.....	226,000
London City Mission.....	103,000
Methodist New Connexion Mission.....	13,000
Newfoundland School Society.....	18,000
London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.....	226,000
British Society for Propagating the Gospel amongst the Jews.....	103,000
Colonial Church Society.....	18,000
Foreign Aid Society.....	23,620
Home Missionary Society.....	36,000
Irish Evangelical Society.....	112,000
Colonial Missionary Society.....	112,000
Naval and Military Bible Society.....	112,000
Christian Instruction Society.....	2,700
Indigent Blind Visiting Society.....	2,900
Protestant Association.....	6,700
Sunday School Union.....	7,200
Adult Deaf and Dumb Institution.....	4,000
British and Foreign Sailor's Society.....	5,400
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.....	8,425
Orphan Working School.....	56,250
New Infant Orphan Asylum.....	12,000
Clergy Orphan Corporation.....	20,550
Friends of Foreigners in distress.....	11,250
Trinitarian Bible Society.....	6,700

During the year 1847-8, the receipts of nearly all the societies show a decrease as compared with the preceding year—a circumstance attributed to the monetary pressure.

UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

OXFORD.

On Wednesday, July 5th, there was a Grand Commemoration of the Founders and Benefactors of Oxford University. At half-past ten, the gates for the admission of Masters of Arts, strangers and Undergraduates, were also opened, and in a very few minutes the area and the Undergraduates' gallery were crowded to such a degree that it seemed difficult to pack human beings closer together. It is customary on such occasions for the Undergraduates to call the names of public characters, and salute them with cheers or disapprobation, as they approve or disapprove of their conduct. The names of Prince Albert and the Duke of Wellington were among the earliest, which were received with unanimous acclamation; and the same demonstration accompanied the mention of Lord Stanley, Sir R. H. Inglis, Church and Queen. To the names of Sir R. Peel, Lord John Russell, Feargus O'Connor, the Chartists and the French Republic, a very different reception was given, inasmuch as little else was heard but groans, hisses, and the most discordant noises. With Mr. Gladstone's name there was a division of opinion, but the disapprobation preponderated. Lord Brougham's name was hooted, and so was Joseph Hume's and Cobden's. Sir R. H. Inglis's name was hailed with rapturous and long-continued applause from all parts of the theater. "Three groans for the Chartists"—the contrast was most striking, and gave a not unpleasant variety to the display of feeling, more particularly when followed by "Three cheers for Queen Adelaide," which were most cordially given. Among the other calls were those of "The Bishop of Oxford," "The Dean of Westminster," "The Vice-Chancellor," "The Proctors," "The Archbishop of Canterbury," "Mr. Sewell," "Mr. Benceford Hope," which were all received with cheers, Mr. Hope's name eliciting decidedly the loudest and heartiest. Dr. Hampden's name had but a very equivocal reception.

Dr. Phillimore then presented the following distinguished individuals, upon whom the Honorary Degree of D. C. L. was conferred:

The Right Hon. the Earl of Harrowby; Baron Hugel; the Right Hon. Sir Geo. Arthur, Bart.; the Rt. Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, one of the burgesses for the University; Sir Charles Gould Morgan, M. P.; Henry Hallam, Esq.; William Cotton, Esq.; Austen Henry Layard, Esq., attaché to Her Majesty's Embassy at Constantinople.

The presentation of Mr. Gladstone gave rise to such uproar, from the conflicts of applause and disapprobation, that not a word which fell from Dr. Phillimore was heard.

In presenting Mr. Hallam, Dr. Phillimore paid some well-turned compliments to that distinguished writer, remarking that he was no mere annalist or commentator, but a philosophical historian, who not only narrated events, but traced the causes and exposed the motives which led to them. The works he had written were in everybody's hands, and had acquired for him European renown. Thus, in the best days of France, he had been made a member of that institution in which he had for an associate the illustrious exile who had deigned to honor the University with his presence on that occasion.

The last individual presented by Dr. Phillimore was A. H. Layard, Esq.; attaché to the British Embassy at Constantinople, who is about to return to the East, where he will be engaged on a special mission by the British Government for the settlement of the boundaries between Turkey and Persia. He has long been resident in the least known parts of the Turkish and Persian dominions, and a memoir upon the ancient provinces of Susiana and Elymas, written by him, was published in the Journal of the Royal Geological Society. He has been latterly engaged in researches on the site of the ancient cities of Assyria, and has made important discoveries among the ruins of Nineveh, the results of which have not only determined the true site of that city, but have afforded a mass of new information upon the history, manners, and civilization of the ancient Assyrians. Several palaces, buried for nearly three thousand years, have been brought to light by him, their walls covered with bas reliefs, paintings, and inscriptions, in the cuneiform character. The sculptures represent the triumphs, achievements, and religious ceremonies of one of the most ancient and interesting nations of antiquity, whose history was for a long time connected with that of the Jews. Mr. Layard is a grandson of the Dean of Bristol of that name, who distinguished himself in this University.

THE
CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. II.

JULY, 1849.

No. 2.

MILTON'S PROSE AND POETICAL WORKS.

ART. I.—THE PROSE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON, with a Biographical Introduction, by RUFUS W. GRISWOLD. Philadelphia: Herman Hooker, 1845.

A TREATISE ON CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, compiled from the Holy Scripture alone. By JOHN MILTON. Translated from the original by CHARLES R. SUMNER, M. A., Librarian and Historiographer to His Majesty, and Prebendary of Canterbury. Boston, 1825.

THE POETICAL WORKS OF JOHN MILTON.

Few men are more spoken of, yet more unknown, than John Milton. The materials for forming a correct opinion of his character and principles have been long before society; but various causes have combined to produce, and perpetuate, an erroneous estimate of both. Foremost among them is to be ranked the loss, for nearly an hundred and fifty years, of the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*; which left the ultimate conclusions of Milton's intellect, on the whole range of religious topics, in great obscurity, and allowed a false impression of his orthodoxy, which is not now easily eradicated, to obtain

footing in the world.* During his own life he was chiefly known as a controversial and political writer; but after his death, while *Paradise Lost*, the great monument of his genius, gained his name a ready admission alike into palace and cottage, the Prose Works, which had been written in defence of defeated factions in Church and State, sank into comparative oblivion. Meanwhile the splendor of the Epic poem, and the peculiar mode of its construction, which veiled political doctrines under the rich garb of scriptural expression, caused Milton to be considered, by all parties, as emphatically The Poet of Christendom; and suspected errors were passed lightly over by those who contemplated, with affectionate reverence, the stately structure which his genius had erected in blindness and advanced age. Within late years, the public has obtained a more intimate acquaintance with his mind and principles, from the repeated editions of his Prose Works in England and America. Still, these are read by few, and the number by whom they are judiciously estimated is yet more limited. We propose, therefore, to present as clearly as our very confined space will allow, a picture of Milton, drawn from the complete collection of his writings now before us. In doing this we must confess ourselves undazzled by the lustre of his reputation, or his transcendent powers; and while we yield to none in our admiration of his genius, we will not suffer this to interfere with the stern judgment which, as Christian reviewers, we must pass upon his principles. In his capacity of Poet, space will permit us to say little concerning him, except what has a bearing on his theological opinions. It is time to put aside the haze of brilliant words, and look calmly at Milton as he is; and we conceive that we shall be doing service to the Church, in drawing attention distinctly to his religious views, and to the process by which he arrived at them. It is, indeed, with mingled feelings that we contemplate Milton—the poet rivaled only by Shakspeare and Homer; the orator—for justly may we so call him, since his most eloquent works were spoken, not written, to the high audience of the world, and of all coming generations—the orator, equalling in grandeur, vehemence, and argumentative power, any whom Athens, Rome,

* "I know not any of the articles which seem to thwart his opinions: but the thought of obedience, whether canonical or civil, roused his indignation."—*Johnson's Life of Milton*.

"Milton appears to have had full conviction of the truth of Christianity, to have regarded the Holy Scriptures with the profoundest veneration, to have been untainted by any heretical peculiarity of opinion."—*R.*

England or France produced in their palmiest days ; the historian, who would have been second to none, had he selected history as his peculiar province ; the scholar, *facile princeps*, in all save ecclesiastical and oriental learning, of a most accomplished age ; the theologian, who wanted but humility to place him beside judicious Hooker, and lacking this became the arch-heretic of the Gospel dispensation ; the statesman, to whose counsels and influence may be attributed much of the dignity and strength which characterized the Protectorate ; the man, possessing all qualities which men call heroic, whose very errors would have made him a demi-god in heathen times ; the patriot, most mistaken, but most self-sacrificing and most sincere ; and yet the Arian,* the Pantheist,† the Materialist,‡ the regicide,§ the Antinomian,|| the advocate of polygamy¶ and superadded divorce, limited only by inclination, which is no limit**—in a word, as we shall show, towards the conclusion of our remarks, the maintainer of almost every crude impiety, and one of the bitterest enemies who ever lived of the Christian Church. In the present age, a war of principle is going on throughout the world ; and when we calmly ask ourselves, on which side is John Milton to be found—that of good or evil—we are compelled, by the urgency of fact, to say on that of evil ; and that when the hosts of anti-Christ marshal themselves against the Truth, they can find no ground, to stand upon, better intrenched, than that which he has marked out, no principles more seductive, and no name, under which to fight, more dazzling to the multitude. We would venture to prophecy, without pretending to be far-sighted either, that the last contest of the world against the Church will take place on the principles of Milton. It will not turn on the avowed alternative of Christian belief, or utter infidelity. It will be a struggle more subtle, more close, more deadly. It will be the effort of Evil to gain possession of the citadel of Truth, and rule the world under the name of Christianity. A truly great mind runs by an instinctive logic to the end of a principle, boldly breaking through every barrier of custom and sacred association, and standing disenthralled and triumphant at the uttermost goal : while the mass of mankind, less consistent—clear-headed and independent ; restrained by the pressure of society—early habit—the influence of names—the love of reputation—and many similar obstacles, toils slowly

* Ch. Doc., Vol. I, Ch. V.

† Ib. Vol. I, Ch. VII and XIII.

‡ Ch. Doc., Vol. II, Ch. XVII.

† Ib. Vol. I, Ch. VII.

§ Prose Works, Vol. I, p. 374.

¶ Ib. Vol. I, Ch. X.

** Ib.

after, gradually advancing from point to point in the course of generations, until the whole ground is traveled, and the general mind, by an unconscious reasoning, reaches the fatal termination which the giant compassed at a stride. The very elevation and purity of Milton's character, render his errors more dangerous. It is by such a mind alone that abstract evil can be developed in such a manner as to be enduringly hurtful. An avowed infidel or an immoral man has but a transient power. Voltaire, Rousseau, and Paine may have slain their thousands, yet whom do they now mislead? Milton, encircled by a halo of seeming divinity, and attracting universal admiration, tempts men into error by his personal virtue and his intellectual greatness. We have observed, for many years, the growing influence which his views, only partially understood, are exercising on the public mind; and consider it high time that the Church should look steadily at the nature of the issue which is presented, and should forbear even to think or speak of John Milton as a Christian man, or a Christian poet. A late reviewer, in this country, praises him for "casting aside the whole machinery of Priesthood, and all the cant and predilections of past ages;"* and Mr. Griswold, in his Preface, tells us that had he only written his works against Episcopacy, "he would have been one of the greatest benefactors of the Church and of mankind;"† and he concludes by saying, "He was the greatest of all human beings: the noblest and the ennobler of mankind."‡ That he possessed many high qualities of mind and heart, and the richest and most various gifts of intellect, we fully acknowledge; that he turned his greatness to good account, or may justly be esteemed the ennobler of mankind—if Christian principle qualifies a man to ennoble his fellows—we shall take the liberty to question: and the fact that such exaggerated praise can be bestowed upon a person who deliberately denied almost every distinctive tenet of Christianity, convinces us of the necessity of speaking plainly on the subject. We want no man-worship, no bowing down to any human being, merely because he possessed an iron will, a retentive memory, a clear head, a brilliant imagination, and a tongue which

"Dropped manna and could make the worse appear
The better reason."

John Milton was a great man, but a very faulty one, and far from being inspired, though he seems so to have fancied.

* The Literary World, Vol. III, No. 25.

† Prose Works, Vol. I, p. vii.

‡ Ib. p. xi.

To form a just idea of Milton's genius, it is necessary to take his Prose Works into the account. They know little of him who regard him merely as the writer of *Paradise Lost*, and *Sampson Agonistes*. Many regard a poet as a dreamer who cultivates the imagination at the expense of the reflective faculties—a notion which Pope endorses when he says,

"Where beams of warm imagination play,
The memory's soft colors melt away."

But Milton had no such idea of the vocation of the poet. With him, the ideal was not separated from the practical, and poetry was merely the final embellishment of the most matter of fact deductions of the reason. In early life he at times gave loose reins to fancy: but in proportion as his mind gained maturity he used the lyre simply as the handmaid of the theologian and the politician, characters which with him were indissolubly connected, binding into one the whole life of man, as a responsible being and an earthly citizen. It is in his Prose Works, and especially in the *Treatise on Christian Doctrine*, that we discover, the vast foundation of thought and learning which he laid before he wrote his Epic, how little temporary impulse had to do with one word which he uttered as a poet, and how completely he made the imagination subservient to the reason. But the evidence which enhances our idea of the greatness of the man, deprives his poems of their usually conceded Christian character, and shows that while ingeniously couched in language drawn from the inspired records, they are elaborately opposed to nearly every Christian truth, and embody a formal scheme of gigantic heresy, embracing the whole range of theology. There was, however, no deception designed by him; for had his own evident intentions been carried into effect, the world would, from the moment of his decease, have been supplied with a key to all that is obscure in *Paradise Lost* and *Regained*; and the meaning of passages which are now read carelessly, without a literal pressure of their language, would have been fully understood.

Before we begin our necessarily meagre Review of his various works, controversial, political, and doctrinal, let us first draw a brief sketch of the times in which he lived, and the circumstances which tended to the formation of his character and opinions. We are not disposed to deny that some excuse may be found for the course which he took both in politics and theology, in the temper of the age, and the unsettled state of religious principle. As yet men had not test-

ed the depths of that fearful gulf called liberty—a gulf which has recesses still unexplored—and while beholding the mental degradation which resulted from Papal power on the Continent, and the sorrows caused by the contests between the crown and the people in his own land, it may have seemed certain to him that this would be the panacea for all human ills.

The Reformation found the masses throughout Europe without any definite knowledge of the principles of Christianity. At Rome, religious feeling was faintly struggling against prevalent infidelity, and good men instinctively felt that there was much to remedy, though they knew not where to begin.* The contest between Luther and the Papal See was a leap into the dark on both sides,† and neither party was aware by what arguments to attack its opponent or defend itself, or what course the controversy was likely to take. Beginning with a single point, the dispute soon spread to every tenet of Christianity, and the uninformed popular mind became a tribunal before which the gravest speculations of theologians, and the deepest mysteries of the faith, were to be tried. But it was not long before a few great minds gained a temporary ascendancy, and caused the general reception of their sentiments by large masses, without, however, restraining the spirit of division and insubordination, but rather rendering it more powerful, by giving it an embodied form and definite direction. A new Christianity arose disrupted from the past, having for its foundation not reverence for, and submission to, the Divine will, but a wild feeling of opposition to tyranny, and a stern determination to uphold private opinion by the unlicensed use of the tongue and the final resort to the sword. While Rome, under the pretence of reforming abuses, proceeded in the Council of Trent to consolidate the fabric of an usurped ecclesiastical despotism, her continental opponents were building up the collective tyranny of individualism. In England the Reformation originating with the heads of the Church, acting with the consent of the secular authority, though not subservient to it, took a different and more stately course, preserving all the links which unite the present with the past, and foster those emotions of love, reverence, and obedience, in which the soul of Christianity consists. Could it have proceeded without the introduction of the foreign element, the Church in England would soon have presented an aspect of calm and instructed strength, unity, peace, and de-

* Ranke, Bk. II, p. 53.

† Fra Paolo, p. 6.

votion, deep, but not uncheerful, than which the mind can picture nothing more lovely or conducive to national greatness. As it was, through the blessing of Providence, and the insular position of the country, the Church was enabled to obtain a hold on the minds of all classes, which has never been effaced in the most disastrous times, and which will yet be the preservative of England amid the convulsions that tear the rest of Europe. But while the Church was gradually and quietly doing her good work, and the infusion of continental opinion was preparing the way for discord and fanaticism, the commercial prosperity of England, and the diffusion of sound learning, were bringing forward the middle classes into a political prominence not hitherto enjoyed, and with the sense of power came the desire to exercise it. The prerogatives of the crown, and the rights of the people, were, in many respects, unsettled, and law and precedent opposed to each other. But had it not been for the absurdities of Puritanism, which provoke laughter even when most malignant, and which, being derived from an element foreign to the structure of the Anglo-Saxon mind, could not long remain joined to it, but were destined to terminate either in rationalism or a return to the Church; had it not been for these things, which set all ordinary calculations at defiance, the straight forward common sense of the English nation, would soon have set matters to rights without any collision. Never was a kingdom so favorably situated for the peaceful and just settlement of all that pertained to political and ecclesiastical rights, as England in the reign of Charles. A gentle and intelligent sovereign, a noble-minded aristocracy, a vigorous and learned commons, a pious and well-read clergy, a people loyally disposed alike to Church and State, what could have prevented the orderly rectification of abuses, derived from antecedent centuries, but a foreign influence which, like an insane jester with a fire-brand, threw itself into the midst of the noble assemblage, and for awhile made all parties partakers of its madness, either as opponents or friends!

Such were the elements of the brooding storm when Charles began his reign, and Milton entered on his academic career at Cambridge. As yet the feelings of the latter were not embittered against the Church, since he contemplated taking orders, a design which continued in full force at the age of twenty-three. It may be permitted us to regret that one so mentally qualified to adorn and bless the Church, and so susceptible to all that is solemn in her architecture and devotions, should have found it impossible to humble his mind to

the reception of teaching, before which Hooker, Bull, and Pearson have bowed, and risen mightier for their humility. During the years in which his mind was slowly maturing first at Cambridge, and then at his father's house at Horton Charles and Laud were embroiling themselves with the Parliament and the Puritans: but so far was this from being the result of a tyrannical spirit, that the encroachments of the monarch on the rights of the subject were caused by the failure of the Commons to provide for the necessary expenses of government; and the chief cause of popular complaint, was the unwillingness of King and Bishop to persecute the Papists and Arminians. We should have heard fewer complaints concerning abuses of power, had they fallen in with the tyrannical spirit of the times. The strife was still going on when Milton, having completed his studies, set out for the Continent to expand his mind by intercourse with the learned, and the sight of classic scenes, and to carry his abhorrence of authority to its height, by witnessing the abuses of Popery. On his return from the Continent he plunged into the controversy then waging between the Church and the Presbyterians. To his advocacy of Presbyterianism can be attached no weight, since he soon after belabored his friends more severely than he abused the Bishops. If he did not throw any new light on the subject, he yet proved the strength of his pen, and manifested that bitterness of spirit which was the distinguishing characteristic of his polemical and political career. In this controversy he was not actuated by religious motives, but by a desire to assist a factious political party; for he plainly confesses that his reason for embarking in it was the hope of inflicting a blow upon secular authority through the medium of the spiritual. "*Cum veram affectari viam ad libertatem cernerem, ab his initiis, his passibus ad liberandum servitute vitam omnem mortalium rectissime procedere, si ab religione disciplina orta, ad mores et instituta reipublicæ emanaret.*" That is, when he observed the attacks upon Episcopacy, he saw that the true method for overthrowing the State had been discovered, and that what began with an assault upon religious discipline, would terminate in rebellion against the institutions of the country. This may be a proof of his political discernment, but gives us no exalted idea of the purity of his religious motives. Nor can we excuse him from the charge of willful hypocrisy, for while in after life, when Church and State were alike prostrate under the rampant tyranny of Cromwell, he acknowledged that from the first he desired the overthrow of kingly power, he at this period af-

fect to argue for the subversion of Episcopacy, in order to strengthen the authority of the crown.* But this is in perfect accordance with the Machiavellian doctrine laid down in his religious Treatise, that a man is not bound to tell the truth to an opponent.†

As a specimen of the animus of Milton, and the opposition of his feelings to those of the Gospel, we should never lose sight of the fearful conclusion of the prayer in his letter on the Reformation in England, which, in the abhorrent cant of the times, he calls "piously laying the sad condition of England before the footstool of the Almighty."

"They that by impairing and diminution of the true faith," (i. e. Presbyterianism,) "after a shameful end in this life, which God grant them shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of hell, where under the despiteful controll, the trample and spurn of all the other damned, that in the anguish of their torture shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight forever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot and down-trodden vassals of perdition."‡ How, in a fanatical and misguided age, must language like this have stirred up the spirit of very fiends in the bosoms of the populace! Nor are we permitted to regard these words as the effusion of an excited mind, and a rapid pen. It was a part of his religious system thus to feel, and thus to speak; since we find the deliberate record of his opinion that we are "commanded to call down curses publicly on the enemies of God and the Church,"§ and "that hatred in some cases is a religious duty, as when we hate the enemies of God and the Church."|| How far our Saviour and St. Stephen fell short of the sublimity of Milton's Christianity, and what a contrast between his prayer and that offered up on the scaffold by the murdered Laud!

"Oh Lord, I beseech thee to give grace of repentance to all blood-thirsty people. But if they will not repent, O Lord, confound all their devices, defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavors"—"And when thou hast done all this in mere

* Prose Works, Vol. I, p. 87. "The prelates are the greatest underminers and betrayers of the monarch, to whom they seem to be most favorable."

† Where we are not under an obligation to speak the truth, there can be no reason why we should not, when occasion requires it, utter even what is false.

—Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 401.

‡ Prose Works, Vol. I, p. 84.

§ Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 288.

|| Ib. Vol. II, p. 377.

VOL. II.—NO. II.

mercy to them, O Lord, fill their hearts with thankfulness and with religious and dutiful obedience to Thee and Thy commandments all their days. Amen. Lord Jesus, Amen. And receive my soul into thy mercy, Amen. Our Father which art in Heaven."*

The subject-matter and language of some of the chapters in "The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty," are curious, as contrasted with his subsequent repugnance to all law and discipline, whether Divine or human.

Another feature of Milton's mind, revealed in this controversy, is the consciousness of his own intellectual strength. There is sublimity in the intenseness of his egotism. Think of a young man of thirty, in most calm words, promising his countrymen that he would place himself on a level with Homer and Isaiah, and only lacking inspiration to fulfill the prediction!

"What the greatest and choicest wits of Athens, Rome, or modern Italy and those Hebrews of old did for their country, I, in my proportion, with this over and above of being a Christian, might do for mine." From his boyhood he aimed at the highest place of intellect and fame, and the loftiness of his aspirations tended to purify his mind, and preserve him from the vices in which youth too often indulges. He had occasion at various periods to vindicate himself, and we think he did it successfully, from the charge of immorality. It is impossible to listen impartially to the calmness of conscious rectitude with which he repels the slanderous imputation, and the high ground on which he places the obligation to moral purity, without conviction that licentiousness is not to be ranked among his errors. Into what extremes his theory of polygamy might have led him, is another question. But Milton was too proud a man to be vicious except on principle. He looked upon himself as individually sacred and set apart for a divine work, as the scourge of tyrants and the restorer of lost truth, and while this made him give way to the most intense vehemence of indignation, scorn, zeal, and hatred, and induced him to place implicit reliance on the conclusions of his own intellect, it kept him from petty vices. Milton's sins were those of the mind. His was the very spirituality of wickedness. Could we forget that the Son of God has assumed our nature, setting us an example of suffering, patience, and love, and judge Milton by the maxims of heathen patriotism, it would be difficult to imagine a more elevated character.

* Southey's *Book of the Church*, Vol. II, p. 435.

We pass over, for the present, his sentiments on Divorce, which at this period his domestic troubles induced him to entertain, as the subject will come up for consideration in connection with Polygamy. Already the leaven of his cardinal principle, the deliverance of the whole life of man from servitude, was beginning to work ; and from ecclesiastical discipline, and political institutions, it was extending itself into the social relations.

We know of no production of Milton's pen so unexceptionable in spirit and language as the "Speech for the Liberty of unlicensed printing." Addressed to the High Court of Parliament, it has the dignified tone and accurate polish of an Oration of Cicero, and is replete with elevated sentiments, sound argument, and extensive learning. Its weak point is that, acknowledging no "pillar and ground of the Truth," it places all the hopes of men for its discovery in mere freedom of debate. His letter on Education, in which we recognize a like deficiency, is interesting as showing the practical turn which his thoughts took, and may even now be consulted with benefit by those who have the training of the young. In this letter we obtain a further glimpse into his mind, forever tending forward to the great Epic, which was to be the crown of his labors, and the embodiment of his principles. "What religious, what glorious and magnificent use might be made of poetry, both in divine and human things!" The man who wrote thus, would not teach variously in prose and poetry, and we hence derive additional proof that if the Treatise on Christian Doctrine be heretical, so also is *Paradise Lost*.

But from subjects like these Milton was recalled by the course of political events, and we must now view him under an aspect in which, if our admiration is excited by the boundlessness of his resources, the boldness of his temper, the readiness of his wit, and disinterestedness carried to the extremity of self-sacrifice ; we can yet only regard him as a martyr in an evil cause, and speak of his sentiments with unmitigated abhorrence. The cause of rebellion had triumphed, the flower of England's chivalry lay dead upon the bloody field of Naseby, and Charles, who had drawn the sword to defend his crown, and people, and the Church of which he was the anointed protector, from ruthless tyranny, was now at the mercy of his bitterest enemies. The minds of men began to soften towards their monarch ; the great body of the English people, even those who had opposed him, felt the kindly feelings of ancient loyalty return, and could the question have been put to the nation, it is most certain that alike Presbyterian and Romanist, Lord, Common-

er, and peasant, would with tears have reseated Charles on his throne, and obliterated ancient animosity in mutual concessions and mutual forgiveness. England had already seen and felt enough of Puritanism to hate it most cordially. Never did the English people desire the death of their King or consent to his execution, and there could not therefore be a greater misnomer than the "*Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*." In this respect the English nation needed no defence, for it had no participation in the crime. While the fate of Charles was still undecided, Milton threw the weight of his pen into the scale against him, and although his work on "The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates" was not published until after the fatal January 31, it yet proves how fully his mind went with the murderers. In this pamphlet the principle is maintained that it is not only lawful for the legal authorities of a country to punish a tyrant with death, but also "for any who have the power to do so," a principle which, as far as we can see, does not stop short of legalizing assassination; since any who have the power of possessing themselves of the person of a ruler, whom *they* consider a tyrant, may in defiance of all ordinary forms of justice, and with what amount of evidence they please of his alleged crime, "put him to death." That Milton should pretend to adduce Scriptural proof of the correctness of this position, may be regarded as evidence of his boldness, but scarcely of his Christianity. In none of his productions does his character appear in a more unamiable light than in this; and there is something fiendish in the taunts and invectives which he heaps upon the non-renting Presbyterians who, he says, "after they have juggled and paltered with the world, bandied and borne arms against their King, divested him, disanointed him, nay cursed him all over in their pulpits and their pamphlets to the engaging of sincere and real men beyond what is possible or honest to retreat from, not only turn revolvers from those principles, which only could at first move them, but lay the stain of disloyalty and worse on those proceedings, which are the necessary consequences of their former actions." It was now his turn to rally them on their sermons from the texts, "Curse ye Meroz," and "Hew Agag in pieces"—and he did not spare "the party called Presbyterian, of whom he verily believed very many to be good and faithful Christians, though misled by some of turbulent spirit." Not turbulent at all when they were seeking the overthrow of State and Church, but most turbulent when they shrunk from the actual commission of a foul murder. His arguments from the New Testament to justify the death of Charles, are few in number, and somewhat singular, and

show how much even the genius of Milton could draw, on such a topic, from the oracles of Truth.* Their *proofs* from the New Testament, together with the cases of Eglon, Agag, and Ahab from the Old, constitute the sum total of his Scriptural argument, and are eked out with blasphemous passages from Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, Bucer, and Christopher Goodman.† Now it is concerning this work that Mr. Griswold has the modesty to say, in his Biographical Introduction, that in the United States "our admiration of Milton suffers no abatement, but is rather the greater for this and other works of a like spirit." We repudiate the imputation, as we repudiate the love of rebellion and assassination.

The *Eikonoklastes* is conceived and written in a similar temper, and exhibits Milton as the unscrupulous tool of one of the meanest and basest factions that ever trod underfoot a noble empire. As to the authorship of *Eikon Basilike*, we do not think there is any evidence conclusive against the claim of the Royal Martyr. The *Eikon* certainly contains nothing unworthy of Charles, either as scholar, gentleman, King, or Christian. But it was deemed necessary, by the bloody-minded men, who had cut off his Kingly head, that the humane and pious Charles should be held up to a mourning nation, as a Nero in iniquity, and a *Cromwell* in hypocrisy; and the complacent Latin Secretary, not content with outraging truth and common sense by imputing every calamity of his reign, even to the massacres in Ireland, to his instigation, descends to scoff at his prayers, his penitence, and his preparation for death. No charge made against mortal, more completely refutes itself, than that which forms the pith of the *Eikonoklastes*, that Charles was the fomenter of the Rebellion in Ireland. Though Milton labors to prove it, he had too much sense to believe it. Had Charles been a Robespierre instead of a Christian gentleman, policy would have kept him, at that critical period of his reign, from adding to his embarrassments by a civil strife. But that a devoted member of the Church, who laid down his life rather than betray the duty he owed her, gave over the lives of thousands of his brethren and sisters in the common faith, to the

* *Prose Works*, Vol. I, p. 383.

† *Ib.* Vol. I, p. 394. "If a saint, for with some all rebels are such, stands fully persuaded in his conscience that his magistrate is an enemy to the Gospel, and the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and so ought to be resisted, is not such an one engaged to act according to the dictates of his conscience? He who looks into this argument, looks into the great arcanum and the sanctum sanctorum of puritanism; which indeed is only reformed Jesuitism, as Jesuitism is nothing else but popish puritanism."—*Southey's Sermons*, Vol. II, p. 371.

hands of Romish assassins, surpasses credence. It was ever the policy of Charles' enemies to represent his attachment to the reformed Church in England, as a mask for devotion to the interests of the Papacy.

Among the falsehoods invented to blacken the memory of Charles was the assertion that the prayer which he gave to Bishop Juxton on the scaffold, was extracted from Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*; and Milton employs several pages of brutal mirth on his supposed hypocrisy in making his exit from the world with a lie in his mouth and the mock gravity of a stage player. The facts are these. The paper which the dying King gave to Bishop Juxton was seized by the usurping faction, and on the appearance of the *Eikon*, a passage taken from Sir Philip Sidney's book, but purporting to be the same, was inserted by them in a certain number of the copies, or, as Milton expresses it, "in all the best editions." So that all the evidence to inculcate the King of a fraud so contrary to his character, and so little in keeping with his situation, is the assertion of his murderers. There can be no doubt that the whole was a device of Cromwell and his associates. The men who could so banter with the Majesty of Heaven as to pray God for guidance whether they should put the King to death, at the very moment they knew his head was falling on the scaffold, in order to divert the attention of a conscientious companion, who might have interfered with their designs, were the very persons to perpetrate this equally diabolical fraud.* Nor can we acquit Milton, their confidential agent, who had a mind and eye which nothing escaped, from a full knowledge of the whole circumstances; if even, as the literary man of the party, he was not himself the interpolater. Certainly no respect for truth would have restrained him. He held fully the principle of doing evil that good may come. And when the question is, whether the simple and unaffectedly pious Charles, fresh from the embraces of his family and the reception of the Holy Sacrament, and at the instant of appearing in the presence of his God, would be guilty of a gross deception, which was certain of detection, in order as it were purposely to give the lie to his whole life, and, to use Milton's words, "bequeath among his deifying friends who stood around him, such a precious piece of mockery to be published by them as must needs cover both his and their heads with shame," or whether a set of bold, hypocritical men, the best among whom held the deception of enemies to be a religious duty, would

* Hume, Vol. II, p. 389.



not resort to this ingenious expedient, at a time when they were in danger of losing the hard earned fruits of bloodshed, and when it seemed necessary, at any hazard, to check the returning tide of loyalty and affection welling up in the hearts of Englishmen, we at least cannot hesitate a moment in coming to a decision. Of the answer to Salmasius' defence of the King, it is sufficient to say that it is written with Milton's characteristic elegance, profuse eloquence, and unsparing sarcasm, but is utterly deficient as an argument in justification of Charles' murder. The scriptural defence of regicide is the same as that before advanced in the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*. The only material points which related to the subject in debate were the following memorable confessions. 1st, That the cause of the war and the death of Charles was his refusal to abolish Episcopacy;* 2d, that the majority of Parliament were opposed to his murder;† and, 3d, that this was compassed by the intervention of the army.‡ Here indeed is a complete vindication of the King, and of the people of England, and ample proof that Charles fell a victim to a vindictive party. He might at any moment have saved his life by sacrificing the Church.

The "*Defensio Secunda*" is one of the most eloquent of our author's works, and the personal episode is read with the same interest that attaches to similar passages in *Paradise Lost*, in which, descending from his high theme, he descants upon his blindness. There is a power in genius to win to itself involuntary affection, even when coupled with the greatest errors. We sympathize with Marius at Carthage, with Napoleon at St. Helena, with the desolate Byron amid Alpine glaciers, with Milton

Dark, dark, dark, inconceivably dark !

and yet, not

Dentibus infrendens gemitu,

but with composed and inly irradiated mind, majestic like his *Agonistes*, addressing himself to his great task, and rising mightiest in weakness. But apart from the interest which the second defence obtains from the narration of its author's personal history, and the exhibition of his fortitude, it contains nothing important. A bad cause loses rather than gains by the greatness of its advocates—since a bold mind does not shrink from grappling with difficulty. Milton defends the resort to military force in the execution of Charles upon the

* *Prose Works*, Vol. II, pp. 11, 16, 17.

† *Ib.* p. 17.

‡ *Ib.*

ground that "nothing is more agreeable to the order of nature, or more for the interest of mankind, than that the less should yield to the greater, not in numbers, but in wisdom and virtue. Those who excel in prudence, in experience, in industry, in courage, however few they may be, will, in my opinion, finally constitute the majority and everywhere have the ascendancy." This is cool, and shows how near the rebel and the demagogue are to the tyrant, and how liberty won by military force sooner or later merges into despotism.

We come now to the most important of Milton's productions—the Treatise on Christian Doctrine. In 1655 he retired from his official employment, as Latin Secretary to Cromwell, and occupied himself, in his blindness, with the simultaneous composition of a Latin Dictionary, a History of England, Paradise Lost, and a Body of Divinity. His labors thus mutually aided each other and afforded that pleasing diversity of occupation so necessary to the health of an active mind. The Treatise formed besides a solid ground-work for the poem, and a commentary upon it, while the poem became the imaginative embodiment of his abstract opinion. He had commenced, at an early period in life, to amass materials for an original work on Theology, intended primarily for his own use as an assistant to the memory, but which he afterwards determined to give "to the world at large," esteeming it his "best and richest possession." His was a mind which could not rest except upon the abstract and the ultimate, and having discarded all Church authority, he had been laboriously reconstructing throughout life, an individual system upon the wreck of all settled principle, and when at length it spurned definite shape and proportions, it embraced eternity and infinity in its horrible unity, and stood forth the misbegotten compound of Brahminism, Mahomedanism, Christianity, and heresy.

The Treatise, when completed, was entrusted to the care of his friend, Siriack Skinner, for posthumous publication. From his hands it appears to have passed, after Milton's death, into the possession of another member of the Skinner family, but on the supposed discovery of the Popish plot in 1678, was seized by government in consequence of the assertion by Titus Oates, that Milton had been a member of a Romish Club, but as it afforded no confirmation of the accusation, was deposited in the State Paper Office at Whitehall, together with the original deposition of Titus Oates before Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, where it remained until 1823, when it was discovered by Mr. Lemon, keeper of the State papers, and commit-

ted by Royal authority to Mr. Sumner, now Bishop of Winchester, for translation.*

And here we cannot pass over the extraordinary statements made by Mr. Griswold in his Introduction, concerning this Treatise, which he says has been generally referred to the period of Milton's blindness, "but that work which he would never have given to the press himself, and which is on every account less worthy of praise than any other of his productions, was probably composed during the first years after his return from Italy, and is the substance of familiar lectures on theology to his pupils. He had studied the nature of our Saviour before his mind attained the strength of its maturity, as some have looked upon the sun, until his sight was for awhile darkened. In none of his great works is there a passage from which it can be inferred that he was an Arian; and in the very last of his writings he declares that 'the doctrine of the Trinity is a plain doctrine in Scripture.'"[†] It is matter of unfeigned surprise to us, that any Editor with a reputation to sustain, should fall into such mis-statements. The Treatise on Christian Doctrine interfered rather unpleasantly with the ideal perfection which he was attributing to Milton, and therefore it seemed necessary to falsify history. But the task of Editor to a great author like Milton, is a sacred thing, and demands the most rigid adherence to fact, the avoidance of all special pleading—of every approach either to "suppressio veri" or "suggestio falsi." But in the annals of Editorship we do not remember an instance of either greater ignorance or grosser deception. If Mr. Griswold has seen the work in question, which seems doubtful, he has deliberately attempted to deceive the American public. Thousands who read a book take their impressions from the Editor's preface, to which, with regard to matters of fact, they not unnaturally yield implicit credence. We know, therefore, no rebuke too severe to apply to the author of a passage in which almost every word is untrue. "He would not have given it to the press himself." From which we are to infer, that it was not intended for publication. But Milton himself styles it a "Posthumous Treatise," intending to leave it as a legacy to the world, and probably alike anxious to escape the endless controversy which its publication during his own life would have occasioned, and believing that it would have more weight as a voice issuing from his tomb. "Probably composed during

* Bp. Sumner's Preface, Ch. Doc.
VOL. II.—NO. II.

† Biog. Intro. Prose Works, p. xi.

the first years after his return from Italy." There is evidence that at this time Milton was a believer in the Trinity, since in his letter on the "Reformation in England," he both calls Arians no true friends of Christ, and prays to the "One Tripersonal God."* "The substance of familiar lectures on Theology to his pupils," opens thus: "John Milton to all the Churches of Christ, and to all who profess the Christian Faith throughout the world, peace and the Recognition of the Truth and eternal salvation in God the Father and in our Lord Jesus Christ."† It is one of the most solemn declarations of opinion ever made by uninspired man—addressed to posterity and bearing every mark of the most consummate care. "He had studied the nature of our Saviour before his mind attained the strength of his maturity." Let us hear Milton himself: "I deemed it safest and most advisable to compile for myself, by my own labor and study, some original treatise which should be always at hand, derived solely from the word of God itself, and executed with all possible fidelity." "After a diligent perseverance in this plan for several years, I so far satisfied myself in the prosecution of this plan, as at length to trust that I had discovered, with regard to religion, what was matter of belief, and what only matter of opinion. It was also a great solace to me to have compiled, by God's assistance, a precious aid for my faith,—or, rather, to have laid up for myself a treasure which would be a provision for my future life. If I communicate the result of my inquiries to the world at large; if, as God is my witness, it be with a friendly and benignant feeling towards mankind that I readily give as wide a circulation as possible to what I esteem my best and richest possession," &c.‡ The treatise in question is indeed the calmest, the most learned, the most profoundly thoughtful of all his writings—albeit the most wildly heterodox. "In the end he was right. In the very last of his writings he declares that 'the doctrine of the Trinity is a plain doctrine of Scripture.'" That Mr. Griswold should have made this statement to readers who had in their hands the means of proving its falsity, is most unaccountable, since in a note on page 5, written, we suppose, by some former Editor, and by carelessness left unerased, it is confessed that this last production proves him to have been heretical. We subjoin in a note the passage from the Treatise on "True Religion, Heresy, Schism, and Toleration," referred to by Mr. Griswold, that our readers

* Prose Works, Vol. I, pp. 5, 33.

† Ch. Doc., p. 1.

‡ Ib. p. 5.

may judge of the correctness of his statement.* Our surprise may, however, be lessened when we remember that these misrepresentations proceed from one who dares to say that in the United States.

"No one questions that Charles was a traitor, a murderer, and a public enemy, whose very existence was perilous to every sort of liberty in England, and though the constitution was defective in providing no way for convicting and punishing the first officer in the State, however flagrant might be his crimes, the right to call him to account remained with the people for ever possessing ultimate sovereignty over every authority but that of the Almighty."

In drawing up a brief abstract of Milton's theological tenets, we will begin with the cardinal error which lies at the foundation of the whole, viz: the so called Protestant principle of private interpretation. Coinciding, in this respect, with the continental Reformers and Puritans, he boldly and justly argues, that no one who agreed with him in discarding Church authority and tradition, could condemn him for the conscientious conclusions to which he arrived. No person, according to him, could be a heretic who did not oppose Scripture; but there is no Church to bear witness to the sense of Scripture; every Christian must be guided by the Holy Spirit within him, which is his infallible teacher. The legitimate result of this position, he shows to be that even the word of God is inferior in point of authority to the decision of the individual conscience, since although the rule and canon of faith is Scripture alone, and no Scripture is of any private interpretation, yet the Holy Spirit promised to all believers, gives them supernatural assistance and supersedes the authority of the written word which is liable to corruption.

"Under the Gospel we possess, as it were, a two-fold Scripture; one external, which is the written word, and the other internal, which is the Holy Spirit written in the hearts of be-

* "The Arian and Socinian are charged to dispute against the Trinity; they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost according to Scripture and the Apostolic Creed. As for terms of Trinity, Triunity, Coessentiality, Tripersonality, and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions, not to be found in Scripture, which by a general Protestant maxim is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words, belonging to so high a matter, and so necessary to be known; a mystery indeed in their sophistic subtleties, but in Scripture a plain doctrine." *Prose Works*, Vol. I, p. 345. Mr. Griawold adduces the very passage in which Milton scoffs at the Trinity as "a scholastic notion" and a sophistic subtlety, to prove his belief in the Trinity; his defence of Arianism, to prove he was no Arian. Verily, gentlemen should restrain their pens to subjects which they understand.

lievers."* "Hence, although the external ground which we possess for our belief at the present day in the written word, is highly important, and, in most instances at least, prior in point of reception, that which is internal, and the peculiar possession of each believer, is far superior to all, namely, the Spirit itself. For the external Scripture, or written word, particularly of the New Testament, has been liable to frequent corruption, and, in some instances, has been corrupted; but the spirit which leads to truth cannot be corrupted, neither is it easy to deceive a man who is really spiritual."† "Every thing is finally to be referred to the Spirit or the unwritten word. Hence it follows that where acquiescence in human opinions in matters of religion is exacted in the name of the Church—from those who are themselves individually led by the Spirit of God, this is in effect to impose a yoke, not on man, but on the Holy Spirit itself."‡ "For my part, I adhere to the Holy Scriptures alone—I follow no other heresy or sect."§

Such being the foundation, we can scarcely feel surprise at any superstructure which a bold intellect, like Milton's, could raise. He recurs to it frequently, and especially when stating his views on the nature of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as an all-sufficient vindication of any sentiments he might entertain. With respect to the Godhead, he argues that His essence being most simple can admit of no compound existence, and as He can do nothing which involves a contradiction, so nothing can be maintained of Him which is inconsistent with His Unity—and therefore the doctrine of the Trinity is un-

* Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 172.

† Ib. p. 173.

‡ Ib. p. 175.

———"the truth
Left only in those written records pure,
Though not but by the Spirit understood"

PARADISE LOST, XII, 511.

———"he who receives
Light from above, from the fountain of light
No other doctrine needs, though granted true."

PARADISE REGAINED, IV, 288.

§ This principle, which lies at the basis of modern rationalism and infidelity, pervades the Protestant confessions. E. g. "In controversies of religion, or matters of faith, we cannot admit any other judge than God himself, pronouncing by the Holy Scripture, what is true, what is false. So we do not rest but in the judgments of spiritual men drawn from the word of God." *Latter Confession of Helvetia*.—So also *Confessions of France, Wirtemberg, Belgia, &c.* The absurd confusion of God's voice with the variable human judgment, is the root of sectarian error.

true.* Having thus arbitrarily decided the question, he proceeds with Arian subtlety, and his own unrivaled boldness, to examine the various texts which bear upon the Divinity of the Son of God, allowing to Him a secondary omnipotence as the Chief of created beings, but sternly denying His consubstantiality with the Father.† Where argument serves his purpose, he contents himself with it: at other times he cuts the knot with the sword of an Alexander. Thus with respect to the exclamation of Thomas, "My Lord and my God," he refers the first title to Christ, the second to the Father. Of Phil. ii, 5, he says that Christ thought it not robbery to be equal with God, because He obtained the form of God by gift and not by robbery; and the words, "in Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," he understands not of Christ's Divine nature, but of the entire virtue of the Father, and the full completion of his promises, dwelling in, but not hypostatically united with, Christ's human nature. By such modes of procedure, Scripture can of course be made to mean any thing.

But if Milton denies the Divinity of Christ, more emphatically does he deny that of the Holy Spirit,‡—while he admits His personality, regarding Him as a Being created at some period antecedent to the foundation of the world, and far inferior to the Son in dignity and power, because the image of the Father was impressed upon Christ, but not on Him. On this subject indeed the sentiments of Milton are very obscurely expressed, and towards the conclusion of his remarks he throws in a caveat lest any one should impute to him the denial of the Holy Spirit's personality.§ He tells us that sometimes the Holy Spirit means the Father; sometimes Christ; sometimes

* Ch. Doc., Vol. I, pp. 24, 42.

"Seem I to thee sufficiently possessed
Of happiness or not? who am alone
From all eternity; for none I know
Second to me, or like, equal much less."

PARADISE LOST, VIII, 404.

† "By merit, *more than birthright*, Son of God."

PARADISE LOST, III, 309.

"This perfect man, *by merit called my son*."

PARADISE REGAINED, I, 167.

"Whom *else*, no creature can behold."—PAR. LOST, III, 385.

‡ Ch. Doc., p. 201.

§ Thus also in *Paradise Regained*:

"Thence on his head
A perfect dove descend, *what'er it meant*."

an angel ; sometimes divine virtue and power ; sometimes an impulse, a light, a voice, a word ; and in a few passages only the person or symbol of the Holy Spirit himself. The chief argument he advances against His Divinity is, that being called the Spirit of God, He must be numerically distinct from the God whose Spirit He is. He maintains that He is a subordinate minister whose principal office is to enlighten the minds of men.

But the sentiments of Milton respecting these Divine Persons, cannot be understood until we have stated his views of Creation, and the nature of the human soul and body. Pantheism and Materialism, in their most undisguised forms, constitute the basis of his theology. Matter, he represents as eternally existing in God ; who created all things spiritual and corporeal out of His own Divine substance ;* so that corruption proceeded from incorruption, and sin from perfect purity, while matter and spirit are only interchangeable varieties of the original Divine essence. Out of this indestructible substance, inherent in Himself, and portions of which now constitute the visible elements of the universe, He first produced His Son, and afterwards the Holy Spirit as inferior agents, by whom the "confused and formless" mass of matter was adorned and digested into order. This position he supports by arguing that since God is infinite, every thing that exists must be God, or we must be reduced to the absurdity of confessing an infinity which does not comprehend all things.

"There are, as is well known to all, four kinds of causes—*efficient, material, formal, and final*. Inasmuch then as God is the primary and absolute and sole cause of all things, there can be no doubt but that he comprehends and embraces within Himself all the causes above mentioned. *Therefore the material cause must be either God, or nothing.*" "What difference does it make, whether God produced matter, out of nothing or out of himself?" "Nor can it be understood in what sense God can properly be called infinite, if he be capable of receiving any accession whatever ; which would be the case if any thing could exist in the nature of things which had not first been of God and in God."†

It may easily be seen that these noted speculations do not

* "One first matter all
Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance."—*PARADISE LOST*, V, 472.

"God is light."—*Ib.* III, 3.

† *Ch. Doc.*, Vol. I, p. 238.

legitimately fall short of the identification of the Evil principle with the Almighty—unless the theory be held of two eternal principles opposed to each other. The mind of Milton appears to have wavered between these conclusions—since on the one hand he tells us that “entity is good, nonentity consequently is not good”^{*}—from whence it follows that there is nothing which is not good, or that evil is good: and on the other he maintains, in the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, that “there is a two-fold *seminary* or stock in nature, from whence are derived the issues of love and hatred,” and accounts for the existence of sin by saying that matter having proceeded from God, in whom it was “substantially inherent,” has “become in the power of another party,”[†] which can only be an uncreated or divine principle of evil.

And now we come to his teaching respecting the nature of man, which he describes as consisting, not of the compound and separate existence of soul and body, but as an individual unit, whose soul is its body, and whose body is its soul, while the breath or spirit, which was breathed into it by God, was no entity, but a mere function or virtue, which serves to distinguish life from death, and converts an inert body into a moving mechanism.

“The word *spirit* has no other meaning in the Sacred Scriptures, but that breath of life which we inspire, or some action or affection belonging to the faculties.”[‡] “The whole man is soul, and the soul man, that is to say, a body or substance, individual, animated, sensible, and rational.” “Man himself, the whole man, when finally created, is called in express terms ‘a living soul.’ Hence the word used in Genesis to signify soul, is interpreted by the Apostle, 1 Cor. xv, 45, ‘animal.’”[§]

From this he deduced the further principle that the soul is propagated by natural generation—an idea held indeed by Origen, Augustine, Tertullian, and other ancient Fathers upon the ground that the doctrine of original sin is inexplicable without it. But those venerable men would have abhorred the impiety of Milton's materialism, the awful depths of which we have not yet gauged. For he was one of those minds which fearlessly followed an evil principle to its logical conclusion, though it landed him in the midnight realms of

^{*} Ch. Doc., Vol. I, p. 242.

[†] Ib. Vol. I, p. 240.

[‡] Ib. Vol. I, p. 250.

[§] “Every form, to which class the human soul must be considered as belonging, is produced by the power of matter.”—Ib. Vol. I, p. 267. Ergo—matter is God.

[§] Ch. Doc., Vol. I, p. 251.

absurdity and blasphemy. The identity of soul and body, both in essence and generative origin, leads directly to the conclusion that in death the whole man dies, relapsing into the state of individual nonentity which preceded his invigoration by the ideal virtue called spirit. It would occupy too much time to state the train of sophistical argument by which Milton sustains this position.

Yet fearful as this conclusion is, there was nothing in it to shock the nerves of one who viewed the Divine Redeemer merely as a material creature, differing nothing in His original essence from the clods of the valley and the brute that perishes. Investing the whole creation with Divinity, he saw in the destruction of the so-called Deity of Christ, only the relapse of the first born creature into the Fountain of His Being, the Omnipresent Material God.*

After this, other errors will seem of minor importance, and we shall not wonder at the complacency with which he could contemplate the overthrow of all social institutions. Milton's views on Divorce were defended by himself, and are often excused by others, on the ground that they afford no licence to the voluptuary, but only tend to secure that companionship and love which are the aim of the marriage relation. But in explaining away the clear words of our Saviour, and foisting on them a sense never held by the Church, Milton and Bucer reduce marriage from a lasting bond which can only be ruptured by death or infidelity, to a temporary concubinage, continuing at the pleasure of the husband, whom Milton considers to occupy the same relation to the wife that the master does to the slave. No sophistry can escape the conclusion. Now there may be cases in which the stringency of the connubial tie weighs heavily on the happiness of the individual—but in this fallen world individual comfort must yield to social well-being; and the forfeiture of domestic peace, which is most frequently the result of original rashness and indiscretion, must be borne by the Christian as a cross. This, however, was an idea which never entered into Milton's theology. He had but one remedy for all evils—unbridled liberty. If subjects deem themselves oppressed, they must rebel. If the husband dislikes his wife, he must divorce her. The tendency of the present age is to treat lightly that ho-

* "The chief productive stock of every thing good." "The fountain of every substance." Ch. Doc., Vol. I, 239. "Not even Divine virtue and efficiency could produce bodies out of nothing, unless there had been some bodily power in the substance of God; since no one can give to another what he does not himself possess."—Ch. Doc., Vol. I, 241.

est relation—the type of Christ's union with His Church, and Milton's views are too much in consonance with human corruption to be severely censured by the multitude. But his tenets respecting divorce are innocent, compared with the advocacy of polygamy, a practice which, from the temper of the man, we may be certain he would not have hesitated to adopt to the full extent of Mahometan licence, had not human law restrained him. For Milton held no sentiment which he could not avow, nor avowed any which he was not ready to rest upon. The reason which chiefly determined him to regard polygamy lawful under the Christian dispensation, was the example of the patriarchs, and he would fain persuade us that it was allowed by the Apostles and practised in the primitive Church, because Bishops are forbidden to have more wives than one, a prohibition which he contends would have been meaningless, had not the laity enjoyed the privilege of a multiplicity of wives. Even this prohibition he regards as the result of expediency, in order to secure sufficient leisure for the duties of the ministerial office, and not as involving any moral principle. One of his arguments may create a smile: "God himself in an allegorical fiction, Ezek. xxiii, 4, presents himself as having espoused two wives, Aholah and Aholibah; a mode of speaking which he would by no means have employed, especially at such length, even in a parable, or indeed have taken on himself such a character at all, if he practiced which it implied had been intrinsically dishonourable or shameful."* The same reasoning in the same case could prove the legality of simultaneous marriage with two sisters, since Aholah and Aholibah were "the daughters of one mother." There was also a time when marriage with a blood sister was allowable. Does it follow that it is so now? Again, we might say that there is nothing intrinsically wrong in child-murder, otherwise God would not have commanded Abraham to slay Isaac. There is no conclusion which may not be arrived at on the principle of private interpretation, and when we observe the present disorganized state of society, and the rapid strides which are made in innovation, we should feel no surprise if attempts were made at no distant period to legalize polygamy and Christianize concubinage. Adherence to the defined faith of the Church is the only safeguard to society. All other ramparts will give way before human corruption.

The last remarkable feature of Milton's theological system, which we will notice, including as it does all other hete-

* Ch. Doc., Vol. I, p. 314.

rodoxies, is his declaration, that the moral law was abrogated by the coming of Christ. He confesses that with the exception of Zankius and an author named Cameron, whom he calls "an ingenious writer, and in high esteem," the whole body of theologians, ancient and modern, was against him. But the man who rejects the authority of the Church will not be influenced by individuals, however numerous. Consequently, he carries the principle of Antinomianism to its fullest extent, maintaining that not only are we exempted from the curse and restraint of the moral law, but from all obedience to the law whatsoever. "To be free from the constraint of the law, can mean nothing but that for which I contend, an entire exemption from the obligation of the law. For as long as the law exists it constrains, because it is a law of bondage; constraint and bondage being as inseparable from the dispensation of the law, as liberty from the dispensation of the Gospel!"* He also says, that the sole motive for the command given to the Churches, Acts xv, 28, 29, to abstain from blood and things strangled, "was lest the Jews who were not sufficiently established in the faith should take offence."† He omits the word "fornication," but upon what principle we know not, save that his pen instinctively shrunk from writing what his words plainly imply—for if any restraint exists it overthrows his theory of gospel liberty. Christianity in fact presented itself to Milton's mind as a system of the most unbounded personal freedom in every respect, giving to the individual who embraced it in faith an irresponsible power to believe what he liked,‡ to do what he liked,§ to feel what he liked,|| and to say what he liked,¶ to hate whom he liked,** and to curse whom he liked,** to be his own Church,†† his own priest,‡‡

* Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 108.

† Ib. Vol. II, p. 108.

‡ "The Spirit which is given to us is a more certain guide than Scripture, whom, therefore, it is our duty to follow."—Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 174.

§ "We are absolved from subjection to the decalogue, as fully as to the rest of the law."—Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 90.

|| "We are to hate even our dearest connexions, if they endeavor to seduce or deter us from the love of God and true religion." Exod. xxxii, 27. "Slay every man his brother, and every man his companion."—Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 378.

¶ "We are not forbidden to utter what is false, if requisite. Should any one be of a contrary opinion, I would ask him by which of the commandments is falsehood prohibited?"—Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 402.

** "We are commanded to call down curses publicly on the enemies of God and the Church; as also on false brethren, and on such as are guilty of any grievous offence against God, or even against ourselves. The same may be lawfully done in private prayer."—Ch. Doc., Vol. II, 288.

†† "We ought to believe what in our conscience we apprehend the Scripture to say, though the visible Church, with all her doctors, gainsay: and they who do so are not heretics but the best protestants."—PROSE WORKS, Vol. II, p. 132.

‡‡ "In Christ we are all alike Priests."—Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 132.

and his own law,* to administer his own sacraments,† to appoint his own Sabbath,‡ and to resist to the death every human authority which dared to impose on him obedience, a thing which he denied that he owed even to God !§ Our pen has almost unconsciously contracted into a sentence much that we purposed to say, had space remained to us. We subjoin references in proof of the various assertions contained in it. It is needless to go over the chapters in which Milton treats of the Church,|| ministry, sacraments,¶ the Lord's day, (on each of which he taught the wildest radicalism,) also of truth, love, cursing, &c., since we have partly anticipated these points in other portions of our remarks, and it is folly to enter into minute details concerning the light in which a person who advocated the Christian privilege of moral disobedience, viewed ecclesiastical law and sacramental ordinances. But whoever desires to see the sad spectacle of a mighty mind, struggling in the wildest contradictions to which it had been reduced by the logical following out of a false principle, should read Milton's statements on these subjects. And yet he will only see there written what every day is inditing more visibly on the surface, and engrafting into the hearts of society. With firm faith in the ultimate prevalence of good, the present, amid its delusive promises of physical improvement, wealth, aggrandizement, and scientific discovery presents little to the Christian eye, apart from the regenerating influences of the Church,

* "Neither is it said to us, *whatever is not of the law is sin*, but *whatever is not of faith is sin*; faith consequently, and not the law, is our rule. It follows, therefore, that as faith cannot be made matter of compulsion, so neither can the works of faith"—Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 104.

The context shows that he is here speaking not of human, but divine compulsion.

† "The master of a family or any one appointed by him is at liberty to celebrate the Lord's Supper from house to house—if indeed any distribution of the elements by an individual officiator was then, or is now requisite."—Vol. II, p. 135.

‡ "Under the Gospel no one day is appointed for Divine Worship in preference to another."—Vol. II, p. 399.

§ There is "no transgression in disregarding the letter of the law, provided that under the direction of the Spirit the end of the institution be attained."—Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 100.

|| "Any believer is competent to act as an *ordinary minister* according as convenience may require, provided only he be endowed with the necessary gifts."—Ch. Doc., Vol. II, p. 153.

¶ "If, therefore, it be competent to any believer whatever to preach the Gospel provided he be furnished with the requisite gifts, it is also competent to him to administer the rite of baptism."—Ib. p. 157.

"With regard to the Lord's Supper also, it has been shown in the preceding chapter that all are entitled to participate in that rite, but that the privilege of dispensing the elements, is confined to no particular men or order of men."—Ib. p. 158.

save a threatened reduction to the religious and social chaos which Milton theoretically developed. What part his principles have to play in the future, remains yet to be seen. Meanwhile, it is a phenomenon worthy of the most solemn Christian consideration, that the leading mind of Puritanism in the age of its primal activity, arrived at the fearful conclusion, that the legitimate tendency of his system was to establish Pantheism, Materialism, Antinomianism, polygamy, rebellion, hatred, fraud, falsehood, and cursing, as the religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that that mind was John Milton's—the so called “noblest and ennobler of mankind.” If these words sound harsh to any, let them remember that we speak from the record—and we can assure them we speak in sorrow, not in anger.

In conclusion, we would suggest that in any future edition of the Prose Works of Milton, the Treatise on Christian Doctrine should be incorporated, that the public may have presented to them, in one view, the sentiments of this remarkable man, and that *Paradise Lost and Regained* should also be copiously illustrated from the Theological Treatise.

PROF. STUART ON THE WINE QUESTION.

ART. II.—SCRIPTURAL VIEW OF THE WINE QUESTION, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Nott, by M. STUART, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Andover. New York: Leavitt, Trow & Co., 1848. 8vo. 64 pp.

THE reputation of Professor Stuart as a Hebrew scholar and teacher, the boldness with which he utters opinions, at war alike with Lexicons, facts, and common sense, impel us to a labor which we would much rather avoid. On page 9th of this Essay we read as follows: "I take it as an established fact that Alcohol, which is the production of fermentation, and which in itself is substantially the same thing, whenever and wherever it is developed, is of a *poisonous* nature and tendency." The manner in which *alcohol* is described, in this and other passages, affords an example of the fallacious conclusions into which people fall when they leave the dictates of moderation and rush to violent extremes. By the same mode of reasoning which is there employed, we should be debarred from the use of fire or hot water; because, if you approach too near to fire, it will burn you up, and, if you plunge into boiling water, it will scald you to death. A moderate degree of heat is healthful and pleasant. And the experience of mankind shows that alcohol may enter into many drinks that are wholesome and agreeable, nay, which are sacramental, and in the habitual use of which men arrive at a vigorous and good old age. There is no end to arguing against the *use* of a thing from the *abuse* of it.

In the 11th page it is asserted that "In the Hebrew Scriptures, the word *ya-yin*, in its broadest meaning, designates *grape-juice* or *the liquid which the fruit of the vine yields*. This may be new or old, sweet or sour, fermented or unfermented, intoxicating or unintoxicating. The simple idea of *grape-juice* or *vine-liquor* is the basis and essence of the word, in whatever connection it may stand. The *specific* sense which we must often assign to the word, arises not from the word itself, but from the connection in which it stands." This assumption of the writer is the basis upon which the whole of his argument, if it can be so called, is made to rest. And from which is deduced the conclusion, that whenever wine is mentioned in Scripture as allowable, it means an *unfermented*

liquor devoid of any intoxicating power ; and that, when unfavorably spoken of, it means a *fermented* intoxicating drink. How fairly the Professor arrives at this conclusion, we think, may be clearly shown by some specimens of his mode of reasoning.

That *yayin* or *wine* means the juice of the grape, no one, we take for granted, will deny ; but for the assertion that *grape-juice* or *vine-liquors* is the basis and essence of the "word," we cannot find a shadow of authority besides the writer's own fancy. Nor do we perceive how Furst's Hebrew Concordance, with Professor Stuart's parade about the Greek *Digamma*, in the 13th page, tends to establish the theory contended for. Furst notices, what everybody else has noticed, that the names for wine, in many different languages, are very similar. And he thinks that the word from which they are all derived is *veen* or *ween*. And what of all that? He gives no *radical meaning* to the word, tending to show that it expresses an *unfermented* liquor. On the other hand, authority does exist to show that *fermentation* is the radical meaning of the word *yayin*. In the Hebrew lexicon of Simonis, edited by Eichhorn, *yayin* is said to be derived from a lost root *yavan* or *yawan*, which, by comparison with the Arabic, is supposed to have had the sense "*aestuationis et fermentationis*." And *yayin* is, in that lexicon, translated "*vinum (a fermentatione)*." Gesenius also, in Robinson's Edition, makes *yayin* to be derived from the obsolete root *yavan*, the radical meaning of which is to boil up, to be in a ferment. The Targums are full of illustrations to the same purpose.

The extracts from published letters of the Rev. Eli Smith and the Rev. Daniel Ladd, which are appended to these remarks, should, we think, have satisfied all doubt about this question of fermentation. But they appear to have been totally disregarded by the Professor, and our modern ultraists. From those letters it appears, that in the East, where the customs remain unaltered,* no such thing as *unfermented* wine is known. And we will venture to say that no such thing ever has been known. The drink called *wine* in our language, and by very similar names in many other tongues, is a liquor produced by the *fermentation* of grape or other juice ; which is the *vinous* fermentation, and is the *characteristic* of *wine*. And to this agree all the definitions of wine, except the one lately invented, which we have ever seen. Johnson calls it "The fermented juice of the grape." The Edinburgh Dispen-

* See the Preface to Harmer's "Observations."

satory says "Wine is the juice of the grape altered by fermentation." The Encyclopædia Britannica, "Wine, an agreeable spirituous liquor, produced by fermentation from those vegetable substances that contain saccharine matter." The Encyclopædia Americana, "Wine, liquor that has become spirituous by fermentation." Nicholson's Philosophy, "This act of change is called fermentation, and is properly distinguished into three stages, namely, the vinous or spirituous, the acetous, and the putrefactive fermentations." Thompson's Chemistry, "When must is put into the temperature of about 70°, the different ingredients begin to act upon each other, and what is called *vinous fermentation* commences. In a few days the fermentation ceases, &c., and it has become the liquid well known under the name of *wine*." Accum's Chemistry, "*Wine* is the product of fermentation." Lavoisier's Chemistry, "When the fermentation is completed, the juice of grapes is changed, from being sweet and full of sugar, into a vinous liquor." These are all the books which we have at hand that treat of wine; but surely they are enough to show that the *first fermentation* produces what is meant by our word *wine*. And no one doubts that the corresponding word in every country in Europe means the same thing. The annexed letters of Messrs. Ladd and Smith prove that, in the East, the name given to what corresponds with our wine, is not given to any unfermented liquor. And all the qualities attributed to *yayin* in the Scriptures, show it to be the same thing as our wine and the present wine of the East; that is, the product by *fermentation*, of grape juice. Thus every thing tends to prove that there can be no *yayin* or *wine*, properly so called, without *fermentation*; and that if the name *yayin* or *wine* be given to any *unfermented* liquor, it is a misnomer. If people choose to miscall things so as to suit their own views, they do what they can to render language fluctuating and uncertain. What is now wine may, before tomorrow, become current-jelly or raspberry-jam. But we may rest assured that wine has been wine since the flood to this time, when great efforts are made to transmute it into some kind of syrup or molasses. If a general principle may thus be established by mere assertion, any thing may be proved, however absurd or contrary to fact.

The first paragraph of p. 14 begins thus: "Thus much for the first generic word used to designate a liquor, which may intoxicate in one state and will not in another, i. e., a word which is used to designate comprehensively all kinds of *grape-juice* or *vinous liquor*." The writer of the pamphlet seems

to think the question settled. But we must say that his dictum is the only authority which we can find for what he maintains; and that, on the contrary, what valid authority can be found, goes to prove that *yayin* always means a *fermented* liquor.

The writer next proceeds to examine the word *sheikar*. Now, whether *sheikar* be stronger or weaker than *yayin*, whatever it may be produced from, or whether or not the ancients understood the art of distillation, we cannot perceive to be of any consequence in settling this question of fermentation. But the assertions (p. 15) that "Both words" (*yayin* and *sheikar*) "are generic"—that "both may be kept and used in an *unfermented* state"—we maintain are assertions unsupported by any evidence, and founded upon nothing but preconceived theory; and that what are called *unfermented yayin* and *unfermented sheikar* have no more right to be so named than molasses has to be called wine or rum. And we defy any one to prove the contrary from Scripture or any other proper authority, either ancient or modern.

Page 16 begins thus: "That my position is correct in regard to the *generic* nature of both the words in question, and that both may mean a liquor, either intoxicating or unintoxicating, is shown decisively by Num. vi, 3. There the Nazarite is forbidden, first to drink either *yayin* or *shay-cawr*. This is *generic* in respect to both." For this last assertion no proof has as yet been adduced. The very thing to be proved is assumed as a fact. The writer proceeds, "But then, in order to enforce the precept more thoroughly, the legislator goes on to particularize. He forbids the Nazarite to drink the *hhomets yayin*, or the *hhometz shay-cawr*, i. e., *fermented wine* or *fermented shay-cawr*. Manifestly the idea conveyed by our translation here is wrong. The *vinegar of wine* and the *vinegar of strong drink*, (as our Version has it,) were no more employed as drinks by the Hebrews, than vinegar of cider or wine is used for drink by us." This is very cavalier treatment of our translation of the Bible. Nor have the Septuagint and Vulgate versions less reason to complain. The Septuagint renders the phrase in question *oxos ex oinou kai oxos ek sikera*, i. e., *vinegar from wine and vinegar from sikera*. The Vulgate renders it *Acetum ex vino, et ex qualibet alia potione*. And with this agree the translations of Junius and Tremellius, and of two different French Bibles in our possession. But a mere dictum sweeps before it all other authority. Any Hebrew scholar, who has not a preconceived theory to maintain, sees at once that in the above cited ex-

pression *hhomets* stands in what is called the *construct state* with *yayin* and with *sheikar*, (or, as Professor Stuart spells it, *shay-cawr*;) and that our translation is perfectly correct. But the Professor himself must be suffered to disprove what he has above asserted, namely, that *hhomets yayin* and *hhomets sheikar* mean *fermented wine* and *fermented sheikar*. The last paragraph of page 31 is as follows: "The word *hay-mer* is used with somewhat more frequency" (than *so-vey*;) "and is not confined to poetry. It comes from the root *haw-mar*, which means *to ferment*. Of course the noun means *any liquor which is fermentable*; not the passive idea of a *liquor fermented*, which would be contrary to the nature of the form here given to the noun, for it would naturally take a participial form." Now *hhomets*, a noun of very common form, is as far from a passive participial form as *hay-mer*; and, according to what is here said by Prof. Stuart, the expressions for *fermented yayin* and *fermented sheikar* should be *yayin hhamuts* and *sheikar hhamuts*; which passive participial form of this very root we find in the first verse of the 63d chap. of Isaiah. Such is the *decisive* evidence afforded by Num. vi, 3. Prof. Stuart thinks that *hhomets* cannot mean vinegar, because "The *vinegar of wine* and the *vinegar of strong drink* were no more employed as drinks by the Hebrews, than *vinegar of cider or wine* is used for drink by us." In the 21st verse of Ps. xlix, it is said, "They gave me also gall for my meat; and in my thirst they gave me vinegar (*hhomets*) to drink." This *hhomets* certainly cannot mean any thing produced by the *vinous* fermentation, for it would be no hardship to drink wine, unless it were such stuff as some modern theorists recommend. If we turn to the 14th verse of the 2d chap. of Ruth, we find that Boaz tells Ruth, at meal time, to eat of the bread and to dip her morsel in the *hhomets*, translated in our Bible *vinegar*, with which all the translations above referred to agree. Whether this way of using vinegar be *eating* it or *drinking* it, we do not pretend to say; but the text certainly shows that vinegar was *swallowed* together with food; unless, indeed, it was not vinegar, but some kind of wine, as was by our author above maintained. We think, however, that the Professor could not consistently admit that so good a man as Boaz would be so immoral as to give fermented liquor to his laborers or to his guests. How all this can be rendered consistent, we do not understand.

In page 17, it is said of *shay-cawr* that it has, "if I may so express it, a *good* and a *bad* side to it." This modern apparatus is like that of a conjuror. You see him draw wine

from a vessel, and when he draws again from the same vessel, instead of the same wine coming out, you have a liquor totally different. An uninitiated man reads his Bible quietly, and thinks he knows what is meant by wine; but, by this newly discovered legerdemain, when he least expects it, whisk! it is turned into a liquor totally different from what it was just before. New assistance is continually required to enable Christians to read their Bible. The Romish Church will not suffer her members to read it without comment; and now, among Protestants, it requires the aid of critics who have a cause to serve.

The assertion that there are such things as *unfermented* wine and *unfermented* sheikar is so frequently repeated in the pamphlet, that the writer of it seems to have persuaded himself that no truth is more firmly established, although we cannot discover any proof of it, as we have said before, but the assumption of the writer. The very thing to be proved is taken for granted without a shadow of reason, that we can discover; and then deductions are drawn to suit the purposes of modern ultraists.

P. 20th: "The great mass of the Jews have ever understood this prohibition as extending to *fermented wine* or *strong drink*, as well as to bread. The word is essentially the same, which designates the *fermentation* of bread and that of liquors. Hence the Jews, the world over, with few exceptions, have kept the Passover with *unfermented* wine." We should have thought that the letters above referred to, ought to have prevented the above assertion; but they appear not to have been attended to. After reading the pamphlet of Prof. Stuart, we inquired of an intelligent Jew in New York, whether fermented liquor was prohibited in the celebration of their Passover. He said that they feared to use the wines in common use, lest they should contain spirits procured from *grain*, which they consider as containing in them a sort of *leaven*, against which the Jews, in their Passover, guard with the greatest care. But that as to *fermentation*, it did not render the liquor unlawful; on the contrary, that in his family some water had lately been poured upon raisins, in order to prepare wine for the approaching Passover, and that the mixture had been placed near the stove that it might *ferment*. He referred us to the Rabbi (or Reader) of one of the Synagogues; who, upon inquiring of him, confirmed what had been told us before, and added moreover that, in London, the wine merchants furnish the Jews with wine, that is fermented liquor, such as they can depend upon as free from spirits distilled from grain;

and that thus they are relieved from the necessity of preparing their wine for themselves. The reason why they employ ordinary wine in the East during the Passover is explained by what Mr. Smith says in his letter—"None of the wines are enforced with extra brandy," &c. Who does not know that the prohibition of leavened bread is in commemoration of the sudden departure of the children of Israel from Egypt before the dough in their troughs had time to rise? The Jews also give a figurative sense to the word leaven; but *wine* has nothing to do with the subject.

We ask any man of common sense if it can be, that the same word is used throughout the Scriptures, and upon all occasions, to express two different liquors, the one lawful and the other unlawful, the one a blessing and the other a curse? The idea is absurd, and the attempt to prove it, altogether futile. Noah drank an intoxicating liquor which he had made from his own vineyard. Will it be pretended that he did not know what he was about? After he awoke from his wine, a curse did not fall upon *him*, but he was able to pronounce a malediction upon the son who had looked upon his father's nakedness. And after this occurrence, Noah lived some three hundred and fifty years. Perhaps Prof. S. would say that he had not yet found out how to make unfermented wine. And this, we have no doubt, is true, for, from all we can learn, no one else has ever discovered that art. Far be it from us to offer a shadow of excuse for habitual drunkenness; but a good cause needs only the aids of truth, and the dictates of reason, and not bold assertions founded upon nothing but false and exaggerated views of a preconceived theory.

The latter part of p. 25 and the whole of p. 26 present a curious specimen of logic. But it would require much paper, and more patience, to make a complete answer to all the strange arguments contained in the pamphlet.

P. 28: "Whoredom, and wine, and *new wine*, take away the heart." Hos. iv, 2. The Professor labors to show that, in this passage, new wine (*tiros*) does not mean an intoxicating liquor, but one that is sweet and unfermented. Every Hebrew scholar knows that, in Hebrew, the word (*leibo*) the heart is continually used to express the powers of the intellect. Here then, to one of common apprehension, is declared in the above passage, that there are three things which take away the heart or understanding of man. But Prof. Stuart maintains, lest his theory should suffer, that the new wine (*tiros*) was in itself harmless and pleasant, and only used as revellers of the present day would employ sugar or syrups.

So that by "wine, and new wine," must be meant intoxicating wine mixed with that which has no strength. A common person would suppose that by mixing a strong liquor with one that is weak, its strength would be diminished. It is really painful to follow such absurdities of a man of erudition, who, doubtless, is sincerely desirous of doing good. We should like to see the authority for what is stated in p. 29, that "it appears abundantly from Greek and Latin writers" that "wine was extensively kept by the ancients in an unfermented state." Also for what is asserted p. 36, "And if the ancients may decide that question, it is clear that the *best wine was unintoxicating*." We suspect that Horace would not have thanked any one for such wine.

Pp. 35 and 36: "Isaiah (lv, 1) invites every one that thirsteth to come and procure *wine* and *milk* without money and without price." Upon this, Prof. Stuart coolly pronounces, "Wine then and milk were drank together, the milk correcting the acid in the wine, as it does in our *wine whey*. The valuable nature of the drink in question is plainly recognized, by the fact that it is made the symbol of spiritual blessings." It is true that warm wine-whey has value as a drink for invalids. But we doubt whether Isaiah or any one else ever before thought of mixing together wine and milk in order to improve the wine. Wine coagulates milk, and turns it to curds and whey. So that this "valuable" drink proves to be genuine bonnyclabber !

P. 38: "The use of alcohol in large measures, or its habitual and continued use in small ones, is subservient to no good purpose in regard to persons in health, but, on the contrary, injures them, or at least has a direct tendency to injure the fine and delicate parts of the human frame, by producing inflammatory or paralyzing effects, and aggravating the action of many diseases to which the human frame is liable, and rendering them more obstinate and unmanageable." Thus says Prof. Stuart. The Edinburgh Dispensatory, on the contrary, pronounces that "Wine, taken in moderate quantities, acts as a beneficial stimulus to the whole system. It promotes digestion, increases the action of the heart and arteries, raises the heat of the body, and exhilarates the spirits."* When doctors differ, what are laymen to do ? In the same p. 38 of the pamphlet, it is asserted that "the *taste* for alcoholic liquors is *unnatural* and *factitious*"—"Children refuse it," (alcohol.) We cannot tell from our own experience ; but we have been

* Duncan's Edinburgh Dispensatory, Worcester edition, July, 1805, p. 323.

old confidently that babies like the taste of rum. And we now, from our own observation, that young children like the taste of good Madeira wine.

The paragraph in the middle of p. 41 depends entirely upon two or three *ifs*. "Great virtue in *if*."

In the first part of p. 44, the argument again depends upon *fs*. In this way, any thing may be proved.

We should be very unwilling to take the opinion of modern ultraists, with regard to the Spanish wine which is mentioned pp. 44 and 45, upon the authority of a friend, as being delightful, and without any intoxicating quality. The liquor which has been set before us as unfermented wine, is woful stuff. The liquor mentioned by the friend of Prof. S. is probably some weak kind of wine, equivalent to what we call water-cider.

The author begins the "ultimate view of the question," in the 46th page, with great triumph. "We have now before us the complete development of what the Bible contains, respecting wine and strong drink." Instead of which, we maintain that the subject is *enveloped*, and confounded by a string of assertions without proof, and a mass of irrelevant matter. He proceeds, "We have before us such information in regard to the ancient methods of making, preserving, and using wine, as will enable us to speak understandingly in regard to the subject." We must say that we have seen nothing of all this in the pamphlet, and have desired, all the way, to know upon what authority the assertions with respect to the wines of the ancients are grounded.

In p. 54 it is again asserted that "the Passover is celebrated with wine *newly made* from raisins, where unfermented wine cannot be had." This has already been disposed of.

The wedding party, at the marriage in Cana, must have been in a sad plight before morning, if, beside what they had already taken, they drank from twelve to eighteen firkins of grape-molasses. Joseph's brethren also must have been roughly dosed if they got merry upon molasses.

Pages 59 and 60: "Antiquity knew nothing of such a state of things as now exists in Europe and America. The discovery of *distillation* has well nigh converted our race into one of drunkards." According to Horace, however, there must have been some sound drunkards in old times if the actor Fusius was so drunk asleep that two hundred thousand people crying out could not awake him.* Adam Smith, in

* Hor. Sat. III, Lib. II, v. 60.

his *Wealth of Nations*, says—"It deserves to be remarked too, that, if we consult experience, the cheapness of wine seems to be a cause, not of drunkenness, but of sobriety. The inhabitants of the wine countries are in general the soberest people in Europe; witness the Spaniards, the Italians, and the inhabitants of the southern provinces of France. People are seldom guilty of excess in what is their daily fare. Nobody affects the character of liberality and good fellowship, by being profuse of a liquor which is as cheap as small beer. On the contrary, in the countries which, either from excessive heat or cold, produce no grapes, and where wine consequently is dear and a rarity, drunkenness is a common vice, as among the northern nations, and all those who live between the tropics, the negroes, for example, on the coast of Guinea. When a French regiment comes from some of the northern provinces of France, where wine is somewhat dear, to be quartered in the southern, where it is very cheap, the soldiers, I have frequently heard it observed, are at first debauched by the cheapness and novelty of good wine; but after a few months' residence, the greater part of them become as sober as the rest of the inhabitants."

Having thus looked through the pamphlet, we must be permitted, after the example of its author, again to repeat what we have before observed; namely, that a theory is there assumed which supposes that wine mentioned in Scripture is of two kinds, fermented and not fermented, the former a curse, the latter a comfort and blessing. This is the foundation of the whole work; and this foundation is built upon quick-sand. It is surprising that one possessed of so much information as the writer of the pamphlet under discussion, should be capable of uttering so much incoherent and irrelevant matter, under the impression of pursuing his argument in a logical manner. He has raised such a cloud of Hebrew and Greek words, positive and oft-repeated assertions, pompous phrases, and accumulated sentences, that he seems blinded by the dust with which he has surrounded himself. And all this, no doubt, passes with many for wonderful learning and resistless authority.

Temperance is a Christian virtue which can never be too sedulously cultivated. But there is an intemperance in the zeal of some of the modern advocates of that virtue which leads them, as we have seen, to wrest even the Scriptures from their meaning, and which will, in the end, pull down the very cause which they are striving to build up. There is also a spirit of dogmatism and denunciation often exhibited, where modesty and humility would be more becoming.

It would be well for all such intemperate advocates of temperance, to bear in mind what is said by the author of the wine pamphlet at the foot of p. 42—"extreme positions in respect to all such questions are hazardous. A community may be misled by the ingenuity and eloquence which sustains them, for awhile. But *reaction* never fails."

Extracts from the letters of the Rev. ELI SMITH and the Rev. DANIEL LADD, referred to in the foregoing remarks.

The first is taken from the Journal of Commerce, and is as follows :

"THE WINES OF SYRIA.—The last 'Theological Review,' published at Andover, contains a very interesting article from the Rev. Eli Smith, on the wines of Mount Lebanon. Mr. Smith has been near twenty years a missionary in the country concerning which he writes, and being a man of intelligence and Yankee sagacity, must be well acquainted with the every-day matters around him. He says there are three methods of making wine, in one of which, or by a union of more than one, all the wines are made. The leading fact of the first method is, that the juice is expressed (by treading in baskets) from the grapes as they come from the vines, and then fermented. The second method is when the fresh juice is boiled down before fermenting, and the third, when grapes and stems are partially dried in the sun before pressing. The boiling is partly to expell the water, and partly to purify the wine, by throwing the crude substances off in a scum. Wine made in the first method is equal to the weight of the grapes, and will only keep in the atmosphere of a few places, while that which is made in either of the others, being reduced to one third the weight of the grapes, keeps well for years. Whatever may be the method of manufacture, fermentation and the presence of alcohol are common to them all. Indeed the local name for wine, includes leaven and fermentation ; and when the people were inquired of for unfermented wines, they stared, and said they never heard of such a thing. None of the wines are enforced with extra brandy ; none are drugged ; none are termed intoxicating by way of distinction ; for all are intoxicating—the best yielding one third of their quantity in brandy. The distillers say that a given quantity of grapes will produce the same quantity of brandy, whatever process may be adopted in making the wine. The Papal and Greek priests all say that wine for the sacrament must be pure and fermented, but not acetous. Here then are 'tyrosh, yayin,' and all the hard-labored theories about the unintoxicating wines of Palestine, dashed and demolished against the facts."

The next extract is as follows :

"From the Vermont Chronicle.

"EASTERN WINES—JUICE OF THE GRAPE.

"Extract of a letter from Rev. Daniel Ladd, Missionary to Cyprus, to Rev. A. Merrill, D. D., dated—

"CONSTANTINOPLE, APRIL 28th, 1841

"I must now endeavor to answer your inquiries respecting the use and manufacture of wine in these countries. My first remark is, that all the facts which have come to my knowledge, on this subject, go to show that so far as the Bible sanctions the drinking of wine in any way, it always applies to fermented wine. Most of the facts which lead me to this opinion, will appear in my answers to your questions. You first inquire whether in Cyprus or elsewhere, to my knowledge, wine is ever boiled down so that it will not ferment, and will remain sweet for years? I answer, it is not done in Cyprus, nor did I ever hear of such a practice, except in modern discussions on this subject; and also the Talmud speaks of boiled wine, which a learned Jewish Rabbi of the second century approved for the burnt offering, 'because,' he said, 'it improves it.' The boiled wine, I have no doubt, was made just as New England farmers make boiled cider, that is, by boiling the must before fermentation, not to a syrup, but so as to diminish the quantity considerably and not prevent fermentation, just as in the case of boiled cider, and then the wine is sweeter and stronger; for the Rabbi says 'it improves it.' If the must is boiled to a syrup, so as to prevent fermentation, it is no longer wine, but a very different article. This article is very common in Cyprus, in Syria, in this place, and throughout the East, but it is a kind of molasses. Both ourselves and the missionary families here and at Beyroot, use it on our tables for such purposes as we would use West India molasses, or the molasses of the sugar-maple.

"It is made precisely as I have known some farmers in New England to make molasses from the cider of sweet apples, by taking it, as it runs from the press, and boiling it down to a thick syrup. Such molasses, I know, is not common in New England, but I have eaten it there, and it would be just as proper to call this molasses cider, as it is to call the syrup or molasses made by boiling down the juice of grapes, when first pressed out, by the name of wine. And here, I imagine, is one great cause of mistake and ambiguity in discussions on this subject. Mr. Delevan and others when referring to this syrup made of grape juice, or what in English I should call *grape-molasses*, frequently call it boiled wine, or wine. In these countries, people do not make this mistake; but call it by different names from that which signifies wine. The Arabs of Syria call it dibs; the Greeks, epsema, and the Turks, petmez; neither of which words signify wine. It is one of the most common articles in these countries. Besides being used commonly as an article of food, it is drunk with water just as farmers drink molasses at

water, in summer, in New England. In this shape it is sold in the streets of Beyroot, Cyprus, Smyrna, and of this place, as a pleasant drink in a hot day, and the natives take it with them frequently on journeys to drink in the same way with water; but the water with which it is mixed becomes nothing but sweetened water. You see then, what the boiled juice of the grape is—nothing but grape-molasses. I intend to send you some, and some wine also, as soon as I return to Cyprus; but I hope your Church will not think of making sweetened water of it, to use at the Lord's Supper. This I must consider ultraism on this subject. I was sorry to see advertised in the New York Evangelist, 'Pure unfermented Grape Juice, in the form of a Syrup;' for it shows that there is a demand for this article in America.

"You ask again whether unfermented wine is common, or whether much of it is drunken, and can be preserved, transported, &c. It is not common, because must, will remain unfermented but a little time. It is like new cider in this respect. It (i. e. must) is drunk only a little during vintage, and cannot be transported. But the grape-molasses, above mentioned, is common, as you see; it is drunk with water extensively, and it can be transported just like any other molasses.

"I am surprised at one statement, made by Mr. Delevan; that is, 'that it is the custom of the Jews in Europe, where he traveled, to use a decoction made from dried grapes, at the Passover. He says, too, that M. M. Noah, Esq. informed him that this is also the custom of the Jews in New York.' Now I am sure that there is some mistake in this. I have made diligent inquiries of Jews and others in this country, and especially of an educated, converted German Jew, a missionary of the London Jews' Society, whether they know of any such practice, and the result is that no one ever heard of it, except that very poor Jews in Europe, who on account of their poverty cannot obtain wine, do sometimes make such a decoction, and use it as the best substitute for wine at the Passover; and on other occasions, when they need wine for religious purposes."

ART. III.—TRANSLATION OF THE SYRIAC IGNATIAN
EPISTLES.

SINCE our review, in January last, of the Syriac Epistles of Ignatius, published by the Rev. William Cureton in 1845, a new and enlarged edition of all the works of Ignatius that have come to us, in Syriac, Greek, or Latin, with a learned Introduction, a literal translation of the Syriac, and copious notes, entitled *Corpus Ignatianum*, has been issued by Mr. Cureton, Lond. 1849, pp. lxxxviii and 365, 8vo. In preparing this edition, the learned editor had the aid of another Syriac MS. of the three Epistles, brought from Egypt by M. Pacheco, in 1847. The first edition was prepared from *two* Syriac MSS.; *one*, of the Epistle to Polycarp only, brought from Egypt by Mr. Tattam in 1839; the other, of all the three Epistles, procured by Mr. Tattam, in his second mission to Egypt in 1843. All these MSS. are supposed to have been written between the *sixth* and the *tenth* centuries; and they vary but little from each other. The publication of this new edition puts the work within the reach of the learned in this country; but the high price of the book, and the delays of importation, will prevent the majority of our readers from soon obtaining access to the work, and we have therefore supposed that they would be gratified by a perusal of the very literal English version of the three Epistles, by the learned editor. Without pronouncing any opinion on the merits or authority of these Syriac Epistles, and solely to enable the public to see how far they differ from the received Greek copies, we here subjoin the almost servile translation of Mr. Cureton.

THE EPISTLE OF ST. IGNATIUS THE BISHOP, TO POLYCARP.

IGNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, who himself rather is visited by God the Father, and by Jesus Christ our Lord,—much peace.

*(1.) For as much as thy mind, which is confirmed in God as upon a rock immovable, is acceptable to me, I praise God the more abundantly for having been accounted worthy of thy countenance, which I long for in God. I beseech thee, therefore, by the grace with which thou art clothed, to add to thy

* The Roman Numerals refer to the corresponding chapters of the Shorter Epistles in the Greek text.

course, and pray for all men that they may be saved, and require things becoming with all dilligence of flesh and of spirit. Be careful for unanimity, than which nothing is more excellent. Bear all men as our Lord beareth thee. Be patient with all men in love, as [indeed] thou art. Be constant in prayer. Ask more understanding than what thou [already] hast. Be watchful, for thou possessest a spirit that sleepeth not. Speak with all men according to the will of God. Bear the infirmities of all men like a perfect combatant ; for where the labor is much, much also is the gain. (II.) If thou love the good disciples only, thou hast no grace ; rather subdue those who are evil by gentleness. All wounds are not healed by one medicine. Allay cutting, by tenderness. Be wise as the serpent in every thing, and innocent as the dove as to those things which are requisite. On this account art thou [both] of flesh and spirit, that thou mayest allure those things which are seen before thy face, and ask respecting those things which are hidden from thee, that thou mayest be lacking in nothing, and mayest abound in all gifts. The time requireth, as a pilot a ship, and as he who standeth in the tempest the haven, that thou shouldest be worthy of God. Be vigilant as a combatant of God. That which is promised to us is life eternal, incorruptible, of which things thou art persuaded. In every thing I will be instead of thy soul, and my bonds which thou hast loved. (III.) Let not those who seem to be something and teach strange doctrines, astound thee, but stand in the truth, like a combatant who is smitten ; for it is [the part] of a great combatant that he should be smitten and conquer. More especially on God's account, it behoveth us to endure every thing, that He also may endure us. Be diligent [even] more than thou art. Be discerning of the times. Expect Him who is above the times, Him to whom there are no times, Him who is unseen, Him who for our sakes was seen, Him who is impalpable, Him who is impassible, Him who for our sakes suffered, Him who endured every thing in every form, for our sakes.

(IV.) Let not the widows be neglected ; on our Lord's account be thou their guardian, and let nothing be done without thy will ; neither do thou any thing without the will of God ; nor indeed doest thou. Stand well. Let there be frequent assemblies. Ask every man by his name. Despise not slaves and handmaids ; but neither let them be contemptuous ; but let them serve the more, as for the glory of God, that they may be accounted worthy of a better freedom which is of God. Let them not desire to be set free from the common

[property], that they may not be found the slaves of lusts. (V.) Fly from evil arts ; but rather discourse respecting them. Tell my sisters that they love in the Lord, and that their husbands be sufficient for them in flesh and in spirit. Then again, charge my brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they love their wives as our Lord his Church. If any one be able in strength to continue in chastity to the honor of the flesh of our Lord, let him continue without boasting ; if he boast, he is lost ; if he become known apart from the Bishop, he has corrupted himself. It is becoming, therefore, to men and women who marry, that they marry by the counsel of the Bishop, that the marriage may be in our Lord, and not in lust. Let every thing, therefore, be for the honor of God.

(VI.) Look to the Bishop, that God also may look upon you. I will be instead of the souls of those who are subject to the Bishop, and the Presbyters, and the Deacons ; with them may I have a portion near God. Labor together with one another ; make the struggle together, run together, sleep together, rise together. As stewards of God, and his domestics and ministers, please him and serve him, that ye may receive the wages from him. Let none of you rebel. Let your baptism be to you as armor, and faith as a helmet, and love as a spear, and patience as a panoply. Let your treasures be your good works, that ye may receive the gift of God, as it is just. Let your spirit be enduring towards each other in meekness, as God towards you. I rejoice in you at all times. (VII.) The Christian has not power over himself, but is ready to be subject to God. (VIII.) I salute him who is accounted worthy to go to Antioch in my stead, as I charged thee.

HIS SECOND EPISTLE, TO THE EPHESIANS.

IGNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to the Church which is blessed in the greatness of God the Father, and perfected ; to her who was separated from eternity to be at all times for glory that abideth and changeth not, and is perfected and chosen in the purpose of truth, by the will of the Father of Jesus Christ our God ; to her who was worthy of happiness ; to her who is at Ephesus in Jesus Christ in joy unblamable,—much peace.

(I.) For as much as your well-beloved name is acceptable to me in God, which ye have acquired by nature by a right and just will, and also by faith and love of Jesus Christ our Saviour, and ye are imitators of God, and fervent in the blood of God, and have speedily accomplished a work congenial to you ; for when ye heard that I was bound from actions for the sake of the common name and hope—and I hope through your

prayers to be devoured of beasts at Rome, that by means of this of which I am accounted worthy I may be impowered with strength to be a disciple of God—ye were diligent to come and see me. For as much, therefore, as we have received your abundance in the name of God by Onesimus, who is your Bishop in love unutterable, whom I pray that ye love in Jesus Christ our Lord, and that all of you be like him; for blessed is He who hath given you such a Bishop, as ye deserve; (II, III.) but for as much as love suffereth me not to be silent respecting you, on this account I have been forward to intreat you to be diligent in the will of God; (IV, V, VI, VII, VIII.) for so long as no one lust is implanted in you which is able to torment you, lo, we live in God. I rejoice in you, and offer supplication on account of you, Ephesians, a Church renowned in all ages. For those who are carnal are not able to do spiritual things, neither the spiritual carnal things; likewise neither faith those things which are foreign to faith, nor lack of faith what is faith's. For those things which ye have done in the flesh even they are spiritual, because ye have done every thing in Jesus Christ, (IX.) and ye are prepared for the building of God the Father, and are raised up on high by the engine of Jesus Christ, which is the Cross, and ye are drawn by the rope, which is the Holy Ghost; and your pulley is your faith, and your love is the way that leadeth up on high to God. (X.) Pray for all men, for there is hope of repentance for them, that they may be accounted worthy of God. By your works rather let them be instructed. Against their harsh words be ye conciliatory in meekness of mind and gentleness; against their blasphemies do ye pray; and against their error be ye armed with faith; and against their fierceness be ye peaceful and quiet; and be ye not astounded by them. Let us then be imitators of our Lord in meekness, and [emulous] as to who shall be injured, and oppressed, and defrauded more [than the rest]. (XI, XII, XIII, XIV.) The work is not of promise, unless a man be found in the power of faith even to the end. (XV.) It is better that a man be silent when he is something than that he should be speaking when he is not; that by those things which he speaks he should act, and by those things of which he is silent he should be known. (XVI, XVII, XVIII.) My spirit boweth down to the Cross, which is an offence to those who do not believe, but to you salvation and life eternal. (XIX.) There was concealed from the ruler of this world, the virginity of Mary, and the birth of our Lord, and the three mysteries of the shout, which were done in the quietness of God from the star. And here, at the

manifestation of the Son magic began to be destroyed, and all bonds were loosed, and the ancient kingdom and the error of evil was destroyed. From hence all things were moved together, and the destruction of death was devised, and there was the commencement of that which is perfected in God.

THIRD EPISTLE OF THE SAME ST. IGNATIUS.

IGNATIUS, who is Theophorus, to the Church which has been pitied in the greatness of the Father Most High; to her who presideth in the place of the country of the Romans, who is worthy of God, and worthy of life and happiness and praise and remembrance, and is worthy of prosperity, and presideth in love, and is perfected in the law of Christ blameless,—much peace.

(I.) Long since have I prayed to God that I might be accounted worthy to behold your faces, which are worthy of God: now therefore being bound in Jesus Christ, I hope to meet you and salute you, if there be the will that I should be accounted worthy to the end. For the beginning is well disposed, if I be accounted worthy to attain to the end, that I may receive my portion without hindrance through suffering. For I am afraid of your love, lest it should injure me. For you, indeed, it is easy for you to do what you wish; but for me, it is difficult for me to be accounted worthy of God, if indeed you spare me not. (II.) For there is no other time like this, that I should be accounted worthy of God; neither will ye, if ye be silent, be found in a better work than this. If ye leave me I shall be the word of God; but if ye love my flesh, again am I to myself a voice. Ye will not give me any thing better than this, that I should be sacrificed to God while the altar is ready; that ye may be in one accord in love, and may praise God the Father through Jesus Christ our Lord, because he has accounted a Bishop worthy to be God's, having called him from the East to the West. It is good that I should set from the world in God, that I may rise in Him in life.

(III.) Ye have never envied any one. Ye have taught others. Pray only for strength to be given to me from within and from without, that I may not only speak, but also may be willing; and not that I may be called a Christian only, but also that I may be found to be [one]: for if I am found to be [one], I am also able to be called [so]. Then [indeed] shall I be faithful, when I am no longer seen in the world. For there is nothing which is seen that is good. The work is not

[a matter] of persuasion, but Christianity is great when the world hateth it. (IV.) I write to all the Churches, and declare to all men that I die willingly for God, if it be that ye hinder me not. I intreat you, be not [affected] towards me by love that is unseasonable. Leave me to be the beasts', that through them I may be accounted worthy of God. I am the wheat of God, and by the teeth of the beasts I am ground, that I may be found the pure bread of God. With provoking provoke ye the beasts, that they may be a grave for me, and may leave nothing of my body, that even after I am fallen asleep I may not be a burden upon any one. Then shall I be in truth a disciple of Jesus Christ, when the world seeth not even my body. Intreat our Lord for me, that through these instruments I may be found a sacrifice to God.

I do not charge you like Peter and Paul, who are Apostles, but I am one condemned: they indeed are free, but I am a slave even until now. But if I suffer, I shall be the freedman of Jesus Christ, and I shall rise from the dead in Him free. And now, being bound, I learn to desire nothing. (V.) From Syria, and even to Rome I am cast among beasts, by sea and by land, by night and by day, being bound between ten leopards, which are the band of soldiers, who, even while I do good to them, do evil the more to me. But I am the rather instructed by their injury, but not on this account am I justified to myself. I rejoice in the beasts that are prepared for me, and I pray that they may be quickly found for me; and I will provoke them to devour me speedily: and not as that which is afraid of some other men, and does not approach them; even should they not be willing to approach me, I will go with violence against them. Know me from myself. What is expedient for me? Let nothing envy me of those [things] that are seen and that are not seen, that I should be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ. Fire and the cross, and the beasts that are prepared, amputation of the limbs, and scattering of the bones, and crushing of the whole body, hard torments of the devil, let these come upon me, and only may I be accounted worthy of Jesus Christ. (VI, VII.) The pains of the birth stand over me, and my love is crucified, and there is no fire in me for another love. I do not desire the food of corruption, neither the desire of this world. The bread of God I seek, which is the flesh of Jesus Christ; and his blood I seek, a drink which is love incorruptible. (VIII, IX.) My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the Churches which received me as the name of Jesus Christ, for even those who were near to the way in the flesh preceded me in every city.

(Epist. to the Trallians, cap. iv.) Now therefore being about to arrive shortly at Rome, I know many things in God ; but I moderate myself, that I may not perish through boasting ; for now it behoveth me to fear the more, and not to regard those who puff me up. For they who say to me such things, scourge me : for I love to suffer, but I do not know if I am worthy. For to many, zeal is not seen ; but with me it has war : I have need therefore of meekness, by which the ruler of this world is destroyed. (Idem. cap. v.) I am able to write to you of heavenly things ; but I fear lest I should do you an injury. Know me from myself. For I am cautious, lest ye should not be able to receive it, and should be perplexed. For even I, not because I am bound, and am able to know heavenly things, and the places of angels, and the station of the powers that are seen and that are not seen, on this account am I a disciple : for I am far short of the perfection which is worthy of God. (Rom. cap. x.) Be ye perfectly safe in the patience of Jesus Christ.

· Here end the Three Epistles of Ignatius, Bishop and Martyr.

MISS STRICKLAND'S QUEENS OF ENGLAND.*

ART. IV.—*Lives of the Queens of England, from the Norman Conquest, with Anecdotes of their Courts. Now first published from official documents, private as well as public.* By AGNES STRICKLAND. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard. 12 vols., 1848.

FEW contributions to the literature of the present age will surpass in value these *Lives of the Queens of England*. Gathered as they have been from hitherto unpublished manuscripts, they bear upon their pages the charms of novelty, as well as the lineaments of truth. Thoroughly versed we may be in the habits, manners, and characters of the kings who have swayed the sceptre of England, from Egbert the Dane, to the late William of Hanover; yet, how faint are the glimpses we catch of those who shared their authority, and exercised over their minds all the influence of wives and companions! How many a cruel edict may have been suppressed, how many deeds of violence may have remained unaccomplished, through the interposition of one kind heart, the supplication of a gentle voice like that with which the good queen Philippa sought and obtained the pardon of the six devoted men of Calais! Yet we will no longer quarrel for these sins of omission with Hume or the less eminent historians who have succeeded him, since in the interesting work before us, we see portrayed the virtues that most beautify and the vices that most deform the female character. We do not alone gaze upon the queen with her crowned head, regal attire, and almost unapproachable dignity; we are introduced behind the scenes, and behold the woman, speaking, acting, and animated by like passions with ourselves. "There is something," and we quote from the elegant preface to one of these volumes, "very peculiar in the views which we obtain of history, in tracing the lives of queens-consort. The great world is never entirely shut out. The chariot of state is always to be seen—the sound of its wheels is ever in our ears. We observe that the thoughts, the feelings, the actions

* It may not be amiss to state, that the following Review of an English Author, is from the pen of an American Lady.—Ed.

of her whose course we are tracing, are, at no time, entirely disconnected with Him by whose hand the reins are guided."

But even with the rich and abundant materials which the indefatigable research and untiring industry of Miss Strickland have brought to light, we very much doubt whether, in other hands, the work before us would have so won the tribute of public admiration. The gifted authoress has thrown over the simple facts, the charm of her own graceful style, investing with interest every character she touches, and even taking from statistical records, the tedium of dry detail. Her mind is unbiassed by prejudice, and she "controls her assertions," to use the words of Guizot, "by the facts."

It is not our purpose to dwell at equal length upon each character presented to our notice. We can only pause, where all is fair and attractive, to observe some hitherto unknown and interesting features.

"The Lives" commence with that of Matilda, queen of William the Conqueror. She introduced her architects from Flanders, encouraged the arts of painting and sculpture, and was, herself, preëminently skilled in the feminine accomplishment of needle-work. The Bayoux tapestry bears witness to her industry during the protracted absences of her lord, while it commemorates his mighty victories. We pass over the lives of Maud, "the good Queen," Adelicia of Louvaine, the patroness of poetry, the third Matilda, and Isabella of Angoulême. They existed at too remote a period to call forth any very lively sympathy in their sorrowings and rejoicings, yet we cannot read unmoved the tale of the intense conjugal affection existing between Edward I and his lovely and beloved Eleonora of Castile, who expired in the 47th year of her age. In the bitterest grief her royal husband followed her remains during thirteen days from Grantham to their final place of sepulture at Westminster. The royal bier rested at the end of every stage, in the midst of some large town, and was borne by ecclesiastics before the altar of its principal Church. At each of these resting-places the king afterwards erected a monument to the memory of his "*chère reine*," and "those of Waltham and Northampton still remain, models of architectural beauty."

The "Lives of the Queens of Henry VIII," are replete with interest, and strongly impress us with a sense of the enormities of this Blue Beard of English history. Miss Strickland supposes his stormy temper to have hastened the emancipation of England from the papal yoke, but she gives him little credit for his personal exertions in behalf of the Reformation. "It was cradled," she affirms, "in the printing

press and established by no other means," although its dawning light was kindled in his unworthy reign.

It is a matter of surprise that the glitter of the crown should so effectually have concealed from the objects of his passion, the fatal axe which hung suspended over their heads. Of the six queens of Henry the VIII, two were beheaded and three divorced. The sweetness, fortitude, and resignation with which Katharine of Arragon, the first of the unfortunate list, bore the vicissitudes of her weary pilgrimage, and at last exchanged it for "the celestial life," are worthy of all admiration.

Anne Boleyn, the beautiful and accomplished object of the king's ephemeral passion, succeeded the divorced Katharine. She survived her predecessor but the brief period of four months, ending her life upon the scaffold, after a hurried and unjust trial. The translation of the Scriptures was the only boon that the Reformation received through her influence.

We pass to Katharine Parr, the sixth and last queen of Henry VIII, who has been justly styled "the nursing mother of the Reformation." She eagerly embraced its doctrines, and her life and crown were exposed to imminent danger in support of her principles. "While she was yet the widow of lord Latimer, sermons were daily preached in her chamber of state, by those who were desirous of restoring the Christian religion to its primitive simplicity." After her marriage to the king her heart must have been wrung with anguish, by the tortures and cruel martyrdom of the young and lovely Anne Askew, and her companions in faith and suffering. The gentleness and unwearied patience with which she endured the continual petulance of her capricious lord, afford evidence that she was a true disciple of the religion which she professed. We wish the letters which she addressed to him, had been less highly seasoned with the most unqualified flattery. We can only forgive this unmerited adulation by remembering upon what a precarious tenure she held both crown and head. Her religious writings manifest much intellect and deep piety. Katharine Parr had the good fortune to survive her formidable husband, and was the first queen of England buried according to the rites of the Reformed Church.

The young and saintly Edward VI was succeeded by his bigoted sister, Mary, whose name has been handed down to posterity, joined to the unenviable epithet of "Bloody." She imbibed the strong attachment of her mother Katharine of Arragon, to the Church of Rome. Soon after her accession to the throne "she forbade the lord mayor to suffer in any

ward, open reading of the Scriptures in the Churches, or preaching by the curates, unless licensed by her."

Miss Strickland imputes the dreadful persecutions which were sanctioned in her name, to the influence of her ecclesiastical advisers, Gardiner and Bonner, and affirms that during their continuance, the queen was in a death-like and torpid state. We trust, for the honor of her sex, that her senses were indeed wrapt in a lethargy, when they could not be aroused by the fires of Smithfield. The protestant historian, Fuller, says she had been a worthy princess if as little cruelty had been done *under* her as *by* her.

A very large portion of the "Lives" is devoted to Elizabeth, the sister and successor of queen Mary. She was the daughter of Henry VIII and the unfortunate Anne Boleyn. Much has been written of "good queen Bess," but no author has probably drawn a more minute and accurate picture of the maiden queen. In her early years she appears to have been singularly interesting and attractive. "Popularity was a leading object with Elizabeth from her childhood to the grave." The end for which she labored so assiduously was attained, and she was deservedly beloved for the interest she ever manifested in her "good people." Her private life was too deeply shaded with jealousy and dissimulation. Her treacherous conduct to the beautiful and unfortunate Queen of Scots, has cast an indelible stigma upon her memory. In more severe language than she usually employs, our authoress remarks :

"Writers have been found to justify the injurious treatment to which Mary Stuart was subjected in England, on the plea that she, as a foreign sovereign, might, by the laws of nations, be constituted a prisoner, because she entered Elizabeth's realm without having permission to do so. Cecil, her great enemy, far from using so paltry an excuse, has written in his barristerial argument on her side, 'She is to be helped because she came willingly into the realm, upon trust of the queen's majesty.' Secondly, he says, and this convicts Elizabeth of perfidy, which requires no comment, 'She trusted in the queen's majesty's help, because she had, in her trouble, received many messages to that effect.'"

"If all the pens in the world were employed in the defence of Elizabeth's conduct, they could not obliterate the stain which that incontrovertible record of her treachery has left upon her memory."

We pass to the most interesting volume of the series, the life of Henrietta Maria. Every page devoted to this queen merits our careful perusal, especially in an age when the character and misfortunes of Charles I have awakened such general attention, and friend and foe are alike ready to wield the pen in his defence or to his prejudice.

Many facts are here brought to light which Miss Strickland has alone laid before the public, and many traits in the domestic history of this unfortunate prince, which call forth our admiration and sympathy. Here our authoress manifests her full powers as a historian. Her heart is evidently interested, as she follows the course of the royal pair from infancy to their closing scene.

These biographies bear frequent testimony that Miss Strickland is a decided lover of Church and State, cherishing deep attachment to the Church of England, its holy rites and solemn services, and a true English woman's reverence for the crown, distinct from him who holds the regal office. But in this case, hereditary attachment is enhanced by veneration and sympathy for the pious, accomplished, but unfortunate monarch whose sufferings she depicts with touching pathos.

The marriage of Charles I to a Roman Catholic princess, whose love for her religion was deep and all-absorbing, was undoubtedly the cause of many of his misfortunes.

A train of French ladies and several ecclesiastics accompanied the daughter of Henry IV to the shores of England, who by exerting a great influence over her mind rendered themselves extremely disagreeable to her royal husband. Finding remonstrance useless, he resorted to more violent measures to rid himself of their troublesome presence. Theirs, was a novel ejection from the royal palace, when the women howled as if they were going to execution, but in vain; and the young queen endeavoring to bid them a passionate farewell, continued to break the windows with her fist."

These resolute measures on the part of the king, of course occasioned various differences between the royal pair, but the straight-forward reproof of the French ambassador quelled the spirit of Henrietta and "secured her nearly eighteen years of conjugal happiness." She persisted, however, in her intention of erecting a chapel, and was so imprudent as to lay publicly the corner stone with her own hands. By refusing to be crowned or even to be present at the coronation of the king, (because her religious bigotry would not allow her to as-

sist in the English liturgy,) she gave her subjects cause to imagine that their crown was the object of her contempt.

During one of his absences in Scotland, Charles I obtained proof of the treasonable correspondence of five members of the House of Commons with his rebels there. Upon his return to England he apprised the queen of his intention of apprehending them, and her inconsiderate betrayal of his secret laid the foundation of his ruin.

We almost forget the many indiscretions and extreme bigotry of Henrietta Maria in considering her unparalleled exertions in behalf of Charles I in the season of his adversity. No self-denial was too great, no personal danger too fearful to be incurred, while she sought, in his behalf, from various courts of Europe, pecuniary assistance. Returning to England with the aid thus obtained, the royal pair separated at Abington, never to meet again on earth. Driven thence, distressed in mind and body, the queen trusted that the air of her native land might invigorate her wasted frame. Her sons remained to share the perils of their father, until James was taken prisoner and the prince of Wales sent an exile to the coast of Scilly. Her younger children were also detained as captives.

After his unsuccessful battles, the king "passed his time either as a fugitive or a prisoner."

"Sometimes the unfortunate monarch starved ; sometimes the entry in the journal is 'dinner in the field.' 'No dinner' is the entry for several successive days. Another, 'Sunday, no dinner ; supper at Worcester, a cruel day.' * * * Often the king rode hard through the night, and saw the break of day ; which only recalled the wearied fugitive to the anxious cares of a retreat or a pursuit. Once, late in the evening, he dismissed some loyal gentlemen to their homes, with these pathetic words : 'Gentlemen, go you and take your rest ; you have houses, and homes, and beds to lodge in, and families to love and live with : but I have none ! My horse is waiting for me to travel all night.' The king often compared himself, in the words of the Psalmist, 'to a partridge hunted on the mountains.' In the beautiful and touching memorial of his afflictions, he has noted himself, not only as destitute of the common necessities of life, but as bereaved of his wife, his children, and his friends. 'But,' said he, 'as God has given me afflictions to exercise my patience, so hath he given me patience to bear my afflictions.' Such was the life led by the much-tried monarch, towards the conclusion of the war.

"Wearied of this life of homeless sufferings and perils, the

king threw himself on the generosity of the Scotch covenanters. They sold him to the English commons. It was represented to him that he might yet escape farther into Scotland. He replied with a mournful smile, 'I think it more respectable to go with those who have bought me than stay with those who have sold me.' He added, 'I am ashamed that my price was so much higher than my Saviour's. If Charles had taken refuge among the Highlanders, in the loyal districts, Scotland had never groaned under the bitter reproach of this transaction. There was little to choose between the honor of the covenanters and the roundheads.'*

He was carried first a prisoner to Hampton court, thence the rebel army dragged their king to Carisbrook, finally to the dismal solitude of Hurst castle, and Cromwell sent for him to proceed thence to Windsor. Miss Strickland observes "that the king was taken from the Hall," (Westminster, where he had stood his mock trial,) "amidst the irrepressible cries of 'God bless your majesty! God save you from your enemies!'" Such was the only part the people of England took in the trial."

When Charles was for the fourth time brought before his self-constituted judges, a female voice exclaimed from the gallery, "Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor." Would "that the people of England," at this crisis, had responded in unison to that cry, and rescued their unhappy sovereign from the hands of this military despot, and his regicide supporters! As he left his place of trial the greatest indignities were offered to him, and the cries of the infatuated soldiery reached his ears on every side.

Cromwell had now risen to the height of his unhallowed ambition. The last act of the sorrowful tragedy which was now performed, removed the rival from his path. The sublime resignation, the unfeigned piety with which the royal martyr met his fate, lead us to trust that his holy hope was realized, and that he indeed exchanged "a corruptible for an incorruptible crown."

"Half blinded with their tears, and with the gloom of impending night, thick with falling snow, the faithful friends and servants of Charles I, lowered his coffin among that portion of England's royal dead who repose at Windsor, and left him there without either singing or saying, or even the power of ascertaining the precise spot where he was laid."†

Henrietta Maria long remained in ignorance of the scenes

* Vol. VIII, page 115.

† Vol. VIII, p. 134.

enacted in England. When they were at last communicated to her, she became immovable as a statue, motionless with grief. She was at length aroused from her stupor and exclaimed in the deepest anguish, "I have lost a king, a husband and a friend, whose loss I can never sufficiently mourn, and this separation must render the rest of my life a perpetual torture."

During her widowhood we are surprised by a fresh outbreak of religious zeal in attempts to educate her younger children in the Romish tenets. We can scarcely forgive in the widow of Charles I and the former queen of Protestant England, the cruel persecution of her young son the duke of Gloucester, when she found her efforts unavailing. In his heart-rending farewell of his children, the king had exhorted him "to keep his religion," and this the young child earnestly promised. No threats or entreaties could induce the princely boy to break his word. The elder sons of queen Henrietta were also at this time firmly attached to the reformed Church of England; the young princess, her daughter, was alone brought up in the faith of her mother. The queen was present at the coronation of her son, but her impaired health caused her again to seek her native land, where at her palace of Colombe she ended her eventful life, in the 61st year of her age.

After the death of the usurper, Cromwell, Charles II was proclaimed king of England, amid the universal joy of the people. He soon after wedded Catharine of Braganza. Her religion, like that of her royal mother-in-law, involved her in much trouble, and many were the plots and conspiracies imputed to the really innocent queen, whose mode of worship was so repugnant to the feelings of her protestant subjects.

James II, at that time duke of York, had, early in life, married Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon. She also died in communion with the Church of Rome, after which event his royal highness was sorely perplexed in choosing a bride from among the fairest princesses in Europe. His choice was at last fixed upon the young Mary Beatrice of Modena, who manifested an extreme aversion to forming a matrimonial connexion with a man twenty-five years her senior. It would seem as if with the eye of prophecy, she read the secrets of her coming fate, and firmly rejected the idea of a marriage which should cause her long years of sorrow, exile, and widowhood. Her desire of a conventual life was, however, overruled by her more ambitious relatives, and during the sixteen years of her sojourn in England, she never in-

terfered in public affairs, though at a later period, her foreign court became the rallying place of the Jacobites.

James appears to have been attached to the Romish Church at the time of his second marriage. This attachment disposed those who regarded his father in the light of a martyr, to look upon the son as an apostate, and to imagine that the popish queen, Catharine of Portugal, had exerted an evil influence upon his religious principles. Miss Strickland, however, discards the idea. She observes,

"After his accession to the throne, the ostentatious parade with which James thought proper to practise the ceremonies of his Church, gave great offence to many of his subjects. He was no longer contented with accompanying his consort to her chapel, but opened a [Roman] Catholic chapel in Whitehall, to which he insisted on their both going to receive the sacrament, attended by the great officers of their household." —Vol. IX, p. 144.

This was surely impolitic conduct for the nominal Head of the Church of England. Religious bigotry does not, however, seem to have entirely steeled his heart against those who differed from him in sentiment, for after the cruelties practised upon the protestants of France, he afforded them, in their need, both shelter and pecuniary assistance.

The reign of James II was drawing to its close. Under pretence of making hostile preparations against the king of France, William of Orange, his own nephew and the husband of his daughter, landed upon the shores of England. If king James had possessed a little of the energy which characterized him as duke of York, he might have still maintained his throne. He lingered in London when he should have taken the field against the enemy. Mental anguish had disordered his mind, and physical infirmities his body. But the crowning point of his distress was the desertion of his daughter Anne, who had early joined her brother-in-law, the prince of Orange. "God help me," exclaimed he, bursting into tears, "my own children have forsaken me." If a lover of Shakspeare, how often, and with what pertinence, must the words of king Lear have rushed into his mind,

How sharper than the serpent's tooth it is
To have a thankless child!

Abandoned by his friends, exposed on every side to the malice of his enemies, the last of the Stuart kings followed his queen to France, upon whose soil she had sought protection.

The beautiful chateau of St. Germain, to which James was no stranger, was assigned to the exiles, as their place of abode. He had there passed several years of his early youth, when a fugitive with his mother, queen Henrietta, and sad must have been his remembrances of the past. In this chateau, he ended his life, declaring almost with his latest breath his forgiveness of his daughters and the prince of Orange. Here Mary Beatrice mourned for him with the most passionate grief, and survived him through long years of sorrowful widowhood; here her heart was continually torn with anxiety for her son, and a longing desire to see him restored to the throne of his father. Miss Strickland follows her through this period, which was rendered tolerable only by the devotion of the faithful English followers that constituted her household, by intimacy with the nuns of Chaillot, and more than all by the steadfast friendship of Louis XIV. "The queen of England," observes an impartial witness, "is scarcely less than saintly; and in truth it is a happiness to see her as she is in the midst of her misfortunes. A lady of her court told me that she deprived herself of every thing, in order to support the poor English who had followed the king to St. Germain."

Every page of her life is full of interest, and we gather such a picture of meekness, of self-denial, of devoted affection, and earnest piety, that we recognize in it a perfect model for a queen, a wife, and a mother.

The princess Mary, eldest daughter of James II, seems to have been quite averse to a connexion with her cousin, the prince of Orange. After that event took place, while subjected to his tyrannies, and held in personal restraint, she doubtless found the suspicions which he expressed regarding himself quite correct, "that he might not be very easy for a wife to live with." To use the quaint words of an eye witness, "the prince had infallibly made her his slave, and there was an end of it." Such she undoubtedly was, if submission to his will rendered her such, but we can nowhere find that she deprecated his unworthy conduct, or that her conscience reproached her for her participation in it. To the last moment of her residence at the Hague her fond father could not be persuaded of her double-dealing, but continued to address her in the most affectionate terms of endearment and confidence.

After her triumphant entrance into England, Mary II could scarcely refrain from the most extravagant expressions of satisfaction. "She came into Whitehall jolly as to a wedding," writes Evelyn, "seeming quite transported with joy."

Queen Mary II has rendered her name illustrious as the founder of the Greenwich hospital. The possession of a brilliant intellect is attributed to her, and fine regal powers, which were fully tested during the repeated absences of her husband in other parts of his dominions.

Bishop Burnet, after her death, spared no pains in the laudatory panegyric in which he portrayed her character. After attributing to her the most exalted virtues, he sums up the long list by declaring her to be "sure of eternal life." Our authoress of course does not pass the expression unobserved, but alludes to it in the sarcastic manner with which she seldom fails to speak of the Bishop of Salisbury. We think he deserves little better mention, and one who could write pamphlets in justification of the vices of Charles II was probably disturbed by no very severe pangs of conscience when he declared the unnatural daughter, the unforgiving sister, to be 'sure of eternal life!'

Queen Anne, who succeeded her, appears to have manifested much less native refinement and delicacy than her sister. Her mis-spelt trivial letters to her adored favorite, the duchess of Marlborough, give us no very exalted idea of her mind and heart. She was passionately beloved by the lower orders of her subjects, and obtained from them the appellation of the "good queen Anne." Miss Strickland says, on this subject :

"To her people, queen Anne looked, as the only means of atonement, pardon and peace for the wrongs she had committed in her youth. To her they replaced the children, (if ever expressed conviction may be quoted,) of which inexorable justice had deprived her. Few readers of history have given this queen-regnant credit for the great good she actually did when on the throne ; still fewer have given her credit for the extreme difficulty she had in performing it, struggling with the inertness of cruel disease, with her own want of historical and statistic education, and, worse than all, with the rapacity of favorites and factions, the nurturers of wars and revolutions for lucre or private gain : in truth, queen Anne is an instance of how much real good may be done by the earnest intentions of one individual, of moderate abilities and no pretence, actually bent on actions beneficial to humanity. Those who bow the knee in idol-worship before the splendor of human talent, would find it difficult to produce two measures, of equal benefit to this island, performed by any queen-regnant of acknowledged power of mind and brightness of genius, with those brought to bear by queen Anne, and which were

her own personal acts. The one is the Bounty she bestowed on the impoverished clergy of the Church of England ; the other is the union of England and Scotland."*

Unlike queen Mary, Anne felt at times all the pangs of remorse. The remembrance of her guilt in stigmatizing her injured brother as illegitimate, was even more insupportable than the cares of royalty, when she called herself "a crowned slave," and his imaginary presence incessantly haunted her miserable death-bed.

"It is an undoubted fact," says her biographer, "that if the young prince or princess of the house of Stuart would have renounced the Roman Catholic religion, their kindred of the house of Hanover would not have opposed their claims on the throne of Great Britain." The young princess died in early youth and her brother Charles Edward, with all his father's pertinacity, refused to wear his rightful crown at the expense of his cherished religion. His son, the last of the unfortunate Stuart race, under the name of Cardinal York, died at Rome in 1807.

* Vol. XII, p. 143.

NOEL'S CHURCH AND STATE.

ART. V.—*Essay on the Union of Church and State.* By BAPTIST WRIOTHESLEY NOEL, M. A. Ἀληθευοντες ἐν ἀγάπῃ, Eph. iv, 15. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849. 12mo. pp. 442.

To American Churchmen every thing bearing upon the English Church possesses an absorbing interest. It is not merely because of the "Unity of the Faith," and our common membership in one mystical Body, that our sympathies are awakened, but there is also a community of origin, language, character, destiny; a thousand associations of home, and kindred, and friends, which clothes with the deepest importance every thing which pertains to her weal or wo. The links which bind together that Church and our own, are growing brighter and stronger every day. There is between them an identity of character, which, while it should make us jealous of her honor, at the same time places the Church in this country upon high vantage ground. The Church of England is linked inseparably with her greatness. It is enshrined in her Universities, her Parliament, her Literature, in the hearts of her nobility, and of the mass of her true yeomanry. It is at once the measure and director of her future destiny. It is the life-blood which wells out from her noble heart. It is the beauty and bloom of health which sits upon her cheek. It is the mighty strength of her right arm. And that heart will wither; that beauty and bloom will fade; that arm will be palsied, when the enemies of the Church, without or within her hallowed precincts, shall accomplish what they have so resolutely undertaken, and which they predict with such untimely exultation. It will do them no harm to remember, however, that as "one swallow does not make a spring," so one withered leaf does not make an autumn. Hitherto, in our country, the English Church has not exerted that commanding influence which might have been fairly anticipated. Aside from old prejudices and transmitted animosities, which are however fast wearing away, the great mass of English Literature republished in the States has breathed an unchurch spirit; while the few Puritan writers of the Cromwellian period have been "brought out" again and again, and ushered into notice with prefaces which, to say the least, have

exhibited an exceedingly fertile imagination. Now we find no fault with the descendants of the Puritans for thus attempting to stamp their own character upon American Literature. We honor them for their industry and zeal; and in so wide and rich a field we would not abridge the largest liberty. At the same time we may remind Churchmen, that the brightest pages of England's history and of her literature, have been adorned by the sons of England's Church. A very intelligent gentleman, who has recently returned from Europe, has remarked to us, that in visiting private and public libraries in England and on the continent, he could not but notice the fact, that the great proportion of their books were not even known in this country. And so it is. While among modern authors such writers as D'Aubigne, and Carlisle, and Macaulay, and the miserable scribblers in this country, who at a remote distance in talent, if not in temper, attempt to imitate them, are giving tone to our literature and public taste, the real treasures of our mother tongue have until recently scarcely been exhibited among us. In departing from this narrow and beaten track, and in cultivating a literature breathing the spirit of that Apostolic Church in which we have membership, we, as Church Reviewers, are not governed by partisan and contracted feelings. True Catholicism is the only basis on which literature and art can be developed in their full and beautiful proportions. Dissent, individualism, is in its own nature a dwarfish thing. Rejecting all sympathies and affinities, its ruling idea leads it to revolve alone in its own contracted orbit, around its own little self as its sun and centre. What great and noble thing has it ever conceived or executed? Isolated in its position, sundering every cord that connects the present with the mighty past, and binds the brotherhood of man together, it knows nothing of that harmony and order, in which the sphere of true progress moves on to its highest perfection. Communion, is a word not to be found in its vocabulary. Hence, a greater injury cannot possibly be done to the cause of letters, than that it should become a forced tributary to any narrow system of philosophy or metaphysics, upon which doctrinal sectarianism is built up. It is evident enough, that a new era of social influences has already dawned, full of promise to the Protestant Episcopal Church. The new channels of communication providentially opening with the great fountains of English learning; the growing distrust already noticeable of continental philosophy and German speculations, after which Americans in their own literary poverty have been thirsting; the

constant reciprocity of thought and opinion between old England and her American daughter, who has inherited the language as well as the enterprise of the Anglo-Saxon race, so that we now watch the book-market of London as narrowly as that of New York ; all this is operating to liberalize the remains of Puritan prejudice, and is inducing the conviction that it may after all admit of question whether the only chrysalis of modern civilization was deposited in the Mayflower, destined to burst its cerements and become the generative organic life of free institutions in the new world ; although to doubt this seems to be thought more heretical, at least it awakens fiercer opposition than the denial of every article of the Christian Faith. Just now, in New England, let a man deny the Trinity, or sneer at the Atonement, and he shall be apologized for, admitted into orthodox pulpits, courted and caressed. But let a man question the patriotism of Hampden, or the tolerance of the early New England Puritans, and you shall see him denounced as a bigot and covered all over with opprobrious epithets. Now in all this a revolution in public sentiment has commenced, and its progress no human power can check, while its results are certain to bear directly and powerfully on the best interests of the Church.

We have been led to this train of reflections, by examining the volume placed at the head of our pages, and by noticing the manner of its reception among dissenters in England, and by a portion of the religious press in the United States. Perhaps no book recently issued will be more efficacious in calling up from "the vasty deep" a spirit of mischief ; certainly none which, as coming from a minister of the Church of Christ, will be read with more surprise. But who is the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel ? The grandfather of Mr. Noel was Lord Barham ; whose only child, a daughter, the Baroness of Barham, married Sir Gerard Noel, member of Parliament for Rutlandshire. Mrs. Noel, mother of our author, having separated from her husband, took up her residence in Wales, at Fairy Hill, near Swansea, taking her children with her. In her religion, she was a "Catholic Methodist," so called, in the sentiments of which sect she educated her children, and doubtless laid the foundation of those loose and erratic notions which Mr. Noel has since developed. How he became connected with the Established Church we are uninformed. But in the violent outbreak of hostility against the Church, from 1830 to 1834, we find Mr. Noel sympathizing with, and encouraging dissenters ; and in a letter to Mr. Thomas Binney, which Mr. Binney published, expressing

opinions of the English Church and Clergy similar to those in the book before us, regretting that he cannot exchange pulpits with dissenting preachers, and meet them at the Lord's table, &c. Mr. Noel was also an active originator of the scheme for "City Missions," and the "Colonial Church Missionary Society," both which organizations employed *lay missionaries*. In 1845, we find him the author of another characteristic production, a letter to the Lord Bishop of Cashel, in which he says "The Irish (Romish) Priests must be endowed, or the endowments of the Protestant Church must be sacrificed. The time seems come when this sacrifice must be made." This production, the London Record spoke of as "radically unsound, . . . having error as its end, and by a tortuous course of error attaining that end. . . . It is rather the work of a political dissenter than that of a sober-minded clergyman of the Church of England." As a preacher, the same paper, several years ago, alluding to Mr. Noel, spoke of "the poverty of his pulpit ministrations, which his best and most discriminating friends deeply lament." And the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, of about the same date, classes Mr. Noel among those "weak and meddling persons who trifle with dangers by propounding these irrational and mischievous projects for the ruin of the Church." These public facts in his history will help us to appreciate the book before us. They show also his real position in the English Church, concerning which, we notice a very popular mistake, and one which the fact of his being successor in his parish, of Cecil, and the present Bishop of Calcutta, has helped to confirm. At home, judging from the tone of English journals, his secession seems to have occasioned neither surprise or regret. So far from his book being likely to make the slightest disturbance in the Church, Churchmen of all grades and altitudes unite in regarding it as little else than a gross caricature; while dissenters are making a great hue and cry over it, holding public meetings in their chapels for the purpose of reading its gross charges against the government, and the Bishops, Presbyters, and laymen of the Church. And among the sworn enemies of the Establishment, religious and political, it will doubtless be a very taking thing. The song of chartism having just now been pretty well worn out, it will add another string to the crazy old instrument which ever squeaks and groans away to the tune of reckless insubordination under long established institutions.

As a specimen of the *spirit* of the man, we quote the following from his preface. "Still more anxious am I to do jus-

tice to my beloved and honored brethren, the evangelical ministers of the Establishment. Having acted with them for many years, I can speak of their principles with confidence. Numbers of them, whose names I should rejoice to mention here with honor, are as sincere in adhering to the Establishment as I wish to be in quitting it. *Of many of them I am convinced that they surpass me in devotedness to Christ.*" Indeed!—the author residing, as his visitors tell us, in splendor at his elegant villa, seven miles from his parish Church, has come to the conclusion, that many of the evangelical Clergy surpass (even) him in devotedness to Christ! There is no mistaking such a tone, though we forbear to characterize it as it deserves.

The general plan of this book, is, first, a statement of the author's view of the nature of the Christian Church; then a historical sketch of the practical effects of the Union of Church and State from Constantine down; next, the author's estimate of the present character and position of the English Church and government; then a picture of dissent as at present existing; and, finally, the remedy which the author proposes for alleged evils.

Now we have no controversy with Mr. Noel, in respect to the union of Church and State. In the United States such a union would be deprecated, we suppose, by every Churchman, as both unscriptural and inexpedient. But were we of a contrary opinion, the book of Mr. Noel would fail to convince us. As a literary performance it is barely tolerable. It is verbose, abounding in repetitions, into which his feelings rather than his judgment have drawn him, and wanting everywhere in that dignity and candor which become his subject. As an argument, the book is an entire failure. Its special pleadings, its garbled statements of history, its sneers and thrusts at the English Church, will give it a short-lived eclat with dissenters, and with political candidates at the hustings; but this is all—the bubble will soon burst and be forgotten. There is in the argument and in the whole book, one fundamental defect. There is no clear recognition of the Church of Christ, as divinely instituted and organized; and none of government, civil or ecclesiastical, as an ordinance of Heaven, and hence clothed with authority, and demanding obedience. This vital idea in the Christian system, in the Church, the Family, and the State, in Mr. Noel's mind seems everywhere wanting. The Church seems to him, as to its organization, a mere matter of general agreement, or of expediency; a question to be solved by a balancing of calculations as to profit and

loss. And here we say again is the prime defect in Mr. Noel's book. There is no foundation for *authority* on the one hand, or *loyalty* on the other. And hence we say, that the book itself is a silent (and to its author an undesigned) testimony against the present state of things in the English Church. There must be something wrong in the practical workings of a system, which for years nurtures a man within itself, holding views directly opposed to its cardinal principles, and then quietly permits him to retire with such an air as that with which Mr. Noel withdraws. And this leads us to speak of what is after all the worst feature in Mr. Noel's production, viz., its *tone* and *temper*. We do not now find fault with him for denying what we believe to be, the plainest doctrines and institutions of Christ; but we do find fault with him when he becomes a mere tool in the hands of infidels and Romanists to scandalize a Church at whose altars he has so long ministered, and whose awful vows are still upon him, while at the same time he sympathizes with, and eulogizes almost indiscriminately, sects which have fallen into deadly and dangerous heresies. With him, ridicule of the "Apostolic Succession," and denial of "Baptismal Regeneration," seem special tests of orthodoxy. Throughout his whole book there is no appearance of a chastened sadness over the spectacle which he professes to describe; no admission that possibly Mr. Noel and not the Church may be the mistaken party; no acknowledgment that he may have overdrawn his picture; no recognition of the gigantic missionary operations of a Church from which he has fled with such Lot-like horror; no allusion to the twenty-eight Colonial Bishoprics, and the myriad of faithful missionaries which she has sent into every quarter of the globe; no recollection of the million and a half of dollars poured annually into the treasuries of three of her many missionary societies; not a word concerning the many thousands of souls rescued from idolatry and heathenism, God's seals upon her labors; not a lisp of the memory of such men as Wilson, and Spencer, and Perry, and Short, and Field, and Strachan, and Inglis, and Medley, among the living; and the army of sainted and gifted men who have fallen with the harness on, martyrs to almost Apostolic zeal and love; not one word of all this; it is simply denunciation, and escape from the leprous body that he, Rev. Baptist W. Noel, may escape defilement.

But what are the doctrines which he rejects and denounces  and who are they with whom he now claims to sympathize  In quoting from his book, we open almost at random.

Concerning the "Church" he says,—

"By this word I do not mean the building, nor the Clergy, nor the adherents to the national Establishment, *nor the aggregate of the congregations adhering to any particular ecclesiastical discipline, nor the whole number of the baptized throughout the world,*" (all which meanings he declares to be "wholly unscriptural,") "but either a congregation of professed disciples of Jesus Christ in any place, or, secondly, the whole company of his disciples throughout the world." This of course is sufficiently latitudinarian, as it is wholly unscriptural, recognizing no fixed form of doctrine or discipline. Indeed the theory of the Church which he adopts is not only the Congregational or Independent; but it is the loosest possible form of Congregationalism. Thus any "congregation of professed disciples of Jesus Christ" is a Church; and is the only scriptural idea of a *visible* Church which the author recognizes. Such a Church may be either Baptist, or Unitarian, or Universalist, or Roman, so that it be only a congregation of "professed disciples of Jesus Christ." The author's quotations show us at once where he has picked up his idea of a Church. Such writers as Baird, (of no authority,) and Wardlaw, and Vinet, are the masters at whose feet he has been sitting. And yet, constantly throughout his book, he uses the term Church after a different theory than that which he declares to be the only scriptural one.

Concerning Baptism, Mr. Noel says: "An error, for instance, which is maintained by many ministers of the Establishment, and for the support of which they refer to the prayer-book, is the notion, that infants are regenerated by baptism. This error, which ought to be distinctly repudiated by the Establishment," &c. "The baptismal services, and the catechism, contain the doctrine, that infants are regenerated by the rite of baptism—a dogma which, as being contrary to Scriptures and to fact, the Churches ought to repudiate." "*Not a word is said in Scripture, clearly and explicitly, about the baptism of infants*; but the prayer-book rules it, that *their* baptism so certainly regenerates them, that whatever happens to other infants, they must be saved. No less distinctly does the prayer-book teach, in opposition to the word Of God, that baptism regenerates adults likewise." "*If any infants are to be baptized*, they must be the infants of saints and faithful brethren."

The following is a specimen of what Mr. Noel says respecting the Apostolical Succession:

"Antiquated claims to an Apostolic authority, transmitted

by descent, are now treated with merited contempt as absurd, if they are not repelled with indignation as a barefaced imposture."

"Respecting all these statements at ordination and consecration (of Bishops) which are much nearer to 'blasphemous frivolity' than to 'deepest truth,' each clergyman is obliged to maintain as follows, Article thirty-sixth, &c."

"Prelacy is a human arrangement, subsequent to the Apostolic age, without sanction of Scripture."

Speaking of the offices for the ordination of Presbyters and the Consecration of Bishops, he says, "this 'blasphemous frivolity' ought to be removed."

"Why are 1,300 congregations in England, and their pastors, marshalled under a potent hierarchy, instead of each being distinct and independent?"

Mr. Noel speaks of the Church of England in this wise: "This single evil of patronage secures that the Churches of the Establishment shall continue as they have ever been to a great extent ignorant and irreligious." "The majority of the pastors are worldly men, who, according to Christ's law ought not to be pastors at all." "The Anglican Churches are a confused mass of believers and unbelievers, allowing strangers to impose upon them multitudes of ungodly pastors, who bring a blight upon them, and whose ministry they nevertheless support. The Scriptural discipline which is essential to the purity and vigor of Christian Churches, they have wholly abandoned." "Can we venture to hope, that there are then more than three thousand evangelical ministers in the Establishment? and if so, then, as there are 13,154 Churches and Chapels, 12,923 of the working Clergy, and 10,533 benefices, there must be nearly 7,533 benefices, and 10,154 pulpits, in which the Gospel is not faithfully preached, and about 9,923 Anglican ministers who are unevangelical." "But what is the actual state of the Establishment? Its 13,000 Churches are generally, without evangelistic activity, without brotherly fellowship, without discipline, without spirituality, without faith." "I fear that about 10,000 out of the 12,900 pastors of the Establishment, manifest * * * that they are unconverted men." "Probably three-fourths at least of the parish Churches of England, are without the Gospel."

Having thus expressed himself respecting the Church, let us see what he says about dissenters. "Anglicans are more schismatics than dissenters. Dissenters are contending for a sound ministry, in opposition to the mass of unsound doctrine admitted through patronage, into the pulpits of the Es-

tablishment ; but Anglicans recognize and support these unsound ministers. Dissenters claim an obedience to the laws of Christ, respecting the administration of the Churches ; Anglicans overlook them. * * And I repeat it, that Anglicans of a brotherly spirit are therefore more schismatical than dissenters of a brotherly spirit." The "four evangelical denominations" whom he names, are the Independents, the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and the Methodists. And he says of them that they are Christ's "purest Churches, and his most faithful ministers ;" that they are "the purest and most spiritual Churches of Christ in this land," that "besides 3,000 evangelical pastors of Anglican Churches there are above 6,000 evangelical pastors of free Churches."

Such being the comparative merits of the Church and dissent, what is the remedy which Mr. Noel provides for the evils which he alleges. Of course, it is the wildest radicalism. He contends for the justice of an equal division of Church endowments among all the sects : and calls upon "each Church and pastor who see these evils," to imitate the course which he has adopted ; parishes to dismiss ungodly pastors, and "unite with all Christians, in preaching, in prayer, in the sacraments, in benevolent action, and in social fellowship." He says "pious dissenting pastors ought to be admitted to Anglican pulpits, and pious dissenters to the Lord's Supper in Anglican Churches," &c., &c.

But we have quoted enough from Mr. Noel's book. Our object has been to show the origin of a production, which dissenters and anti-Churchmen are praising as a second gospel, and on which they are basing such large calculations ; we have wished to give a true portrait of the man who has ventured to arraign almost the whole Church of England before the Christian world upon charges of flagrant heresy—scattering seeds of mischief among her noisy and greedy enemies—pronouncing so confidently upon the "errors of the prayer-book ;" dividing off her 13,000 Bishops and Presbyters into evangelical and anti-evangelical, converted and unconverted men, with such marvelous precision ; denouncing his own Mother Church as little else than a mass of corruption ; and eulogizing dissenters as the purest and most spiritual Churches in England. And having accomplished this, our work is done.

It is needless for us to defend doctrines which he has assailed, or to vindicate that noble Church from the charges of one of her most unworthy sons. But Mr. Noel ought to know, that in respect to those very doctrines which he has denounced so confidently, he stands condemned by the very men

whom he has chosen as his masters; and that the Church which he has defamed, lacks not merited tribute from those who are not of her fold; and whose calm and unimpassioned verdict ought to shame him into contrition. Concerning "Baptismal Regeneration," does he not know that John Wesley, one of Mr. Noel's "burning and shining lights," used such language as this?—"By Baptism we are made the children of God. And this regeneration which our Church in so many places ascribes to baptism, is more than barely being admitted into the Church—being 'grafted into the body of Christ's Church, we are made the children of God by adoption and grace.' By water then as a means—the water of baptism—we are regenerated or born again, whence it is also called by the Apostle the 'washing of regeneration;' our Church therefore ascribes no greater virtue to baptism than Christ himself has done." Does not Mr. Noel know what Calvin (another of his oracles) says of Baptism? "I consider it (baptism) to be a figure, but at the same time, it has the substance connected with it. For God, in promising us his gifts, does not deceive us. Therefore, as forgiveness of sins, and newness of life, are offered us in baptism, so it is certain they are received by us." Does not Mr. Noel know, that at least fifteen of the Confessions of Faith, of the Reformed Countries, at the period of the Reformation, employ language closely accordant with the English Church with reference to Regeneration and adoption in Baptism? Has Mr. Noel written so strongly and unqualifiedly on this subject, without knowing that he has the standards of Christendom against him?

And so also in respect to Mr. Noel's "four evangelical denominations," is he ignorant of the corruptions in doctrine, which have been, for the last fifty years, going on among them? that of the 258 Presbyterian Chapels in England, 235 are actually Unitarian in sentiment? and that of the Baptists called General Baptists, a majority are acknowledged Unitarians, and this on the authority of dissenters themselves? And yet these masses of Socinianism and Universalism are, with Mr. Noel, "the purest and most spiritual Churches" in England! Pray, has he ever seen the Unitarian version of the Holy Scriptures, in the pulpit once occupied by Matthew Henry? and are we to infer from his strong sympathy with dissenters, that his standard of orthodoxy in doctrine, is on a level with his standard of discipline?

And concerning the Venerable Church of England, has this unnatural son never read such tributes as the following from dissenting divines of a late period? "I must profess

any opinion that the increase of vital piety in the Established Church within the last thirty or forty years, has been proportionately, and comparing the measure of advantages, greater than amongst us."

And another says—"Knowing the clergy of the Established Church as I do, I am fully persuaded there are not amongst the Protestants of the world, more faithful, or more efficient heralds of the truth of God for the salvation of man."

Another says—"The piety in that quarter is of a better cast, more deep, more solid, more simple, more scriptural, less showy than in any other."

And another says—"From its pulpits no longer occupied by slumbering watchmen, the true doctrines of the cross are proclaimed as with the sound of a trumpet. The costliest offerings for the cause of Christ are poured with generous profusion into its treasury."

Such, and we might quote ad libitum, in the opinion of dissenters, is the Church, which Mr. Noel has done what he can to hold up to the opposition and derision of her enemies.

But we take our leave of him, and of his most unfortunate book, more in pity than in anger, hoping he may yet live long enough to learn and appreciate the true spirit both of the Church and of her defamers. Nor in speaking thus plainly, will we permit the imputation to rest upon us, that the view which we feel compelled to take of Mr. Noel's book, is based upon a repugnance to what are really and truly *evangelical sentiments*. This is a most convenient charge. The stigma of a bad name is a weapon easily used. And it seems to be the policy of modern radicalism, to represent attachment to Christ's Church as proof positive of the absence of Christ's spirit. As if faithfulness to covenant vows, and guiltlessness of hypocrisy, of necessity presupposes absence, or dislike, of the most evangelical views! It is high time to scorn and silence forever such an imputation. Nobody can doubt that there are certain great evangelical doctrines, the humbling doctrines of the Cross, which hold up JESUS CHRIST and Him alone as the great Atoning Sacrifice for sin; and those doctrines thoroughly pervade the Prayer-Book, as they did the theology of our Anglican Reformers, and the theology of the early Church. While it would be easy enough to show, that *true Church* principles have ever been the safeguard of evangelical piety, against Socinianizing tendencies on the one hand, and Romanizing tendencies on the other.

In conclusion, we cannot suppress the utterance of the conviction that the real cause of Mr. Noel's withdrawing from

the service of the Church of England, lies far deeper than he even dreams. We have before us gratifying and most unmistakable evidences, that there is a spirit of life, energy, and activity, kindling up in the heart of that Communion, which is the earnest of greater things to come; and which is the sure pledge that she is girding herself for the conflict, which the Providence of God is evidently laying upon her. It is no undesigned or fortuitous event, that at least an eighth part of the human family is brought so immediately in these later times under the influence of that Communion. The hand of God is in it. As far as man can judge, the Church of England is destined to lead on the van in the conquest of the world to CHRIST. The extension of the Episcopate to her colonies; the chivalric and self-sacrificing spirit of the learned and accomplished men who have gone forth to Zion's distant outposts; the freeness with which the Church at home pours her riches into the treasury of the LORD; the success which already crowns the missionary work; these, with the changes which Providence is bringing about in the relative position of the nations, are the data on which we come to our conclusion. Nor is it just cause of dissatisfaction, though it be of sorrow, on the eve of such an eventful day, that men, untrue and falsehearted, men, who have no appreciation of, or attachment to the true "principles of the doctrine of Christ," should be found taking their real position with the Newmans on the one hand, and the Noels on the other. Thousands of hearts true as steel, and firm as a rock, will still remain equipped and ready for the onset. The Church may be tried as silver is tried, but she will come forth from the furnace like fine gold purified and fit for the Master's use. The Church of England, as well as the Church in this country, is beginning to feel to her inmost soul, that, as she enters perhaps the very last battle-field against Satan and his philosophizing and graceful hosts, there is no foundation on which she may safely venture, save that on which the Church's early conquests were all achieved, the Faith and Order of Apostolic times; a basis distinctly marked out and defined by her own noble Reformers. Upon these, she seems resolved to throw herself in Faith, and abide the issue. Nor should we be surprised to see "developments" hereafter, such as shall "deceive, if it were possible, even the elect." There is around her a festering morbid compound, of semi-Romanism and Socinianism, essentially the same thing in their origin and nature, which has managed to intrench itself in some of her strong places, which dogmatizes in her Parliament, which

truckles with every form of opposition, and which will, we doubt not, when the hour of trial comes, battle with the Faith of Christ and Him crucified, even to the death. The great enemy of Christ has lost nothing of his cunning or his malice, even in the form of "an angel of light." With such a foe, there must be no truce, no compromise, no concession. Every inch yielded is but another bound of the stone of Sisyphus, rendering future exactions more facile and dangerous. The policy which the Church will find herself constrained to adopt, will not be a sneaking, temporizing policy, which the world both applauds as liberal, and despises as suicidal. It must be honest and open. She must stamp her Faith upon her forehead and upon her heart. She must be willing to be known and read of all men. She needs if ever the wisdom of the serpent, and the harmlessness of the dove. Nor need she be surprised to learn in her own experience, that "a man's foes are they of his own household."

MORELL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

ART. VI.—*The Philosophy of Religion*, by J. D. MORELL, A. M., *Author of the History of Modern Philosophy*, &c. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 12mo. 1849.

MR. MORELL, though it would seem yet a young man, has already achieved a distinguished reputation, both as a writer and a thinker. His "*History of Modern Philosophy*" far excels any other work in our language on the subject of which it treats, in the depth, the comprehensiveness, and, above all, the perspicuity of its views. When it is recollected that a part of his task is to explain the different systems of Transcendentalism, the occult Philosophies of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and that he does succeed in making their *principles* at least intelligible, it is impossible to deny him credit both for a thorough mastery of his subject and a preëminently lucid intellect. By that work he has done great service to English Literature. Not only has he enabled the ordinary student to attach determinate ideas to phrases and theories which he continually meets with, but he has guided the steps of future inquirers along the dark and thorny path which he has himself so successfully traversed. German Metaphysics are still a labyrinth, but in this history we have a clue which will enable those who desire to enter it, to tread with more hope its mazy intricacies.

Yet with high merit of this particular kind, merit which we wish not merely to acknowledge frankly, but to state strongly and with emphasis, Mr. Morell does not seem, to us, qualified to effect by his own labors any important advances in Philosophy. He is rather fitted to be an Interpreter of the thoughts of others, than himself a discoverer in the world of thought. It seems to us that he showed good judgment in the selection as well as the execution of his task, when he undertook to give an account of the Progress of Philosophy, and a critical view of its present condition. His gift is to expound, not to originate, to popularize the speculations of men of genius, not to rival them. He performs very well for Kant and Hegel in Intellectual science, the office which Dumont skillfully executed for Bentham in Political Economy, and Arnold with still more brilliant success for Niebuhr in History, that of giving clearness, form, and human interest to the crude materials prepared

for them by minds mightier than their own, of translating not merely into the language, but into the conceptions of men, the oracles of genius. We make this remark with regard to Mr. Morell not invidiously, but to prepare the reader for the right reception of his works. They are dated from Hampsted or the Regents Park, they are written in the English language, they have actually passed through the channels of an English mind, and been colored by its peculiarities, but the material and substance are foreign. Great Britain, indeed, supplied the stamp, but the metal, whether it be pure gold or only copper, was clearly imported from beyond the German ocean.

This is at least as strikingly evinced in his last work, "The Philosophy of Religion," as in his earlier, "The History of Modern Philosophy." Mr. Morell is not more unequivocally a Transcendentalist in his Metaphysical views, than he is a Neologist in his Divinity. Not unnaturally, however, he is quite reluctant to concede this. He says in the preface to his work on Religion, "that he knows not that he has asserted in it, a single result, the germs and principles of which are not patent in the writings of various of the most eminent theologians of the Church of England, or of other orthodox communities." If this be so, the germs differ so much from the fruit in appearance, flavor, and nutritive qualities, that their identity is more difficult to discern, than the truth of the principles themselves. But while we affirm that this coincidence between the teaching of Mr. Morell and that of the Church is purely imaginary, (with regard to the other orthodox communities we have nothing to say, for, embarked on that question, we should need a standard of orthodoxy,) while we maintain that so far from there being such coincidence, his principles, tried by her tests, are heretical; his conclusions false and destructive; we yet think his book may be profitably read by her ministers, and by those of her people too, who have sufficient time and thought to institute a searching examination of his positions. For such only do we recommend it. But to these we do, for the writer is apparently an honest and well-meaning man, he is indubitably a learned and able one, and the subjects he takes in hand are in their own nature among the highest, and in their relation to us the most vital, which the mind of man can be directed to.

And at the present day there is an imperious necessity that these great questions should be carefully pondered. The Romish controversy, momentous as are its issues, and protracted as is its duration, is not after all, in our judgment, the most formidable in which the Church must prepare to engage. There

is one at hand in which the strife will be "*de aris et focis*. We shall not merely have to contend for the sound faith of Christian, but for the very grounds and elements of religion and morals. The storm which has so long raged in Germany begins already to darken the horizon both of England and this country, and the book before us is one of its sure harbingers. The questions which we shall soon have to examine, and which when they come up, we must discuss, if we wish to guide aright the minds of the people, which we must discuss unless we are content to beat the air by dissertations about matters which they will then feel but a slender interest in, or exhortation to duties the very grounds of which they will then doubt those questions will be such as these: What is the nature of Inspiration? In what sense are the Scriptures the word of God? To what extent are they binding on our faith?

These are in substance the topics of Mr. Morell's "*Philosophy of Religion*," and are treated by him in quite a masterly way, and so as to throw light on various incidental matters of interest, but yet are in the main debated and concluded on principles which appear to us extremely false and dangerous on the principles, in short, of Schleiermacher and Cousin, as on those of Taylor or of Hooker, *not* on those of Chrysostom or Augustine, *not* on those, in short, of the Church in any age nor on those which the gospel itself teaches.

The first chapters of the book are devoted, very properly to an inquiry into the nature and faculties of the human soul for since religion is a quality of the soul, to understand aright we must have right notions of the subject in which it inheres, and of which it is a modification. In this part of his work, our author labors chiefly to establish a distinction between what he calls the Intuitionist and the Logical Consciousness, or the faculties better known under the denomination which Coleridge gave them, as the Reason and the Understanding. That there is such a distinction, and that it is very important, we are prepared to admit. Nay, we will go farther and say, that we do not see how without it, and without the correlative doctrine of the *immediate perceptions* of the senses, any durable system of mental philosophy can be constructed, except under the form of the Idealism of Berkeley or the sensationalism of the school of Condillac. The immediate necessary perception of certain elementary truths appears to us the only conceivable process by which we can know them. There is no ratiocination by which they can be shown. By what logic for example, by what process of deduction or induction can it be proved that qualities belong

and imply substance? The mind sees this intuitively and immediately, or not at all. So generally of our primary notions of the relations of Time, of Space, of Causality, of the existence of the Infinite, of our moral Ideas, of Good and Evil, of Truth and Beauty—all these surely are Intuitive. How, for example, but in this way do we know that Bentham misapplied words, and mixed up incongruous ideas, when, in obedience to his Theory, he spoke of a *virtuous* shoulder of mutton? The mind, by an instantaneous and necessary act, independent of and anterior to all reasoning, rejects such a notion. Indeed, this method of cognition must exist for man, or it would be difficult to show that there is certainty in any thing except sensation. Accordingly, Mr. Morell exhibits evidence of the general acknowledgment of the validity of this distinction between the Intuitional and logical Consciousness, as he prefers to call these faculties, in every age from that of Pythagoras to the present, and by philosophers of all schools from that of Locke himself to that of Kant. Now it is to this Intuitive Faculty, that he contends, (and it is with him a cardinal principle,) that all the elements of Religious Truth are exclusively addressed. We shall hereafter see the consequences of this principle, when thus broadly stated, and with how many and how serious limitations it ought to be understood.

He proceeds to inquire what Religion itself is, in its simplest conception. Does it consist *essentially* in knowledge, in feeling, or in action? All will admit that in its visible manifestations it must be found in all three of these forms; but in which does its essence lie? Mr. Morell maintains that it is in feeling or emotion. Here, however, he seems to us to take an important step towards error, and at the same time to contradict certain principles which he himself has already laid down. Religion is, by universal assent, an affection of the soul, and he, like every one else, considers the activity of the soul to be twofold, intellectual and emotional, or in plainer, if less precise language, mental and moral. If Religion then be essentially emotional, it is not a quality of the soul in its unity, but only a modification of one of its spheres of activity. But this would contradict its very idea. For our own part we believe that Religion belongs to the spiritual nature of man in the entirety of that nature, and that consequently it is in its essence intellectual or cognitive as well as emotional. It cannot be conceived of except as embracing a perception of a superior Being or God. Religion might well be defined to be a certain state of the human soul *towards* God. It involves then a recognition of God, which is an in-

tellectual act. And such is the teaching of St. Paul himself, we presume to say a great Philosopher as well as Divine. "He that cometh to God," is the declaration of St. Paul, "must believe that He is, and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him." Belief is one form of intellectual action. Religious emotion then presupposes religious thought, and consequently the simplest or most elementary idea of Religion is not emotion. On the other hand we concede that that idea includes emotion, nor do we object to the further statement, that the peculiar and elementary emotion in Religion is a sense of dependence. These may be considered abstract and barren topics, but they will be found to be intimately connected with the subsequent speculations of our author, and they need consequently to be adverted to, that any error embodied in them may be sifted out.

But with this brief notice we shall pass them by, and hasten to the consideration of positions which are more immediately fruitful in practical consequences. We shall bestow very few words on the inquiry into the essential nature of Christianity, and these will be confined to some observations on an omission of our author, which seems to us significant. He considers a twofold definition of Christianity indispensable, one of its subjective nature, the other of its objective. And what may we imagine the subjective to be? According to it "Christianity is that form of Religion in which we are conscious of absolute dependence, and perfect moral freedom being harmonized by love to God." But is this indeed a definition of Christianity at all? Such a state is confidently not the *actual* state of any Christian, nor is it his *normal* state. A Christian as such is essentially and consciously a redeemed being, and no definition of his state can be just which does not include this idea. Mr. Morell's definition applies only to the actual condition of a being who has never fallen. And if he contends, as he does, that this is the condition toward which Christians are struggling, the reply is that it is also the condition toward which all men are struggling who desire union with God. A Pagan or a Mahometan who seeks, imperfectly indeed, and with feeble aids, but yet seeks habitual communion with the Most High, is also struggling after this condition which is spoken of as characteristic of Christianity. In short, so far as Mr. Morell's definition applies to *men*, it does not apply exclusively to *Christian men*, and consequently it does not define Christianity.

His definition of Christianity in its objective phase, though better, is still defective and vague. It is "that Religion

which rests upon the consciousness of the Redemption of the world through Jesus Christ." This might be held by an Arian, Sabellian, or Socinian. But can that be a true definition of Christianity which embraces theories irreconcilable with the system of doctrine ever held by the great body of Christians, and held by them as essential to their faith? On principles subsequently laid down by our author himself in his chapter on certitude, we maintain that it cannot.

But these points, interesting and significant of his views as they are, are only preliminary to the serious and practical questions our author undertakes to settle. He wishes to teach us the true nature of a Divine Revelation, and the grounds of a just confidence in it. In unfolding this, he reiterates the principle that the mind in receiving truth, acts and can act only in one or the other of two methods—by intuition or direct perception on the one hand, or by its logical faculty, that of reasoning or explication, on the other. On various grounds he maintains that a Revelation is, and as we understand him, *can* only be made by means of the Intuitional Faculty, though when made it may be, and ought to be systematized by Logic, when it becomes a Theology. Revelation then is essentially a process of the human mind itself. The Bible by necessary consequence is not a Revelation, but merely a Record of a Revelation. In pursuance of this same view, Inspiration is an influence on the mind by which it perceives eternal verities. "Inspiration," he declares, "does not imply any thing generically new in the actual processes of the human mind; it does not involve any form of intelligence essentially different from what we already possess; it indicates rather the elevation of the Religious consciousness, and with it, of course, the power of spiritual vision to a degree of intensity peculiar to the persons thus highly favored by God."

This seems tolerably plain speaking, but lest it might not be fully understood, and some superstitious persons should continue to labor under the delusion that Inspiration was in a peculiar sense a Divine gift, and a distinct mode of intelligence, he goes on to say that Inspiration and Genius are analogous phenomena. The Prophet or Evangelist is generally the same with the Poet, the Artist, the Natural Philosopher. Of course, on this theory the Inspiration of a writer does not exclude Error. For matters of fact are not known intuitively, and it is only intuitions that are divine. The facts of Scripture then are open to examination separately, like the early legends of Greece and Rome, and are to be received or rejected as the testimony in each case demands. For simi-

lar reasons, logical processes or results are not and cannot be inspired. Theological conclusions or dogmas being of this nature, are the work of the mere unaided human faculty. Tried by these tests it is our author's own judgment, cautiously expressed, however, that the Temptation by the literal serpent in Paradise, the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity, what He calls the Eternal Procession of the Son, meaning probably His Eternal Generation, the Imputation of Righteousness, man's moral inability associated with his free agency on the one hand, and his Eternal condemnation on the other; all these, and many more doctrines must be surrendered. Thus regarding the Eternal Generation of the Son, he may well be supposed to question His proper Divinity. Accordingly we find him saying, "that the four Gospels, when regarded as so many representations of the *Divinest character* which ever appeared in Human Flesh, stand before us in all their sublime unity and simplicity." Literal and essential Divinity does not, of course, admit of degrees. He, then, who speaks of "*Divinest character*," means a character only topically, not really Divine.

With such views of doctrines, some of which are taught in terms by the Apostles themselves, our author cannot be expected to have much reverence for the teachers. And to do him justice, he is not deficient in candor on this subject. He considers them poor reasoners, and St. Paul, though elsewhere spoken of by him as having a logical mind, he considers especially defective in order, consecutiveness, and justness of inference. This, of course, does not interfere with his claims to Inspiration, for what has Inspiration to do with things of this sort? In Mr. Morell's estimate, to speak of logic as being inspired is a sheer absurdity. In quite a comprehensive spirit, he says that all matters of verbiage, memory, mere judgment, or logic, have nothing whatever to do with Inspiration. By this time, perhaps, the reader is ready to ask, what is Inspiration, and if it is to be found in none of these things, where does it lie? The answer is not very precise, nor perhaps, to ordinary minds, altogether satisfactory. Inspiration, we are told, depends on the clearness, force, and accuracy of a man's religious Intuitions. But how can one man gauge or test these as they exist in another? Of course, he cannot. Any standard of Inspiration, any trial of the Spirit seems then impossible. But we have a Book which we have heretofore received as inspired; how far may we depend on that? very little, it would seem. Our religious Philosopher teaches us that we cannot depend on its language, for

that certainly is not given by God in any peculiar sense, in any sense which would distinguish it from the language of other works of genius, the works of Shakspeare, or Goëthe, for example. We cannot depend absolutely on its facts, for the memories of its authors were not inspired. We cannot depend on its reasonings, for their logic was their own. We cannot depend on their judgments of men or things, for these are but their own conclusions. What have we then left that we may depend on? The Intuitions of moral and spiritual verities vouchsafed to these ancient writers, and recorded by them.

Behold then, the residuum after the mass of Scripture has been placed in the crucible of this Philosophy, and its dross separated from it!! But is even this residuum altogether pure gold? Who can trace with unfailling accuracy the exact bounds between the Intuitional and logical consciousness? Who consequently can be assured whether a given result be a verity of the former, or a fallacy of the latter? Amid the bushel of chaff, we have at last found one solitary grain of wheat, and while we are turning it over in our hands, the suspicion seizes us that even this may be a tare!! To such mean and beggarly elements are Revelation and Inspiration reduced by the processes of the new Christian Philosophy! Are we not then justified in saying that in contending against it, we are contending for the very grounds and first principles of Religion, and consequently of morals? If even in speculation this were a doubtful question, a practical answer would be furnished to it, by the present condition of unhappy Germany, which, like a troubled sea, knows no rest, but is continually casting up mire and dirt. During the last September, an Ecclesiastical Assembly was held at Wittenberg for the purpose of forming a confederation of the Protestant communities in Germany, in the hope of thereby aiding and strengthening each other. It was largely and respectably attended. In its sittings it was stated by Kunze of Berlin, that only one per cent. of the population were on their side, the remaining ninety-nine per cent. had openly joined their enemies, that is, as we understand him, the enemies of Religion. Wichern of Hamburg, in urging the necessity of a Home Mission, said that in the meetings of the traveling operatives of that country, the number of whom was hundreds of thousands, the most fearful orgies of Paganism were surpassed; that the most unmitigated Atheism was openly preached among them; that a fundamental principle with them was that *men must be made the personal enemies of God*; that a

question asked on admission into the Association was, "Do you believe in the existence of a God?" to which the reply must be in the negative; that a song of the operatives had been sung at Hamburg which ran thus, "A curse upon God, the blind, the deaf," &c., &c.; that at Glückstadt, in a prison where there were upwards of 800 prisoners on an average, the sense of spiritual destitution was so intense that two of the prisoners agreed to devise some remedy for themselves, feeling themselves utterly lost. Not knowing God, nor having ever heard of Him, they manufactured an "Angel" which they might worship. Thus pure idolatry was actually starting up in the midst of them. That a murderer had confessed that in prison he had been taught to pray to the Devil, and that when let loose, he went and committed a double murder.

Now these are statements not made by enemies or traducers, but by one of their own most respectable Divines in the presence of five hundred delegates, mostly clergymen, in an assembly called together by Hengstenberg and Nitsch of Berlin, among others. Their substantial accuracy then must be admitted, frightful and revolting as they are. They teach us what are the crowning triumphs of Neologism, what are the ultimate issues of a work which begins with the degradation of Scripture, and the reduction of Inspiration to the level of artistic genius. Of course we do not arraign Morell, Coleridge, Neander, Bunsen, Arnold, and the rest of their school, as the conscious and willing authors of these evils. On the contrary, we believe that some or all of those we have named would shudder at them as we ourselves would. But we maintain that such principles as they teach, have been the seed from which this harvest of death has sprung, and that where they obtain possession of the soil, the same results will always follow; that the experiment has been once fairly tried in Germany, and that we have no wish to see it repeated in this country.

But our argument must not be altogether from consequences. Let us turn to the work before us, and examine its reasoning, and though in the narrow limits of a Review, we shall not be able to point out every false assumption in its principles, and every fallacy in its conclusions, we yet think, that even within these limits, it will not be difficult to evince that, thoughtful and learned as this work confessedly is, there are contained in it enough of false assumptions and fallacious reasonings, to render it as obnoxious to true Philosophy, as it is contradictory to the Ancient Faith of Christendom, and deleterious to the best interests of any people who accept its views. May we not say that its very conclusions condemn

it? Surely it is a maxim in sound philosophy, that its own proper business is not to contradict the established principles of human belief, but to explain and reconcile those principles. On what ground is the Idealism of Berkely rejected? Not certainly because of any flaw in the reasoning, but because the conclusion contradicts a fundamental, universal, and necessary notion of the mind, viz., the existence of the material world. Now we do not at all place the received view of a Revelation on the same high ground with this necessary truth, but we do think it worth while to observe that that view is taken by mankind universally, and without concert, that Pagan, Mahometan, Jew, and Christian, concur in the belief that God has spoken to men at sundry times and in divers manners, that not only has he roused their intellectual energies to the perception of Truth, (which, according to Mr. Morell, is all that He can do,) but that He has actually conveyed Truth, objective Truth, to their minds, truth in fact, truth in reasoning, truth in language, that language being for this purpose superintended and directed by Divine Wisdom. This notion of Revelation belongs, if we may so say, to our entire humanity. It has been often and grievously misapplied, but this does not affect its validity, any more than the validity of the notion of causality is to be denied, on the ground that causation is so often misunderstood.

But again, not only is Mr. Morell's view of Revelation opposed to what may be called the common-sense of mankind, but it is clearly also an imperfect and one-sided view. According to him, Revelation is purely a subjective process. It is the communication of strength, clearness, and vividness to the Intuitional perceptions, and it can be nothing more. But this seems to us merely a dictum, and we ask, why can it be nothing more? Why may not God communicate objective truth to the mind, as well as enable the mind to perceive it? Indeed this two-fold process not only is not inconceivable, but a notion of it is the very conception of Revelation, which men naturally, and, we may say, instinctively form. It may be thus illustrated. Suppose a child to be born blind, and his parent wishes him to see some beautiful or useful object. Two things are necessary before this can be done. The child must have the power of vision given, the object must be presented. A mere capacity to see, does not imply that any given object shall be seen. So two elements enter into the perfect idea of a Revelation: that a Truth shall be presented, and the power to perceive that truth communicated. Now of this double process, it is the last portion only

which Mr. Morell recognizes. He seems to think that so soon as our eyes are opened, every object which, when presented, we can be made to discern, is at once presented, and becomes discernible. According to him, the spoken or written word is only the occasion of our seeing, not the medium in which we see. But if this were true, it is demonstrable that there would be no variety in Revelation, except that of greater or less, produced by the unequal capacities of the subjects. Two seers in the same moral and mental state would see necessarily the same objects, and none others.

But how opposite is this to the diversity, the freshness, the individuality of the Revelations, even in his sense of that word, made to the different authors of Scripture! How distinct are the Intuitions of St. Paul from those of St. John! And yet how perfect their harmony! But to insist no longer on this topic, let us consider for awhile his views of Inspiration. Inspiration, according to him, is the same with Genius essentially and generically, the difference being only in degree, or, as Cousin (a high authority in this new school) maintains, it is the same with enthusiasm. It is an influence on the mind by which it sees not a particular truth or set of truths, but is exalted to the contemplation of a whole cycle of objects cognate with its own state. According to this theory, moral or religious Inspiration is, and can only be, the result of a peculiarly pure and exalted moral or religious nature. Of course, Inspiration of this sort on the part of a bad man is impossible. What then becomes of the testimony of Scripture to the Inspired character of Balaam, of Saul, of Caiaphas, and other wicked Prophets? And again, how greatly does St. Paul err when he speaks of men holding the truth in unrighteousness, truth being the product, or, to use a physiological metaphor, a sort of secretion from Righteousness? Then with regard to the sphere of Inspiration, Mr. Morell maintains that it cannot extend to language, facts, or reasoning. Again we ask, why not? Why circumscribe God's Power in this direction rather than in any other? Why is plenary Inspiration more inconceivable or impossible than a special Providence? Not a sparrow falls to the ground without our Heavenly Father, and yet each sparrow flies where it lists, lights on the bough itself chooses, and makes its gyrations in the air according to its own will. But, notwithstanding, the hand of God is with it, and the Providence of God determines the nature and the issue of every movement. And why may not a man obey the laws of his own mind in the presentation of thoughts and the selection of language, and

yet God so regulate and control the operation of those laws that the result shall be nothing but absolute unerring Truth? Mr. Morell's view seems to us to imply that God is a God afar off. That He creates beings, gives them certain laws, and does not, and *cannot* control the working of those laws without a change of the nature of the beings themselves. Resolve this into its first principle, and it will be, we think, Pantheistic, though we doubt not our author would indignantly deny the imputation.

But forsaking the ground of mere possibility, let us consider it as a question of fact. What do inspired men themselves say of inspiration? They speak of it not unfrequently as an *afflatus*, or influence coming on them, which not merely suggests thoughts to their minds, but puts words in their mouth. How often do the ancient Prophets say that on such a day of such a month, at such a place, the word of the Lord came unto them saying thus and thus. Their spiritual state, it is to be presumed, was not different just before they spoke from what it was when they uttered their words, yet it was then only that their eyes were open, that they heard the words of God, and saw the vision of the Almighty. And thus do the writers of the New Testament represent those of the Old. They tell us that these Prophets sometimes could not perceive the purport of their own thoughts and language, but searched into their meaning as if they were the product of a foreign mind. And they tell us also that their own writings are to be placed on a level with these divine words; St. Peter, for example, declaring that the teachings of St. Paul were liable to be perverted, as were *the other Scriptures*. And observe too the stress which they lay on the mere phraseology of their inspired book, a stress altogether absurd, if they did not believe that this phraseology was inspired. Gaussen, in his *Theopneusty*, has well illustrated this. "Remark," says he, "with what reverence St. Paul pauses at the least expression in Scripture, with what confident expectation of the Church's submission he points out the employment of such a word in preference to any other, with what investigation and cordiality he presses out each word of it between his hands, even to the last drop." But St. Paul, Mr. Morell may reply, was a bad reasoner, and labored under Jewish prejudices. How was it then with Him of whom no one can speak without profound reverence and submission, unless he be willing to discard altogether not only the character, but the very name of a Christian? In confuting the Scribes and Pharisees, in proving to them that the Messiah they looked for must be

Divine, He rests every thing on the force of a single word that David by the Spirit calls the Messiah "Lord." In replying to the Sadducees, who questioned the resurrection of the dead, the consideration on which he relies, is, that at the bush, God said, "*I am* the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob," not *I was*. Armed with the Philosophy of Religion, the Sadducee might have replied, that Moses was not inspired as to his language, and that no stress ought to be laid on the form of a phrase. On the whole, one thing is certain that if this book be right on the subject of inspiration, Prophets, Apostles, and the Blessed Savior himself, if with due reverence it may be spoken, were wrong.

A subject intimately connected with those we have been discussing, is, the reality and significancy of the miracles of Scripture. Our author does not seem willing to deny that they were actually wrought, at least in some cases, but he maintains that they do not imply any mental or moral enlightenment on the part of those who wrought them, nor authenticate their claims as messengers from God. But we would inquire how the matter stands, if a Teacher claiming to speak from God, rests the validity of his claim on an unquestionable miracle, as, for example, in the contest of Elijah with the false Prophets at Mount Carmel. Is not the miracle then a Divine attestation to the doctrine? If not, the power of God is used to contradict this truth! If it be, then the miracles of Scripture do prove its doctrines, for it is as testimony ordinarily that they are offered. On this ground, His own are expressly placed by our Savior. He says of the unbelieving Jews, "If I had not done among them the works which no other man did, they had not had sin, but now they have a cloak for their sin." As if He had said, "These works that they have seen prove my words concerning things that they have not seen. Without these works, they would have been comparatively sinless in rejecting my testimony, now they are without excuse." Here then we have face to face, as were, the theory of Mr. Morell and the doctrine of Jesus Christ concerning the connection between miracles and inspiration, and a more direct contrast cannot well be imagined. Some of our readers may perhaps by this time be tempted to ask, Does this man suppose himself to be a Christian at all? We answer, undoubtedly he does, with the most perfect sincerity, and a Christian of the highest order, only differing from others in so far as he is more enlightened than they. We do not suppose him to be personally an arrogant man, but he belongs to a school, in the arrogance of which, not he

than its wildness of speculation, and unbelieving temper, we seem to recognize the lineal descendants of those Gnostics of old, whom we believe St. Paul to have had in his eye when he warns Timothy to keep the deposit of faith, and to avoid profane and vain babblings and *oppositions of science* falsely so called.

Yet we have said that this book is worthy of being studied, especially by the clergy. But why? Just as an invading army ought to be reconnoitered. The speculations we have been examining are not those of a solitary thinker, but they belong to a great, and growing, and already very influential school, more potent perhaps than any other in Germany, rapidly extending itself in France, which has disciples in England, even in the ministry of the Church, and alas we must say even among its high officers, for Archdeacon Hare and Bishop Hampden often receive the suspicious testimony of high commendation from our Neological Philosopher. In our own country, though not indeed in our own Church, the state of things is even worse. A soil prolific of itself in heresies, has early and profusely scattered over it the seed of all the erroneous and strange doctrines which spring up in Europe, and such views as we have been combatting have for some time furnished in New England the staple of many an admired sermon, and many an euphonious essay. Since then we have to deal with this philosophy, we ought to know it, and we cannot know it better than as traced on the luminous page of Morell. Nor do we mean to say that his book is a tissue of unmixed error. On the contrary, there are some important truths which he sees clearly and illustrates most happily. We have been particularly struck with his chapter on certitude. He there shows that the theory of interpretation of Scripture, which throws the decision entirely on the private judgment of the individual, insensibly merges in the very foundation principle of rationalism, for in the one case as the other, the sole appeal is to the individual reason, and that this result, too, coincides with the facts of history. He shows—

“That the natural and almost instinctive procedure, when we are left in doubt on questions of a moral and spiritual nature, is to appeal to other minds circumstanced like our own, or more favorably than ourselves. When our intuitions of spiritual things prove to be ideas very partially experienced, when they do not excite any strong sympathy in other minds, when they fail to establish their claims by the readiness with which they are grasped, approved, and appropriated, by men

earnest for the truth, and placed under the proper conditions for becoming awakened as to its reality, there is good reason for us to believe that they are intuitions of a very dim and imperfect character. On the contrary, in proportion as different minds placed under different circumstances bear a concurring testimony to the distinct realization of any great conception, and fully agree in the mode of its expression, in that proportion we feel the chance of distortion and imperfection in our own vision to be diminished, and a basis of certitude to be laid in the very fact of such an universal consent. *Christian* ideas have incontestably proved themselves to pertain to the highest form of man's religious consciousness. Humanity itself has paid homage to them by relinquishing all other forms, just as it has advanced in intelligence and civilization, and among all the conceptions which have sprung up in the Christian world, those bear the undoubted marks of certitude which live on through every era, which, instead of appearing for a little time and then dying away, develop (or, as we should prefer to say, of that *which lives on through every era*, maintain) themselves in one steady course through the march of the ages, and which always by their depth, intensity, and inherent splendor, cast their shadows before them, and point out the religious course of the future."

Have we not here, and from an unexpected quarter, an admirable philosophical exposition of the great Theological Dogma—"Quod semper, Quod ubique, Quod ab omnibus." And we must say a most disinterested one too, for surely a strict application of this rule to Mr. Morell's own system would sweep it away altogether. For the ideas it involves are, as a whole, signally wanting in the qualities which he desiderates as tests of truth, viz : clearness, uniformity, and universality. But let us add some other reflections of his on this subject, which seem to us just and valuable.

What appeal, he asks, can there be for the validity of our intuitions, what principle of certitude applicable to the nature and tendencies of that whole Christian life, out of which the main conceptions of Christian doctrine are evolved? The history and spontaneous practice of the early Church give us a reply. The appeal was always made to the Catholic feeling and thinking of the whole Christian community. And rightly so. We do not mean to say that the Catholic consciousness of the Christian Church either as it was then, or as it is now, could give us a result absolutely true and perfect, but we mean to affirm that the best mode of correcting the indistinctness or the distortions of our own religious conceptions, is to compare

them with the religious experience of the greatest number of earnest minds to which we can have access, that we may thus find in what we most deviate from the general law of man's religious development. The individual reason adopting certain definitions as indubitable is ever in danger of being hurried away by the flow of its logical ardor into false conclusions and sometimes even into the wildest extremes, whilst the very eagerness of party strife naturally leads us to lose sight of the entire side of a question, and to rush forward to the most partial results. But amidst all these minor perturbations, the Catholic consciousness of the Church has gone forward, and the calm, unbiased, heaven-aspiring mind, standing aloof from the din and passions of controversy, sees the central course through which God is guiding His Ark, and falls back upon the great Catholic hopes, convictions, and aspirations of the Christian mind in its upward progress, as its safest guide, its surest resource."

This then is the basis on which Mr. M. founds the assurance of the truth of our religious hopes and convictions. Is not the basis too narrow? Is not the foundation consequently though solid, yet incommensurate with the superstructure? We think so. It is purely subjective, except so far as our agreement with other minds is concerned. And for those who experience no such agreement, there is no test of truth left whatsoever. There is no guide even to truths now unseen. And even for those who are conscious of these intuitions, there must always be in the varying moods of the mind, more or less of uncertainty whether they are indeed the perception of outward realities, or are merely the product of the soul itself. Surely there must be a wider and a more satisfactory basis for that faith in Scripture, which, for now eighteen centuries, has been so firmly seated in the convictions of the most intellectual and most spiritual portion of the nations of the earth, which has survived so many shocks, and crushed successively so many assailants, which indeed seems strengthened by assaults, and instead of decaying under the hand of time, to be rather confirmed and corroborated by the lapse of ages. For though particular countries may become infidel, yet surely on the whole we must believe that Christianity is extending and strengthening itself. Surely a faith of such vigor and such vitality, must rest on evidences appreciable by all, and which address themselves to the whole intellectual nature of man. And so in truth we shall find it. Christianity does not appeal solely to our intuitions. It appeals likewise to our reflective faculty, and even to what our author calls our *sense-perceptions*. When we begin our inquiries, we

do not find ourselves dealing with Scripture, as a solitary subject of speculation. On the contrary, we find ourselves standing, as it were, face to face, in the presence of a great objective reality, the Christian Church. In its action and its developments it meets our very senses. We cannot ignore its existence, we cannot shut our eyes to its characteristics and attributes. It is ancient, powerful, wide-spread. The noblest and purest hearts, the most vigorous and the most gifted intellects of our race have yielded it a willing and grateful allegiance. We inquire, then, into the cause, the origin, the purposes of this great Institution. She offers us explanation a *Book*, which she cherishes with reverential care as her charter, her code, and, to a great extent, her history. She testifies of this Book that she received it from God, of the instrumentality of Apostles and Prophets. We have, then, first, the weighty presumption in its favor derived from her testimony, and guided by this we inquire further into the evidences on which the Church Herself has received this Her sacred volume. We ascertain that this Book contains a record of prophecies and miracles. There is Historical testimony to these as to other Historical facts, that the miracles were actually wrought, that the prophecies were uttered before the occurrence of the events predicted, and were strictly fulfilled when they occurred. The truth of the Book is thus established on Historical grounds, and that truth carries with it inevitable inference, the plenary Inspiration of Scripture. For this is the very character it claims. It expressly avers that *all Scripture* is given by Inspiration. The Divine origin and the plenary Inspiration of the volume then stand side by side, and the former being sustained so far as logical tests are applied, the latter too stands proved. We then begin, (of course we do not speak now of the order of time, but of the order of thought,) we begin, then, to study the contents of Scripture, and we there find the evidence on which Mr. M. *solely* relies—the evidence of Intuition. We find a remarkable correspondence between the teachings of Scripture and the experience of our hearts, and the necessary convictions of our minds. We find the enunciation of moral and spiritual verities which address themselves immediately to our higher consciousness, and meet an instantaneous response from it. These truths bring their own testimony with them, and we find that just in proportion to the purity, calmness and exaltation of our own spiritual state, are the certainty and the force of these truths. Thus the whole man is appealed to, and the whole man subdued. “Thus we are co-

vinced of all, we are judged of all, and thus are the secrets of our hearts made manifest." But is the existence of this last kind of evidence, any discovery of Mr. Morell, or of his school? By no means. They disguise it under new names, but it is an ancient and most valued possession of the Church. It is that to which St. Paul alludes when he says, "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, (that is, the purely Divine element in the Gospel,) for they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them because they are *spiritually discerned*." This it is to which Christians refer, when they speak of the witness of the spirit, of the inward light, of the testimony of the heart and the like. This a Peasant may have, and a Philosopher be destitute of.

Before we conclude our notice of this important work, we will give ourselves the pleasure, and our readers the benefit of an extract from a fine passage in the chapter "on the significance of the Past," that passage conveying important truth, and at the same time a favorable specimen of our author's clear conception and lucid exposition of a subject. He is speaking of the process by which the Individualism of each of the inspired writers appears in his manner of setting forth Divine Truth:

"Each of those inspired minds," says he, "although they received the truth by direct Intuitions granted from above, yet grasped it, and taught it, through the medium of their own individuality. Christianity, though in itself a perfect unity, yet was regarded even by them from different points of view. The mind of Paul, for example, was strictly of the severe and logical order; it ever tended to definitions, to distinctive statements, to logical argumentation, and though we should hardly say that in His Epistles, Christianity assumes the complete aspect of a formal and systematic Theology, yet the path at least was opened to it, and that peculiar method of thinking exhibited, from which such a Theology was sure sooner or later to result. The writings of John are of a totally different cast. There we see the *Intuitionist* element preponderating over the logical, the religious life brought into more direct prominence than theological lore. In James again we see the purely practical side of Christianity. The first says, 'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.' The second says, 'He that loveth is born of God.' The third affirms that 'pure and undefiled religion before God, even the Father, is this, to visit the fatherless and the widow in their afflictions, and to keep ourselves unspotted from the world.'"

This quotation reminds us of one characteristic of inspiration, which we have not heretofore adverted to, but which needs always to be borne in mind by the intelligent student of Scripture. That is, that though in substance revelation is a message from God, yet it comes to us through the channels of human minds, and consequently tinged by their peculiarities. The mechanical theory, as Mr. M. calls it, by which God is supposed to have dictated each word, leaving nothing to be done by the mind, memory, or affections of the writer, as if He had spoken by a trumpet instead of a man, this theory is as decidedly opposed to our principles as to those of Mr. Morell, and indeed can be received by none, we should suppose, but very ignorant or thoughtless persons. On the whole, we take our leave of Mr. Morell with a high respect for his abilities, and his spirit, with a strong sense of the value of many particular truths he has taught, but with a profound distrust of the principles of his "Philosophy of Religion," and with serious apprehensions of their at least partial prevalence, and of their pernicious consequences.

LAYARD'S REMAINS OF NINEVEH.

ART. VII.—*Nineveh and its Remains ; with an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis, or devil-worshippers ; and an inquiry into the manners and arts of the ancient Assyrians.* By AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, Esq., D. C. L. 2 vols. 8vo. 1849.

Two thousand and five hundred years ago, there stood upon the river Tigris an exceeding great and mighty city, which was, according to the testimony of the ancients, eighteen miles in length and twelve in breadth, or sixty miles in circumference, surrounded by a wall one hundred feet in height, so broad on the top that three chariots might be driven abreast, guarded by fifteen hundred towers, each two hundred feet high ; containing, in the time of the prophet Jonah, (cir. B. C. 850,) one hundred and twenty thousand persons “who could not distinguish their right hand from their left ;” by which is understood young children, thus giving a population of near a million of souls. After the transient repentance of the Ninevites, upon the preaching of Jonah, they relapsed into their former wickedness, and something more than a century later, (cir. B. C. 710,) Nahum denounced the anger of God against the people, foretelling the terrific calamities that should come upon them. A century more rolled on, and the fearful words of the Prophet became fiery realities,—the Assyrian falling a prey to the combined forces of Cyaxares of Persia, and Nabopolassar of Babylon, about B. C. 606. So complete was the destruction of the city, that about two hundred years later, when Xenophon with his ten thousand Greeks passed over the place where Nineveh once stood, he heard nothing of it ; even the name of the mighty one had been forgotten, and for more than two thousand years the site of that wonderful city has been unknown. So complete and thorough had been the annihilation, that the few fragments which the ancients had left us in regard to its history and magnificence, have been regarded by moderns as more of fiction or fable than as sober history. But thanks to the untiring energy, the unquenchable zeal, and, above all, the special Providences attending the researches of Mr. Layard, Nineveh is again before the world. Its temples and palaces, with all their gorgeous adornings, have been laid open to the sun, and

we may now look upon the Assyrian, as, three thousand years ago, he pursued the enemy, or followed the chase, or bowed down in the temple of his god.

Our readers will no doubt feel a desire to know to whom we are indebted for these interesting discoveries,—what are the circumstances that led to the investigation,—how the obstacles that must necessarily stand in the way of such an undertaking were surmounted,—and how the effort was brought to a successful termination. We are sorry that we are unable to satisfy their curiosity or our own upon some of the points, the personal history of the man being very slightly known to us, except as it is portrayed in the volumes before us. Mr. Layard is grandson of the Dean of Bristol of the name, who distinguished himself, several years since, in the University of Oxford. He has been long resident in the East,—visiting Asia Minor, Syria, and Ancient Assyria,—learning the language of the Orientals,—studying their manners and customs,—imitating their habits of living and traveling, until it seems to have acquired such perfect mastery of the oriental character, as to be able to command the Chaldees and the Arab, the Musselman and Yezidee, rendering all subservient to his wants and wishes. Prompt and energetic, fearless but just, he won by his mildness, or awed by his boldness, as the occasion or the circumstances seemed to require. As a book of travels, the work of our author holds a place among the very best: The story is told in a simple, unambitious, but in a most intensely interesting manner, carrying the reader along with him, causing him to see what the writer saw, and as the writer saw it, making the reader sympathize with the writer in all his troubles and perplexities, or rejoice with him in some unexpected deliverance from impending danger. In deed, we do not wonder at the seeming awe and veneration with which the natives looked upon Mr. Layard, nor can we fail to see in the circumstances of the narrative, evidence of a special Superintending Providence, leading him on to the important results which must flow from his labors. And yet all is told with such unassuming modesty, that details, which might ordinarily prove only the ambition of the writer, become in the work in question, a guaranty of the entire truth and worthiness of the narrative. We might illustrate these remarks by numerous extracts, would our pages admit, but at present we must reserve all the space we can give the subject for more important points connected with the history and results of his labors.

Although the site of Nineveh has long been unknown, the

dition has ever placed it on the Tigris, between thirty-five and thirty-six degrees of north latitude, and the general impression has been in modern times, that the village of Kouyunjik, opposite Mosul, marked the spot of its principal temple, and also the monument of Ninus, which, in 1820, was one hundred and seventy-eight feet in height, with a rectangular base, one thousand eight hundred and fifty feet, by one thousand one hundred and forty seven. In this, as also in the adjacent country, some remains of ancient pottery and a few fragments of sculpture had been found, sufficient to awaken the curiosity of the antiquary, and had led to some examination, but without producing any satisfactory results. In 1842, Mr. Botta, the French Consul at Mosul, commenced an examination of the pyramidal remains of Kouyunjik, and had made a few unimportant discoveries, when a peasant from a distant village informed him, that he had seen similar ruins at a place called Khorsabad, ("Khosrau-abad, *abode of Khosroes,*") a village situated about ten miles to the north of Mosul. Excavations made there revealed at once the records of an ancient and unknown people, and presented the explorers with a view of many of the customs and manners of an unknown race, carefully delineated upon the sculptured walls of their edifices. But by whom erected, by whom inhabited, or when destroyed, no conjecture could be formed. The only positive evidence in regard to their antiquity was derived from the character of the inscriptions, which being in the cuneiform, or arrow-headed character, must have been anterior to the time of Alexander the Great, since which time that mode of writing has been rarely employed. Unfortunately the buildings which Mr. Botta discovered, had been destroyed by fire, and consequently the gypsum slabs on which the sculptures and inscriptions had been made, being reduced to lime, fell to pieces immediately upon exposure to the air; scarcely allowing time to trace the outline of the figures before they crumbled to dust. Mr. Botta communicated the result of his discoveries to the French government, which granted him the aid requisite to enable him to pursue the examination with thoroughness and dispatch, by means of which he was enabled to enrich his country with many fine specimens of Assyrian art, and obtain for the historian and philologist a large collection of Assyrian inscriptions. These Mr. Layard was permitted to see, and was thus prepared to pursue his subsequent researches more rapidly and successfully.

In the mean time, Mr. Layard had endeavored to rouse his own countrymen and nation to the importance and probable

success of researches among those ancient remains, but found no one willing to aid him, save Sir Stratford Canning, British Minister at Constantinople, to whose high-minded course, energetic and unwearied labors, munificence, and zeal, religion, humanity, and learning, are all largely indebted. Sir S. Canning having proposed to share the expense of examinations among the ruins in the vicinity of Mosul for a limited period, Mr. Layard proceeded with cautious expedition to prepare for and commence his labors. The spot selected for exploration was the village of Nimroud, chosen partly because it had hitherto been overlooked, partly because Strabo and Ptolemy had located Nineveh at or near the junction of the Lycus or Great Zab with the Tigris, which is opposite to the mounds of Nimroud, but mainly, because, after having examined all the ruins in the vicinity, this seemed to our author the most favorable locality for exploration. There is also a tradition, still preserved on the spot, that these mounds were the remains of a palace built by Athur, a dialectic variation for Ashur, the Kiayah or lieutenant of Nimrod, which might have had its influence. Here, on the 9th of November, 1845, Mr. Layard commenced his search, aided by a few workmen who had been privately employed for the purpose. A careful examination of the principal mound led to the discovery of a piece of imbedded alabaster, near the northwest corner of the same, which proved to be an upright slab, forming the side of an ancient building. It was succeeded by others, all covered with inscriptions, in a good state of preservation, eleven of which, about eight feet long and from four to six feet wide, were laid bare by the first day's labor. Another opening was soon after made at the southwest corner of the mound, revealing the walls of another building of similar character, but which, like those of Khorsabad, had evidently been destroyed by fire. The floors were composed of similar slabs, reposing on beds of bitumen, in which distinct impressions were found of inscriptions made on the back of the slabs. In the rubbish at the bottom of the chambers were found ornaments carved in ivory, and having traces of gilding, representing men, and sphinxes, and flowers, designed and executed with great taste and elegance.

The success of Mr. Layard becoming known, the superstition of the Arabs, the cupidity of the Mohammedan rulers, and the rivalry of other antiquarians were called into active exercise, giving rise to perplexing annoyances which would have disheartened one less bold and enthusiastic. No longer robbed by one, betrayed and his labors arrested by another

and circumvented by still another, it required all the resources of a prolific mind, the steady hand and undaunted heart of one who knew his men, to prevent utter annihilation of all his plans and hopes. We can not follow our author through his numerous troubles, trials, and perplexities, the simple narrative of which gives such a charm to his book, but must rather hasten to consider the nature and value of the discoveries he has made. We can only remark generally, that the causes we have mentioned interrupted his labors from the middle of December, 1845, to the middle of January, 1846; in which time he visited Baghdad, to make arrangements for the removal of some of the remains at a future period. Again in March he was compelled to abandon his work for a time, when he visited and secured the friendly coöperation of some of the Arab tribes. In August of the same year, Mr. Layard's health compelled him to leave Nimroud for a time, when he embraced the opportunity of visiting the Ti-yari mountains, lying to the northward of Mosul, and inhabited by the Chaldean Christians. The necessity of relaxation will be seen, when we learn that our author was employed in the trenches opened by the walls of these ancient edifices, from early morn till late at night, overseeing and directing the workmen, examining and copying the inscriptions, the thermometer often rising as high as 110° and once going up to 117° , and then until near midnight, in completing the outlines he had faintly sketched through the day. The account given of the visit to the mountains is full of interest, and furnishes many valuable particulars concerning the manners, customs, history, and opinions of these mountain tribes, but not falling in with our present purpose must be passed with the remark that he took occasion to visit Khorsabad, the seat of Mr. Botta's explorations, and Malthayiah, where are some interesting rock sculptures, representing acts of worship by the ancient Assyrians. On his return to Mosul, he received an invitation to be present at the annual festival of the Yezidis, or devil-worshippers, which he gladly accepted, and the chapter recording the same is among the most complete and authentic accounts we have of that strange sect.

In the meantime Sir Stratford Canning had obtained a grant of funds from the British government, to be expended in making excavations and examinations, under the direction of the British Museum, which though inadequate to the real wants of the enterprise, enabled Mr. Layard to carry on his labors to a result he could not have anticipated. At the end of October he resumed his labors at Nimroud, and by the first

of April, 1847, he had opened twenty-eight chambers in the palace at the northwest corner of the mound, the walls of which, like all the other buildings of Nineveh, were composed of sun dried bricks, lined with alabaster slabs. Most of these were covered with inscriptions or bas-reliefs. At the southwest corner another palace had been discovered, and several chambers been explored, and at the southeast corner a number of tombs, apparently like the ancient Egyptian, had been disinterred, and underneath, a building was discovered, the object of which is uncertain. An obelisk seven feet high, covered with sculptures and an inscription of two hundred and ten lines in length, was also dug up, together with many other objects of interest that will be noticed in another place. By the last of May, Mr. Layard had completed such examinations at Nimroud as his means would authorize, and having conveyed a large number of slabs containing inscriptions and bas-reliefs to Baghdad to be shipped to England, he returned to Mosul and commenced exploring the great mound of Kouyunjik, opposite that city.

In the meantime, Mr. Layard had visited some ruins at the Negoub Tunnel, a few miles to the east of Nimroud, lying on the river Zab, where he found interesting inscriptions; and also the village of Kalah Sherghat, situated on the Tigris— a considerable distance below Nimroud, where he discovered the figure of a man, cut in black basalt, sitting on a large tablet covered with inscriptions. The figure itself was much mutilated, but the inscription was nearly entire. Our author also found time to visit the ruins of Al Hather, lying to the northwest of Kalah Sherghat, which belong to a later period and relate to Persian history; but are yet full of interest. The examinations at Kouyunjik were prosecuted with all vigor for a month, and resulted in the discovery of a large palace, similar to those of Nimroud and Khorsabad, and added many new and interesting facts to those already known. At the end of June, 1847, Mr. Layard closed his labors at Kouyunjik, bid farewell to Mosul and returned to England. We are happy to learn, however, that he has recently been appointed an attaché to the British Embassy at Constantinople, with a salary of \$1,200 per annum, and that the British Museum has appropriated \$15,000 to continue explorations among the Assyrian monuments, under his directions. The official character which Mr. Layard will now possess, the grant which the Sultan made to Sir Stratford Canning, which has been conveyed to the British nation, with the abundant means now at his disposal, lead us to hope for further revelations from the grave of the Assyrian empire.

In the construction of the Assyrian buildings, whether temples or palaces, the same general plan was adopted. Long and narrow rooms, built of walls, of sun dried bricks, from five to fifteen feet in thickness, lined with immense slabs of alabaster, secured by iron, copper, or wooden cramps, covered over with elaborate ornaments carved in the stone, and filled with inscriptions, often without windows, generally fitted only for light or temporary coverings, are found at Nimroud, Khorsabad, and Kouyunjik. The inscriptions were cut after the slabs had been placed, and were continued from slab to slab, each room being ordinarily devoted to a particular subject, some warlike expedition, or act or acts of worship, or some diversion of the chase. Whether the several rooms composing a palace were built at the same time or not, is uncertain, but such is their construction that they might have been, and, we doubt not, were erected at different periods. Each palace appears to have been erected by a single king, and generally, the inscriptions of each room seem designed to record some important event of his life. The size and grandeur of a palace would, therefore, correspond with the length of the builder's reign, and the magnificence of the exploits performed by him. The palace at the northwest corner of the mound at Nimroud—the first opened by Mr. Layard—bears evident marks of being the most ancient of all Assyrian remains hitherto discovered. It is also the largest, and the most beautifully decorated. The principal hall was one hundred and sixty feet in length, by thirty-five in width. On each side of the entrance to these halls, stood carved figures of immense size, generally representing human-headed lions, or bulls, to which are attached the wings of some enormous bird. Some of these were sixteen feet square, and appear to have been emblems of the Deity, denoting intelligence by the human head, strength by the body of the lion or bull, and swiftness of motion by the wings of a bird. Thus were symbolized the wisdom, power, and ubiquity of *JEHOVAH*. We copy the following description from the pen of our author :

“The interior of the Assyrian palace must have been as magnificent as imposing. I have led the reader through its ruins, and he may judge of the impression its halls were calculated to make upon the stranger, who, in the days of old, entered for the first time the abode of the Assyrian kings. He was ushered in through the portals guarded by the colossal lions or bulls of white alabaster. In the first hall he found himself surrounded by the sculptured records of the empire. Battles, sieges, triumphs, the exploits of the chase, the cere-

monies of religion, were portrayed on the walls, sculptured in alabaster, and painted in gorgeous colors. Under each picture were engraved, in characters filled up with bright copper, inscriptions describing the scenes represented. Above the sculptures were painted other events, the king attended by his eunuchs and warriors, receiving his prisoners, entering into alliances with other monarchs, or performing some sacred duty. These representations were enclosed in borders of elaborate and elegant design. The emblematic tree, the winged bull, and monstrous animals were conspicuous among the ornaments. At the upper end of the hall was the colossal figure of the king in adoration before the Supreme deity, or receiving from his eunuch the holy cup. He was attended by warriors bearing arms, and by priests or presiding divinities.

"The stranger trod on alabaster slabs, each bearing an inscription, recording the title, genealogy, and achievements of the great king. Several doorways, formed by gigantic winged lions or bulls, or by the figures of guardian deities, led into other apartments, which again led into more distant halls. In each were new sculptures. On the walls of some were colossal figures, armed men and eunuchs following the king, warriors laden with spoil, leading prisoners, or bearing presents and offerings to the gods. On the walls of others were portrayed the winged priests or presiding divinities, standing before the same tree.

"The ceilings above him were divided into square compartments, painted with flowers, or with the figures of animals. Some were inlaid with ivory, each compartment being surrounded by elegant borders and mouldings. The beams, as well as the sides of the chambers, may have been gilded, or even plated, with gold and silver; and the rarest woods, in which the cedar was conspicuous, were used for the woodwork. Square openings in the ceilings of the chamber admitted the light of day. A pleasing shadow was thrown over the sculptured walls, and gave a majestic expression to the human features of the colossal forms which guarded the entrance. Through these apertures was seen the bright blue of an eastern sky, inclosed in a frame on which were painted, in vivid colors, the winged circle, in the midst of elegant ornaments, and the graceful forms of ideal animals.

"These edifices were great national monuments, upon the walls of which were represented in sculpture, or inscribed in alphabetic characters, the chronicles of the empire. He who entered them might thus read the history, and learn the glory and triumphs of the nation. They served, at the same time

to bring continually to the remembrance of those who assembled within them on festive occasions, or for the celebration of religious ceremonies, the deeds of their ancestors, and the power and majesty of their gods." Vol. II, pp. 207-209.

The details of the volumes before us, fully justify this glowing description of an Assyrian temple and palace. It is evident from the copies of inscriptions and sculptures given by our author, that at the time of the erection of *the oldest* palace of Nimroud, there were men among the Assyrians, skilled in all "manner of workmanship,—able to devise cunning work,—to work in gold, and in silver, and in brass, and in cutting of stones to set, and in carving timber, and to work in all manner of workmanship." The oldest specimens of Assyrian art, like those of ancient Egypt, exceed the later in the treatment of a subject,—in originality and boldness of conception, in beauty, variety, and elegance of form,—in the richness and elegance of ornaments, the faithful and delicate delineation of limb and muscle in men and animals; while the later are superior to the earlier in delicacy of execution, the details of features, and the distinctness of relief. The remains at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, and the palaces at the southwest corner of Nimroud, all belong to the later period of Assyrian art, and all have more or less resemblance to the ancient remains of Egypt. The *earliest* palace of Nimroud does not, however, exhibit the same correspondence with Egyptian art, the mythological symbols—the grouping of figures, and the elaborate embroideries of ornaments and robes—being evidently distinct from any Egyptian remains.

The *later* works of Assyrian art manifest clear evidence of an Egyptian influence, and of such an influence as predominated in Egypt about the period of the twenty-second dynasty, which modern chronologists agree in assigning to about B. C. 1000, or near the age of Solomon. And the supposition is by no means improbable, that a more frequent intercourse, and closer intimacy between the nations, may have been brought about through the agency and influence of Solomon.

But the "rejoicing city, that dwelt carelessly, that said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me," has for two thousand years "been a desolation, a place for beasts to lie down in; the cormorant and the bittern have lodged in the upper lintels of it, and sang in the windows thereof,—desolation has been in the thresholds, and the cedar work has been uncovered." "The noise of the whip, and of the rattling of the wheels, and of the jumping of the chariots," has ceased,—no

rious sculptures brought to light by our author, for no c
tion, however full and accurate, could give any distir
of them. For this we must refer our readers to the dr
contained in the volumes under consideration, or to
larger work on *The Monuments of Nineveh*, which our
has just issued from the press. A catalogue of some
most interesting is added as a specimen and example.
the warlike representations are found shields and spe
kets and head-dresses, swords, daggers, and bows, chari
tering-rams, and scaling ladders, curiously wrought and
ornamented. Pertaining to civil and domestic life, are
and couches, tables and chairs, often mounted on carver
sentations of men or animals, cups and vases, cloaks ar
ear-rings and necklaces, armlets and bracelets, of th
tasteful and elegant forms. The dress of the king, w
often seen on the monuments, consisted of a long flowir
descending to the ankles, elaborately embroidered and
with fringe and tassels. This was confined at the wai
girdle to which were attached cords with large tassels d
ing nearly to the feet. Over this was another robe, ne
the same length, open in front, also embroidered and c
with tassels. On his head he wore a high mitre or tis
quently adorned with flowers and other ornaments.
Assyrians carefully platted the hair and beard, curli
trimming both, often coloring the first like the Persians
present day. The animals most frequently met with
syrian sculptures, are the horse, camel, lion, bull, and

ed, winged lions and bulls,—eagle-headed, and lion-headed men,—winged horses, and winged circles,—figures, half men and half fish, and occasionally other combinations of parts of different animals. Some of these symbols bring the imagery of the first chapter of Ezekiel forcibly to mind, while his language is perhaps the best illustration of the original design and significance of the symbols themselves, anywhere to be found. The Chaldean oracles of Zoroaster may also be illustrated from these monuments, and it has been with no small satisfaction that we have found many conjectural interpretations of them, which we have had occasion to make, illustrated and confirmed by the discoveries of our author. The Epistle of Jeremy, as it stands at the end of Baruch, affords strong confirmation of, and is itself confirmed by these newly discovered monuments.

We have spoken of the inscriptions which abound upon all these ancient monuments, and of their being made in alphabetic characters ; but as the language of the record is uncertain, and the value of this kind of alphabetical characters has been, until very recently, entirely unknown, a few words of explanation are necessary to enable our readers to judge of the certainty of the conclusions drawn from them. The inscription letter of Assyria, was that now known as the cuneiform, or, as it is sometimes called, the arrow-headed, from the fact that each line of every letter was cut in the form of a wedge or arrow-head. Specimens of this kind of inscription have long been known to exist, the most important of which was one of considerable extent on the ruins at Persepolis. More recently an inscription has been discovered in three varieties of this character, on mount Behistun, in ancient Media, also one on mount Elwend, near Hamadan, the Orontes of the Greeks, and still others at Van, in Ancient Armenia. These inscriptions furnish three varieties of the cuneiform character, to which the discoveries of Botta and Layard add still others. The recognized varieties of this mode of writing are the Persian, the most simple and probably the most recent of all,—the so-called Median of which little is known,—and the Assyro-Babylonian, the most complex of all ; and which has been subdivided into Primitive-Babylonian, Achæmenidan-Babylonian, Medo-Assyrian, Assyrian, and Elymæan. The Persian cuneiform has been deciphered, and contains thirty-six alphabetic characters, which are purely phonetic, and four others which appear like the remains of syllabic signs. The language of the Persepolitan inscription, which is an Indo-European dialect, is intimately connected with the Sanscrit and

the Zend, but older or more primitive in form than either, as they now exist,—even in the Vedas, or Zend-avesta. In the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions there are about three hundred different characters, apparently, partly syllabic, and partly phonetic. The language of these inscriptions is not yet well ascertained, though the value of several of the characters has been determined with a high degree of probable accuracy. We have a suspicion, however, that it will prove to be more nearly related to the Indo-European, than any known dialect of the Semitic. The apparent construction of its words and sentences, and the fact that it reads from left to right, like the Indo-European, and not from right to left, like the Semitic, seems to raise such a presumption. Another character, resembling the cursive writing of the Phœnicians, Palmyrenes, Babylonians, and Jews, which reads from right to left, was also found among the ruins at Nimroud, sometimes alone, at others in connection with the cuneiform.

The task of deciphering the inscriptions of Assyria is rendered less difficult and laborious by the fact that the name of the king, by which each palace was built, is inserted on every slab, and generally impressed on every brick in the building. The name occurring on the slabs of the oldest temple of all,—that which stood at the northwest corner of the mound at Nimroud,—is supposed to be NINUS; and the amount and variety of proof is such that there can be little doubt in regard to the conclusion. If this be correct, it corresponds with the ancient tradition mentioned by Castor, which attributed the building of Nineveh to Ninus. Indeed, the name itself, if related to the Semitic languages, seems to intimate as much; for the Hebrew word NIN-NEVE would signify *the dwelling of Ninus*; and Abydenus calls it “Nineve,” which he interpreted “the city of Ninus.” Ninus is placed at the head of the Assyrian kings by most of the ancients, but Abydenus and the Armenian writers generally place several kings before him. Abydenus, in the Armenian edition of Eusebius’ chronicle, gives them thus: (1) Belus, (2) Babius, (3) Anebus, (4) Chaalus, (5) Arbelus, (6) Ninus; and describes them as father and son continuously. The inscriptions at Nimroud, according to the interpretation of Major Rawlinson, make Ninus to be the son of Anebus, and him to be the son of Arbelus. Castor also called the last king of Assyria, Ninus, and the inscriptions of the most recent palace at Nimroud describe one by the same name. The names which Abydenus places before Ninus, are introduced by Africanus into the list of Assyrian kings, at a much later period. Between Ninus I and Ninus II Castor gives

the names of thirty-four kings, and Valleius Paterculus reckons the same number. The Armenian Eusebius omits the last Ninus, and gives thirty-five kings after Ninus I. Africanus agrees with Eusebius in all but the five names inserted from Abydenus. Ctesias of Cnidus, and after him, Diodorus Siculus, reckons but thirty kings. Major Rawlinson has already made out half of this number from the various inscriptions collected by Mr. Layard and Botta, and we see no reason to doubt that enough more may be made out to establish the substantial accuracy of the ancients in regard to the Assyrian succession and empire. In this connection it is proper for us to allude to a few points of history upon which the discoveries of Botta and Layard have a direct and important bearing.

The ancients universally assigned high antiquity, great power, and much magnificence to the Assyrian Empire; and for many ages the truth of their testimony was scarcely questioned. But in modern times Marsham, Newton, Montfaucon, Du-Pin, and the learned authors of the *Ancient Universal History* have denied both the antiquity and power of the Assyrian monarchy. The authors of the last, following Sir Isaac Newton, undertake to demonstrate the impossibility of the ancient accounts, and to prove that Ctesias, one of the principal authors, was altogether unworthy of credit, which they did so plausibly and with such show of learning, that for a long time few scholars were bold enough to differ from them. Recently, however, Ctesias has been gaining credit for the general accuracy of his facts, though not regarded as altogether reliable in respect to his dates.

The antiquity of the Assyrian Empire is the first point to which we shall allude. The period of that empire was computed at 1360 years, by Ctesias, as the fragments of his work now read, but which, as Brown has shown in his *Ordo Seclorum*, was undoubtedly at first, 1460. Diodorus says 1400 years, Castor 1280, Africanus 1484, Eusebius 1240, Velleius Paterculus 1230, Orosius 1164, Syncellus 1460, Augustin 1305, Trogus and Justin 1300. These variations are caused to a great extent by the epochs from and to which the several writers computed. All agree in assigning a period of about 1460 years from Ninus to the destruction of Nineveh; that is, 1460 y. + 606 y. = 2066 y. B. C. To this antiquity, objection has been made, as being improbable and unsupported, and that a strong presumption is raised against it by the fact that there is no mention in the Bible of any Assyrian king before Pul, about B. C. 770, and Herodotus allows only five hundred and twenty years to the Assyrian Empire. On this point the testimony

buildings discovered at Nimroud, cannot well be doubted. A further comparison of the Assyrian and Egyptian antiquities leads to the conclusion, that sometime during the eighteenth dynasty of Egyptian kings, (cir. B. C. 1800,) the architecture and arts of Egypt received a sudden impulse from absorbing characteristics which are now known to be Assyrian, thus leading to the conclusion that Egypt was more indebted to Assyria than Assyria to Egypt. It should also be remembered that the name of Nineveh (Nin-i-vi) has been found on an Egyptian monument about B. C. 1500; and, also, that the building of the city is mentioned in Genesis, it must have been founded before the death of Moses. All the positions arising from the ancient ruins of Assyria, go to confirm the testimony of the ancients in regard to the antiquity of the Assyrian kingdom. This conclusion is further strengthened by the fact that the ancients do not carry back the beginning of the Assyrian Empire within one or two centuries of the time in which other nations date the commencement of their authentic history. Varro dates it about B. C. 2350,—the Egyptians do the same,—Manetho dates the Egyptian history from about B. C. 2340; while the epoch of Ninus, according to many of the ancients, does not reach to B. C. 2400, and none carry it beyond 2400. Now when Callisthenes was in Babylon, B. C. 330, the Chaldean Astronomers had records of observations of the heavenly bodies from the foundation of the Assyrian Empire, which they computed to be 190 years before the rise of the monarchy B. C. 2233.

Another point of objection to the testimony of the

after his death, seems almost identical with the high conical mound of Nimroud which Mr. Layard examined without finding any remains. The Ancient Universal History also assumes that the Assyrian empire never extended to the west of the Euphrates before the time of Pul. Yet the representations on the palace of Kouyunjik describe the conquest of a people that seem to have been the Tyreans, or some other people on the Mediterranean.

The size of the city of Nineveh has also been a stumbling-block to the captious historian. The existence of a walled city, eighteen miles by twelve, which, after having been mistress of the world, should itself be so completely annihilated that its very site should be forgotten, and its name cease to exist, seemed incredible. And yet the relative position of the ruins examined by Mr. Layard, render the descriptions of the ancients probable, if not certain. The distance from the northern extremity of Kouyunjik to the southern extremity of Nimroud, differs but a fraction from eighteen miles, the length ascribed to Nineveh by the ancient historians; and the distance of twelve miles, extending on both sides of the Tigris, the width attributed to the ancient city, includes the villages of Karamles, Karah-Kush, Nebbi-Yonah, and Hammun-Ali, where ruins are known to exist, beside the Negoub Tunnel, Hussient Mound, and the Awai, or great dam across the Tigris, a short distance below Selamiyah, similar to that said to have been built by Semiramis.

Another point of coincidence between the ancient historians and the newly discovered ruins, is in the manner in which the city is said to have been destroyed. The ancients agree in representing Sardanapulus, after finding all hope of resistance vain, as shutting himself up in his palace, and causing it to be set on fire, and as consumed with his family. The fire continued fifteen days, making a breach in the walls, through which the enemy gained an entrance and destroyed the city. Now nothing can be more certain, from the appearance of the ruins at Nimroud and Kouyunjik, that all the later palaces, at both places, as well as those at Khorsabad, were destroyed by fire, and, as the circumstances would seem to indicate, at the very period when the city itself was destroyed, in strict accordance with the prophecy of Nahum concerning its end. The conclusion, therefore, seems inevitable, that the recent discoveries of Mr. Layard have determined the ancient site of Nineveh, and that they have confirmed the testimony of the ancients in regard to its antiquity and power in a most wonderful and striking manner.

What bearing the inscriptions will have, when deciphered, upon the succession of Assyrian kings, as preserved by the ancients, and upon the chronology of the ancient historians, it is impossible to tell. That a general correspondence will be found, we have no doubt, but the whole of their chronology is so evidently framed to a system, that we cannot look for any close correspondence. A general agreement is all that can be expected; for though the same view was taken by all of the general outlines, the different modes of filling up, the different disposition of the details has given rise to a great variety of dates. The rise and fall of nations being supposed to coincide with certain planetary conjunctions regulating the Great or Planetary year,—the *Annus Magnus* of the ancients,—their chronographies were almost all conformed to it, and the length of the several periods is so expanded or contracted as to correspond therewith. Hence, to some extent, the multiplicity and uncertainty of the dates in the ancient chronologies.

Another fact, too interesting to be passed unnoticed, is the tradition of the natives, that the ruins of Nineveh were the work of Nimrod, or rather of Athur, or Asshur in his behalf, and hence the name of Nimroud, which the place still bears. Such is the import of the language of Micah, as understood by Bochart and Bedford: "They shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof," by which they understand the same country, differently described. The antiquity thus ascribed to Assyria is still further confirmed by the language of Isaiah, spoken of Babylon: "Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this people was not till the Assyrian founded it for the dwellers in the wilderness; they set up the towers, they raised up the palaces thereof." And the same inference flows from the nature of the language in which the inscriptions were made, the number and character of the symbols employed, pointing to a period when the Chinese and Egyptian hieroglyphics took their origin. Indeed, there is some reason to suppose, that at the earliest period of which we have any knowledge of the Chinese or Egyptian, the Assyro-Babylonian language had been more highly cultivated and polished than either of the others,—the original form of the characters having been lost in the improvements and embellishments of art, which could only have happened after long use; as we know was subsequently the case with the others mentioned. These, and many other particulars which might be mentioned, point with unerring air to ancient Assyria, as the cradle of the race, the source

and center of civilization, and as the radiating point from which the arts and sciences have spread in all directions. At the earliest period, when Egypt was seeking after the greatest perfection, and before she had realized her own ideal of truth and beauty, Assyria was her guide and instructor; and the finest examples of her ancient art betray an Assyrian or Chaldean influence. Greece, too, is largely indebted to the same people for her early civilization. The *Ionic column* to which Attica pointed as evidence of the delicacy of her taste and the perfection of her skill, was employed at Khorsabad before Ionia was known to history; and the *arch*, to which a comparatively modern date has been assigned, underlies the tombs of those who lived in Nineveh when Egyptian influence was at its height in the East. Egypt, too, received the germs of its Astronomical Science from the Chaldean observations. Its original year of three hundred and sixty days, as well as the additional five days called *epagomæna*, were from the East, the last being added in the days of the Patriarch Joseph. In the language of one whose familiar acquaintance with the best sources of oriental knowledge renders him a competent judge, we may say: "In Astronomy, and in the admeasurement of time and space, the Chaldeans were the original discoverers, and the instructors, directly or indirectly, of the rest of the world. To them is to be ascribed, also, the invention of the alphabet, which, first carried abroad by their seafaring, colonizing brethren, the Phœnicians, became the parent type of all the alphabets of the world, excepting the Chinese and Indian."

To this it may also be added, that the simplest elements of the Chinese keys bear a much more striking resemblance to the primitive characters of the Chaldeans, both in form and meaning, and also to the more common characters of the Egyptian hieroglyphs, than has been noticed to any considerable extent. Indeed, the number of the Assyro-Babylonian, (300); Chinese, (214); and Egyptian hieroglyphic symbols, (175); compared with their names and signification, as far as known, point to an original identity of origin and meaning; the Assyro-Babylonian apparently furnishing the link that shall unite the Chinese and Egyptian. We might give abundant illustrations of this remark, would time and space allow. At present, however, we can only indicate the result to which the labors of the philologist, the antiquary, and the historian are tending, which is, to reduce the boasted antiquities of Egypt, India, and China, to the limits of sober history, as bounded by the chronology of the Hebrew Scriptures;

carrying us back to the plains of Shinar for the fountain-head of civilization and learning. We have already remarked that the Egyptians and Chinese do not date the period of authentic history back of B. C. 2350. And there remains yet, near five hundred years of this period not filled up by the monuments of Egypt; while an important conjunction of planets, which the Chinese historians place in the reign of their fifth monarch, Chuenhio, occurred, by the computation of Cassini, B. C. 2012. The Veda hymns are the most ancient of Indian remains, and these, according to astronomical data, furnished by a calendar preserved in them, cannot be more ancient than about B. C. 1400, in the present form; and there is internal evidence in the sacred calendar of the Egyptians, as delineated on the walls of the palace of Rameses-Meiamun, at Medinet-Habou, that the Canicular or Sothiac period of the Egyptians, by which the erratic and solar years ever harmonized, must have originated somewhere between B. C. 1400 and B. C. 1300.

There is not, therefore, any solid ground for that opinion of infidels and unbelieving Christians, which would antedate the Mosaic account of the dispersion of mankind by a thousand years; or which would assign to the several nations of antiquity, an independent origin. The argument, based upon the difference between the Chinese and other languages of Europe and Asia, to our mind proves nothing, for after careful examination and comparison, we are fully persuaded that there is not a primitive element of the Chinese that has not a corresponding root in Sanscrit or Hebrew, agreeing both in sound and sense; and, also, that the influence of the laws governing the derivation of ideas in those languages, may be clearly traced in the Chinese.

Another important thought suggested by this subject, is, that the first nations after the flood were not such ignorant barbarians as many would have us believe, destitute alike of science and the arts, useful and ornamental, but that, at the earliest period of which we have any knowledge of them, they had attained a high degree of perfection in both. The earliest palaces of Nineveh were never equaled in any subsequent age, and the magnificence of the earliest monuments of Egypt were never matched at any later period. No stronger confirmation of Holy Writ could have been furnished, than is afforded by these remains of antiquity. Where a superficial science has boasted of its ability to convict the Bible of inconsistency or falsehood, a deeper and truer science has been its protector and defender.

Without committing ourselves to every position of our an-

thor, or assenting to every conclusion, we regard his book as a work of immense value, as the most important contribution that has been made to ancient history for a long time, and we cheerfully commend it to the attention of our readers. In its account of Assyrian arts, customs, manners, and indirectly of its history, it stands alone in the language; while its account of the Chaldean Christians is at once authentic and interesting,—its narrative of the Yezidis more reliable and satisfactory than any thing we have seen, and its picture of the customs and manners of the East, more true and faithful than most works devoted exclusively to the subject. It is no hasty sketch of the passing traveler, but the life-like picture of one who had entered into their feelings and sympathized in all their wants and wishes. An introductory note, by Rev. Dr. Robinson, is prefixed to the American edition, which points out some of the benefits which may be derived by these discoveries.

THE NEW HEGIRA.

ART. VIII.—*The Encyclical Letter of Pius IX. Gaeta, 1849*

MARIOLATRY, like Islamism, has its Hegira. Gaeta is hence—
 forth its Medina al Nabi. From the accession of the present
 pontiff, there were symptoms of an important movement in
 Tridentine theology, under his counsel and patronage. As in
 rank ground, the seeds of plants lie buried for ages, till some
 disturbance in the soil causes them to sprout into wild luxuri-
 ance, so have the principles of this last development been long
 embedded in Romanism, and so have recent events disposed
 them to shoot forth. The apostacy of Newman and his so-
 phistical argument for the "Deification of St. Mary," seem to
 have had a share in producing the ferment at Rome. What
 Newman talked, and Father Ventura preached, like a brace of
 fanatics, took the shape of sober learning in a disquisition
 concerning the conception of the Virgin, by Cardinal Perrone,
 of which even the title-page was designed as a feeler—*an dog-
 matico decreto definiri potest*. To feel a little closer, the Pope,
 to whom this essay was dedicated, published his acknowledg-
 ment to its author, thanking him extravagantly for the effort, and ex-
 pressing his disposition to make the proposed decree, and ele-
 vate the doctrine into an Article of Faith. Simultaneously, in
 France, the organ of the Jesuits responded to the call from
 Rome, and undertook to gain such an expression from that
 quarter, as might help Infallibility to make up its mind. It
 was evident that ubiquitous Jesuitism was to stand sponsor for
 Christendom, and by lifting its own voice, in every place, was
 to give the semblance of universal suffrage to the proposal.
 This was all that was wanting to complete the Mariolatrous
 system of modern Rome, and we fear we might add, to per-
 fect the apostacy of its representative head, the Roman Pon-
 tiff. An opined Assumption lacked but a defined and decreed
 Conception to make entire that "Deification of the Virgin,"
 which among papists has become the grand idea of the Christ-
 ian religion. And now that which was lacking has been vir-
 tually supplied. All but the decree itself has gone forth.
 Mariolatry has become a religion by itself, in circumstances
 quite striking enough to define an era, and to give it the title
 of the New Hegira.

Whatever may be the issue of that flight of Pio Nono from

to Gaeta, it will be a memorable epoch forever. There are also some coincidences which invest it with ominous importance. On the 24th of November, A. D. 800, Charlemagne entered Rome in the midst of a great commotion, in which the pope had nearly lost his life, and introduced him to the altar of St. Peter, with a grand *Te Deum*, amid the acclamations of the people. This was preliminary to the renewal of the Empire at Christmas, when the pope crowned him as the new Augustus, *omni plebe adstante*, and the Roman people joyously shouted at the restoration of their ancient polity. It was on the same 24th of November, in 1848, that Pius fled from the Roman people, who had shed the blood of his chief minister, and were threatening his person, while they clamoured for the renewal of the Republic. Hiding his tonsure under a peruke, and assuming the livery of a lacquey of the Prussian Minister, this successor of Hildebrand and Charlemagne together, this democratic pretender to Universal Emancipation and the representative dignities of God himself, descended the chambers of the Vatican, and mounting a coachman's robe drove out of his capital :—

Tum se ad Caietæ recto fert litore portum.

So Pius Æneas, came this Pius to Gaeta, and we must be pardoned for suggesting that like the original "bringer of peace to Latium," he appears to have been lately dismissed the same Ivory gate :—

Altera, candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
Sed falsa ad cælum mittunt insomnia Manes.

Christmas, guns were fired in Rome, from the castle of St. Angelo, and the great bell of the Capitol tolled solemnly at the political demise. Being thus freed from the cares of state, and having nothing to do but to make the most of his holidays, he devotes himself, (bating some subsidiary intrigues with crowned heads,) to his darling Mariolatry, and takes the last measures preliminary to imposing upon the world a fiction which the stoutest of his predecessors, for a hundred years, has not ventured to elevate into an article of faith, nor even to define as a Catholic persuasion. At such a moment should have been chosen for so startling an elopement is significant of anything but self-respect, or valour in pretended security. A bankrupt will often set out on the eve of his ruin, who during his better days has been content to go afoot. The papacy in its imbecility of degradation, holding its hat to the Universe for eleemosynary pence, talks loudly, like any other proud beggar, of the

great things to which it has a claim, and the vast estates which, by good right, belong to it alone. The last of the Stuarts died in imaginary possession of all that the three crowns of Britain could bestow, and was laid in his grave with a tinsel diadem, and a pinchbeck George, and a painted garter, and all the show of royalty with which Rome could console a prodigal, for the husks which she gave him, instead of his fathers' bread. In the same manner the last of the popes buries himself at Gaeta, and while he reluctantly sees the rent shreds of his power torn from his grasp, still talks like Hildebrand, and sets foot again upon the necks of imaginary potentates, and a universe of fancied subjects and slaves. Nay, this time of his impotence, is the time to confer honors upon the "Queen of Angels," of which, for 1800 years, she has been wronged; to patronize, with the patent dignities of the Court of Gaeta, her who sits "enthroned above celestial choirs," and to do tardy justice to the doctrine which two hundred and fifty successors of St. Peter have died without confessing!

We have endeavored, in vain, to obtain from a Romish source, the original Latin of the celebrated Encyclical Letter of 1849, and therefore must content ourselves with borrowing a translation from one of our Church journals, which we have every reason to suppose correct, and which agrees with such extracts from the original, as we have seen elsewhere. We give it as follows:—

TO OUR VENERABLE BRETHREN, THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS, AND BISHOPS OF THE WHOLE CATHOLIC UNIVERSE.—*The Pope Pius IX, to the Venerable Brethren. Apostolic Salutation and Benediction:—*

From the first days when, elevated, without any merit on our part, but by a secret design of Divine Providence, to the chair of the supreme Prince of the Apostles, we took in hand the helm of the entire Church, we were touched with a sovereign consolation, Venerable Brethren, when we learned in what marvelous manner, under the pontificate of our predecessor, Gregory XVI, of venerable memory, an ardent desire had been awakened, throughout the whole Catholic universe, to see it at last decreed by a solemn judgment of the Holy See, that the thrice Holy Mother of God, who is also the tender Mother of us all, the Immaculate Virgin Mary, was conceived without the original stain. This very pious desire is clearly and manifestly attested and demonstrated, by the incessant demands addressed both to our predecessor and to ourselves; and in which the most illustrious Prelates, the most venerable Canonical Chapters, the religious congregations, especially the distinguished order of the Preaching Brothers, have solicited with desire that they should be

permitted to add, and to pronounce aloud, in the Holy Liturgy, and especially in the preface to the Mass of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, this word—*Immaculate*. To these requests, our predecessor and ourselves have yielded with the utmost readiness. It has come to pass, further, Venerable Brethren, that a large number of you have not ceased to address, to our predecessor and ourselves, letters, in which, expressing redoubled wishes and lively solicitations, you have urged us to define as a doctrine of the Catholic Church, that the conception of the blessed Virgin had been immaculate, and absolutely exempt from any soil of original sin. There have not been wanting, also, in our time, men, eminent for genius, virtue, piety, and doctrine, who, in their learned and laborious writings, have cast a light so brilliant upon this subject, and upon this very pious opinion, that many persons are astonished that the Church and the Apostolic See have not yet decreed to the thrice Holy Virgin this honor, which the common piety of believers so ardently desire to see assigned to her by a solemn judgment, and by the authority of that same Church and of that same See. Certainly, these wishes have been singularly agreeable and full of consolation for us, who, from our most tender years, have had nothing more dear or more precious than to honor the blessed Virgin Mary with a particular piety, with a special veneration, and with the inmost devotion of our heart, and to do all which seemed to us capable of contributing to her greater glory and praise, and to the extension of her worship. Also, from the commencement of our Pontificate, we have directed, with much earnestness, our cares and our most serious thoughts, to an object of such high importance, and we have not ceased to raise, to the very good and very great God, humble and fervent prayers that he may deign to enlighten our mind with His celestial grace, and to make us know the determination which we ought to take on this subject. We confide especially in this hope, that the Blessed Virgin who has been elevated *by the greatness of her merit above all the choirs of angels, to the throne of God*, (St. Greg. Pap. De Expositione, in lib. Regl.) who has bruised, under the foot of her virtue, the head of the ancient serpent; and who, *placed between Christ and the Church*, (St. Bernard Serm. in Cap. xii, Apocalypse,) all full of grace and of mildness, has always snatched the Christian people from the greatest calamities, from the snares and the attacks of their enemies, and has saved them from ruin, [we hope that she] will deign equally to show us that pity and that immense tenderness which are the habitual effusion of her maternal heart, to deliver us, by her instant and all-powerful advocacy before God, from the sad and lamentable misfortunes, the cruel anguish, the pains and the necessities under which we are suffering, to turn away the plagues of the Divine wrath, which afflicts us for our sins, to appease and disperse the frightful tempests of evil by which the Church is assailed on all sides, to the immense grief of our soul; and in fine, to change our mourning into joy. For you know perfectly, Venerable Brethren,

the Holy Roman Church, illustrious by their virtue, their wisdom, their prudence, and by the knowledge of divine and we have given them the mission to examine with the care, in all respects, this grave subject, according to their judgment and their doctrine, and afterwards to submit to us their advice with all the maturity possible. In this state of things, we have it our duty to follow the illustrious steps of our predecessor and imitate their example.

It is on this account, Venerable Brethren, that we address these letters, by which we excite earnestly your distinction and your episcopal solicitude, and we exhort each of you, according to his judgment, to order and cause to be recited, in his public prayers, that the merciful Father of lights may enlighten us with the superior brightness of his Holy Spirit, and inspire us with a breath from on high, and that, in an affair of importance, we may be able to take the resolution which most contribute to the glory of his holy name, as well as to that of the Blessed Virgin, and the profit of the militant Church. We earnestly wish that you should let us know, as promptly as possible, with what devotion your Clergy and the faithful people are disposed towards the conception of the Immaculate Virgin, and what desire to see the Apostolic See issue a decree on this matter. We desire especially to know, Venerable Brethren, what are, on this subject, the wishes and feelings of your eminent wisdom. We have already accorded to the Clergy of Rome the authority to recite a proper canonical office of the Conception of the Holy Virgin, composed and printed quite recently, in place of that which is found in the ordinary breviary, we accord to you, by the present letters, Venerable Brethren, the right to permit or judge it becoming, to all the Clergy of your Diocese to recite and lawfully, the same office of the Conception of the Holy Virgin, which the Clergy of Rome are actually using, and

towards you, the apostolic benediction, which we give from the bottom of our heart, to you, Venerable Brethren, as also to all the Clergy, and all the faithful laity confided to your vigilance.

Given at Gaeta, the second day of February, in the year 1849, in the third year of our Pontificate.

With Pius Ninth as a potentate, playing the game of kings, or as an impostor asserting dominion over our faith, we feel at liberty to deal as with any other who tries the trick of democratic kingcraft, or insults the liberties of the Catholic Church. Yet, in seriously considering a letter, in which he asks aid from the opinions of the whole Catholic world, and virtually comes down from his assumed judgment-seat of controversy, we would not forget the respect due to the document of a bishop, even though we earnestly suggest that it lies under that terrible anathema, which is pronounced by St. Paul against *another gospel*, with the proviso of its being delivered by an apostle, or by an angel from heaven. At least three things are of especial weight in our estimate of its import. It is the boldest thing that has been done by the papacy since the publication of the Tridentine Creed; and as it proposes to do what the Tridentine Synod dared not undertake, it is altogether the boldest thing that a Pope has done since the Middle Ages. It is the broadest and most significant adoption of the theory of development, as the real theory of Romish faith; and hence it is an adoption of the principle of progress in Christianity. And it is the basis and pledge of further developments, which cannot now be predicted, or even imagined. This to us is the most startling consideration, which it inspires. If a doctrine which in the 12th century was a novelty, shocking to St. Bernard, and intolerable to him, even though he had surpassed his predecessors in homage to the Virgin; and which, ever since, has been a debatable opinion, and one long contested, and fiercely impugned, by the strongest parties in the Roman Church; if such a doctrine, while slowly gaining credit, as a mere opinion, has been able to alter the Latin Ritual, and to infuse itself into the whole spirit of Latin theology; what will it not demand, when it becomes as inseparable from the Creed, as the doctrine of the Trinity? Let us reflect that at present the whole system of Mariolatry rests upon a mere *opinion*, and one far less important than the opinion of the Immaculate Conception. The Assumption is a mere matter of pious belief, favored but not formally attested by the Roman Church; and one of which such a papist as Alban Butler can say that while we ought to receive

it with deference, as an ancient tradition, we ought to be discreet, and not "put opinions, any way, upon a level with articles of faith, or matters of divine revelation." Yet from this mere opinion (*studia abeunt in mores*) has risen that whole "Deification of St. Mary," which already pushes aside the worship of the Trinity, in many Romish countries, and which is now developed into another doctrine, and through that into a Creed, from which any degree of apostate progress may be made, with accelerated rapidity. What can possibly *deny the Father and the Son*, in a more practical way, or more fully define another Gospel, and an Antichrist?

It is interesting to see how a *mere opinion* is made the whole foundation for an article of the Faith. The pope gives three quotations, from two of those fathers of the Church, whose times make them of minor authority, which, while they commend the "pious belief," that Mary was translated, after death, into the heaven of heavens, are the utmost he can bring to sustain his doctrine with any show of antiquity. Yet they have nothing to do with the Conception; and the most imposing of the quotations, though given without reference, is actually from the writings of that St. Bernard, who so abominated and anathematized the mere suggestion that Mary was purely conceived. "You know perfectly, venerable brethren," says the letter, "that the foundation of our confidence is in the most holy Virgin; since it is in her that God has placed *the plenitude of all good*." The whole quotation is taken from a sermon of St. Bernard,* preached on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, in which he grievously departs from his own principle and honest intention of not being more learned or devout than the primitive Fathers. He had adopted, as we too should probably have adopted in that day, the common superstitions with regard to the Virgin, which he had not the wisdom to estimate either as to their origin or results. He held them without scruple, however, forgetting the Vincentian test, he imagined that the Church held them, as at least lawful surmises. But he went no further. He did not confound them with the faith; and he strongly resisted their further development. As he is commonly reckoned the Last of the Fathers, it is of great importance to observe that on this matter of the Conception, we of the Anglican communion, have, therefore, the undeniable testimony of the whole body of the Fathers, as well as that of the greatest of the Schoolmen, in support of our contem-

* *De Aqueductu.*

for this most heretical novelty, and this worst of all the corruptions of Tridentine Rome.

For the Mariolatry of St. Bernard, great allowances are to be made. It was, as we have said, a mere persuasion ; and in fact, he made it more a matter of poetry, than of doctrine. We must not forget, that of a Tridentine pope, and a Tridentine theology, he had no knowledge. The rising school divinity, which contained their germ, he earnestly withstood, in his contest with Abelard. He in fact *repudiated it*, in the strong language in which he condemned the tendencies of that famous scholastic. "To the contempt of the Church's doctors," says he, "Abelard—going forth like a Goliath, with Arnold of Brixia for his armor-bearer—*lauds the philosophers*, and prefers their inventions, and their novelties, to the doctrine and faith of the Catholic Fathers ; and when all fly before him, me too, the least of all, he challenges to single combat." In the same connection, he prefers a complaint against the growing plague, which seems an inspired prophecy of its great result—the Council of Trent. "*A new gospel is forged for people and nations ; a new faith is proposed ; another foundation is laid*, than that which was laid. Of morals—it treats not morally ; of the Sacraments—not faithfully ; of the mystery of the Trinity, it debates neither soberly, nor simply ; but proposes every thing perversely ; every thing, in an extraordinary way ; every thing—*just as we have received it not*." Judge what St. Bernard would have said, had he lived to see the same philosophy exalted into the Faith of the Roman, and of the Gallic Church, and treating of the Incarnation, so presumptuously, as to make it begin with that Conception of St. Mary which he accounted a lie, and which he argued might as well be extended back to Bathsheba and Ruth ! We deplore, then, St. Bernard's imaginative Mariolatry, but we must make a grand distinction between it, and that of Pio Nono. In the whole letter of the latter, no mention is made of JESUS CHRIST ; but all that Bernard says of Mary is kept in scale, with what he says of Christ. Those who are familiar with his writings know that, extravagant as are his raptures with regard to the Virgin, they are but the fringes and tassels of that language of wrought gold with which he invests His Redeemer. He exalts even Mary for His sake, not for her own ; and nobly protests against so exalting her as to rob the Lord of Glory of His incommunicable regalities. His ardent fancy beheld the Virgin in the crowned woman of the Apocalypse ; in the fervid imagery of the Canticles ; in Mary of Bethany, and even in Gideon's

fleece; and he conceived her to be between Christ and the Church, as the woman of the Revelations stands between the sun and moon, or as the fleece was interposed between the descending dew and the thirsty earth. But CHRIST JESUS he saw everywhere. *Quis vero fons vitæ nisi Christus Dominus* he asks, in the sermon quoted by the pope; and the strong language which is quoted must be taken with the allowance that *as St. Bernard uses it*, he is merely carrying out his poetic idea that CHRIST is the Fountain, and that His Mother may thus be regarded as the *Aqueduct* of life. To press a metaphor into logic is an old trick of Rome.

The Catholic doctrine with regard to the Mother of our Lord, does no more than assert her miraculous virginity, her sanctity of life, and the honor due to her, as the Theotocos, whom angelic inspiration has pronounced highly favored, and whom the HOLY GHOST, by her own mouth, has made Blessed to all generations. There is also a decorous judgment of Catholic Theology in favor of her painless delivery and perpetual virginity;* besides an ancient opinion that like St. John Baptist, and Jeremiah, she was holy from the womb. From antiquity, in its highest sense, nothing more can be proved or inferred; and nothing further is asserted by St. Vincent, as belonging to her, when he says—"far be it from any one to defraud the Holy Mary of the privileges, which she has by the divine favor, and her special glory."

Concerning the original taint, it is *de fide* that every man naturally engendered of the seed of Adam is conceived in sin. Our Lord being supernaturally incarnate, His immaculate conception is no exception to the rule: neither is there any exception, among the offspring of men, according to Catholic doctrine.

Now the proposed Article of Faith, developing itself from those slender conceits and rhetorical *antitheses* which Mr. Newman presses into his defence of the "Deification and worship of St. Mary," and resting upon that notion of her Assumption which began to appear in the sixth and seventh centuries, goes so far in the nineteenth, as to assert at length that to the rule of original sin, under which God *hath condemned all*, St. Mary is an exception. To reconcile this with Holy Scripture, some assert that the precept as to the forbidden fruit was made with respect to all the posterity of Adam, *except the Virgin*, and that hence the fall did not include her—†

* Jeremy Taylor defends these propositions with a truly Bernardian use of Scripture. *Life of Christ*, Part I, Sec. 3, p. 30, London, 1653.

† *Dens. Tract. de Peccatis*. Vol. I, 367. Mechlin, 1828.

But the more common notion is, that by the merits of CHRIST she was, in the moment of conception, delivered by divine grace from the actual taint of sin, to which she was naturally liable, and thus was conceived without spot or taint. This ingenious sophism is regarded as a palmary evasion of the language of Scripture and the Fathers; and as justifying the Virgin in calling her divine Son, *Her Saviour*, and so implying her need of redemption through His blood. All this, however, being a fond conceit, not only beyond the testimony of antiquity, but against it; and incapable of being sanctioned on any other principle than that of "Development," is refuted by the *Quod Semper* of St. Vincent, and hence must be rejected by Catholics.

No Scripture is pretended for the dogma, beyond the implications of the corrupt reading of the Vulgate—"She shall bruise thy head." Of patristic support it is nearly as destitute; St. Bernard asserting, without qualification, that it was absolutely novel in his own times, and contrary to all tradition. The school authors, however, have raked out of St. Augustine a passing remark, which they regard as favorable, though it plainly implies the very reverse, for he intimates that, "in treating of sins, for the honor of CHRIST he will make no question concerning the Virgin;" which is much less than he would have said, if he could have asserted that even original sin had no place in her, and that hence she was absolutely sinless. A remark of the pseudo Jerome, who in commenting on the seventy-eighth psalm, says that "the Virgin was never in darkness, but always in light," is further adduced, and proves nothing but the poverty of a cause that can snatch at such a trifling support.

The process by which the dogma has been manufactured out of such material is not less fatal to its pretensions. A feast of the Conception seems to have been instituted in England, in the time of William Rufus, by one of our Norman primates, the famous St. Anselm. He was a notorious patron of philosophical theology, and of these Neo-platonic and Aristotelian subtleties, which were then just beginning to succeed the theology of testimony, and which created the theology of Trent. Thus it rose with Scholasticism, and was gradually borne into consequence by those "perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds," which degraded theology into a scientific system, learned and treated as any other science, and professed by worldly and ungodly men, who without any heart in religion, were pedants in divinity, and made it the mere vehicle of their fame and fortunes. We are not denying the piety of the great scholastics, nor the good use which may

be made of their writings. But we refer to such men as the lover of Heloise, and their crowds of admirers and disciples. It was just when Abelard and his school were in fashion, and when the minds of the young were all turning towards a novel and attractive kind of theological study, that the festival of the Conception came from England into France, with the prestige of its Norman and scholastic origin under St. Anselm. The Newmanites of the day eagerly caught up the grand idea of a new feast in honor of St. Mary, and, of course, began to work it to death, to the no small annoyance of less fanciful Catholics, who saw very soon, that in spite of their insignificance, they were likely to make mischief in the Church, by pandering to the temper of the times. The disrelish of the conservatives was easily met, however, by the youthful inebriates, whose deep draughts of development made them frolicsome enough to nick-name the men of the old school mere gospelsers, or scripturists; an argument which was, of course, unanswerable. While the feast of the Conception continued the hobby of *petit-maitres* only, there seemed no call for any grave interference; but as soon as it began to appear that older and wiser heads were turned, there came thunder out of the clear sky of Clairvaux, and its humble abbot rose into tones of impassioned but not immoderate rebuke. The nature of St. Bernard's interference is instructive. He belonged to the province of Lyons, but Clairvaux was situated in the diocese of Langres. The Canons of Lyons belonged to the most famous See in France, and were specially jealous of dictation, or intermeddling from the monasteries. It was their traditional principle that the monks should mind their own business, and not go beyond their cloister, and any interference from a monk was intolerable to a canon, and especially to the canons of Lyons. To this doctrine Bernard always replied, that a soldier of CHRIST, though secluded in a monastery, was not less bound to stand forth, on proper occasion, for the truth and the honor of God's sanctuary.* When he learned, therefore, that the Canons of Lyons had been countenancing the novelties of the juvenile reformers, the fire kindled and he spake. He addressed a letter to the Canons, in which, with not a little of sarcasm and honest invective, he attacked this new-fangled festivity, on the principle of St. Paul against the Judaizers, *we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God*. The contest thus begun was destined to be a very serious one, and to involve the peace of Churches and nations. So great a matter doth a little fire

* Butler's Lives of the Saints, Vol. vii, 144.

kindle, and so easy is it for mere boys to introduce corruptions, against which Scripture and tradition, and Fathers and schoolmen may protest in vain, if it once gains a hold of the corresponding corruption in even regenerate hearts. The scholastics were divided. St. Thomas sided with St. Bernard, but Duns Scotus, adopting the opposite opinion, became its effectual patron, and going to Paris, on purpose to teach the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, enlisted the whole body of his fellow Franciscans in its support. In the 16th century a Dominican monk, at Frankfort, preached zealously against the doctrine, in honor of his fellow Dominican, St. Thomas, but he was summoned to Rome, in consequence. The brethren of his order immediately espoused his cause, and it became a deadly feud between the Franciscans and Dominicans. The fury with which the war was continued is almost incredible. The supporters of the new tenet had, from the first, rested on a certain writing, brought from heaven by the Virgin herself, in which it was contained. The Dominicans, therefore, carrying out a hint of St. Bernard's, lost no time in getting up a counter-revelation; and with the most infamous stratagems contrived to persuade a novice of their order, that he had seen the Blessed Mary, and received from her the *stigmata*, (or five wounds of CHRIST, which were said to have been impressed on St. Francis,) and also the information that she repudiated the Franciscans and their dogma; having been conceived and born in sin, but relieved by special grace, when only a few hours old. The trick worked well, and was followed up boldly by others, which brought no small gain to the Dominican craftsmen. Unfortunately, the dupe at last discovered the fraud, and in his shame and surprise showed such symptoms of communicativeness, that an attempt was made to relieve him of the load of life, by poisoning the Holy Sacrament, for the purpose. He succeeded, however, in escaping and exposing the villainy of the thaumaturgical monks, for which four of them were apprehended, and suffered at the stake, as blasphemers. But the war was only begun. Greek met Greek. It was Peter Lombard against St. Bernard; St. Bridget against St. Catherine of Siena; Franciscan against Dominican; Scotist against Thomist. Such a pother was never before, since the confusion of tongues at Babel. Europe was scarcely more disturbed by Luther himself, who came down upon them, like a bull-dog upon belligerent frogs and mice. Infallibility at Rome had long hung in vibratory equipoise, and the Council of Trent was soon found to be as its master. There came

no decision "in the cloak-bag," and the Tridentine Fathers did no more than make room for a future Franciscan triumph, by inserting, in the decree concerning original sin, a salvo by which its universality was so modified as to admit of a possible exception. This was as bad as "the prophet of the Turk," who left at large that great scandal of muftis and dervises, the question, *what part of the swine may not be eaten by a Musselman*. In Spain it became a national matter. The Emperor exerted all his influence with the court of Rome, to get a decision in favor of the Immaculate Conception. What the "infallible judge of controversies" continued, notwithstanding, to decline, was taken up by the chivalrous knights of St. Jago and Alcantara, who vowed to maintain it at the point of their swords. A duller weaponry was wielded in the same cause, by Peter de Alva, who wrote forty volumes about the matter, and no doubt settled it, in every one, to his own satisfaction. But it was not alone the Shibboleth of Spanish chivalry and scholarship; the very mob took it up, and words which would have rejoiced the heart of Duns Scotus himself, became the *comment-vous-portez-vous* of the people. On entering a house the guest put off his hat, with an *Ave Maria*, and the response *sin peccado concebida*, was the salutation, acquiesced in of course, which assured him of welcome. But the pope would not adopt this formula of civility at the Vatican, and in spite of endless appeals could not be moved to put an end to the question, by any satisfactory decree. Sixtus V had tried to stop the quarrel by ordering that no one should presume to teach that Mary was conceived in sin; but he was obliged to except the Dominicans, who were permitted privately to maintain their favorite opinion; and in all the succeeding renewals of his order, the same liberty of maintaining a heresy was conceded to them. At last, in 1708, Clement XI went so far as to institute, by special bull, that festival which six hundred years before was so offensive to St. Bernard; but he did not venture to allow the insertion of the word *Immaculate* in the services for the day. Thus Saint Anselm's egg, after an incubation of six centuries, began to break its shell; and a century more beholds it a developed Article of the Faith. Pius Ninth and his predecessor have been besought by prelates, chapters, congregations, and preaching friars, to permit them to say *Immaculate* aloud, at the Mass of the Conception, and at other times in the sacred Liturgy! Moreover, the pope has "permitted the Roman clergy to recite a certain office of the Conception, composed and printed very recently in place of the office which is found in the ordinary

breviary." And thus at length a tenet never heard of till the Church was in its twelfth century; which was rejected as soon as it was heard of by the last of the Fathers; which the chief of the Schoolmen refused to admit; which the mighty order of St. Dominic, living and dying, abjured and cursed; and which seven hundred years have seen hanging *in dubio*, without any compunctions at the seat of Infallibility, becomes all at once an article of the Faith, not to be distrusted without peril of damnation, even in the passing thought of a peasant, and sure to be developed into other alterations of the Breviary, which will yet further "change the truth of God into a lie, and worship and serve the creature, more than the Creator."

We bless God for an unchanging faith—for the faith *once*, and once for all, delivered to the saints, and for that there is to us none other foundation than the Rock CHRIST JESUS. If the Church of Rome perfects this her last act of apostacy from the true faith of Catholics, we shall weep indeed over the quenching of her star, but not without exultation, that by the blessing of God, the true light still shines in our Anglican candlestick. Between the awful skepticism of the Protestant sects, and the besotted superstition of the papal obedience, God grant that it may burn brighter than ever before, and attest its primitive flame by scattering the darkness with which it must contend.

But let us return to St. Bernard, and to his original rebuke of this heresy, contained in his letter to the Canons of Lyons, which we translate as follows:

EPISTLE TO THE CANONS OF THE CHURCH AT LYONS.*

IT need not be premised that hitherto, in France, the Church of Lyons hath been foremost, as for the dignity of her See, so also for her praiseworthy zeal and her commendable customs. Where else hath prevailed so eminently the stringency of law, or the gravity of morals, or the wisdom of ripe judgment, or the value of authority, or the note of antiquity? But as regards ecclesiastical administrations above all, it is a new thing for a Church, imbued with sound discretion, to be seen acquiescing in new-fangled conceits, or suffering a defacement from juvenile foppery.† Greatly have we marvelled, therefore, at what has come to pass of late among certain of you, who wish to disfigure what is perfect at present, by introducing a new observance; one of which the ritual of the Church knows

* Epistle Clixiv, S. Bernardi Opera, Paris, 1839.

† *Juvenili passa est decolorari levitate.*

nothing, which common-sense rejects, and which finds no warrant in primitive tradition.* Are we more learned than the Fathers? Are we more devout than they? What, in such grave matters they prudently forbore to touch, we cannot disturb without presumption and peril; especially when the thing is of such a nature that unless it had been a duty to pretermitt it, it could not have altogether escaped the care and scrutiny of the Fathers.

But it is a special duty—you reply—to honor the Mother of the Lord; an admonition for which I hope I am truly thankful; but—the *Queen's honor loveth judgment*. The Royal Virgin needs no fictitious glory, adorned as she is with splendors that are real, and crowned with halos of majesty. Honor then her undefiled body, and her holy life; be astonished that a Virgin should bring forth, and worship the divine offspring of her womb. Sing how, in conceiving, she was sinless, and in child-bearing, unacquainted with grief. Tell how angels revere her, and how nations have desired her; how she was foretold by Patriarchs and Prophets, elect among many, and preferred before all. Magnify her as inventress of grace and mediatrix of salvation, and repairer of the fall; and, in fine, laud her as exalted above the angelic choirs, even into the realms of glory. So far the Church chaunts her praises, and hath taught me too to chaunt them; for what I have taken on her authority, I confidently hold and teach. Beyond that, I confess myself very scrupulous about what I subscribe.

I have learned from the Church indeed to keep with reverend observance that day, on which, taken up from this naughty world, she bore to the skies, a holiday of festal rejoicings. So too, in the Church, I have been taught as much of the birth of the Virgin, and have learned of the Church, to keep the day as a sacred festival, without any scruples, for I firmly believe, with the Church, that she received grace in the womb, to be born sanctified. For even of Jeremiah, we read, you know, that before he went forth from the womb he was sanctified; and I infer the same of John Baptist, who yet unborn acknowledged his unborn Lord. Judge also whether a like supposition may not be held with regard to the holy David, by virtue of what he says to GOD—*Through thee have I been holden up ever since I was born; Thou art he that took me out of my Mother's womb*: and again—*Thou art my GOD even from my Mother's womb*. At any rate, so it is said to Jeremiah—*Before I formed thee in the belly, I knew thee; and before thou comest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee*. How beautifully does Inspiration distinguish here, between the formation and the birth! The one is only foreknown, the other is fore-endowed with holiness; and this distinction is made, lest any should interpret this special blessing of the prophet, as pronounced only in foreknowledge, or predestination, but not actually bestowed.

Yet we might concede this interpretation, in the case of Jeremiah, if it be demanded ; for what will be objected to that of John Baptist, foretold as it was, by an angel, that he should be filled with the HOLY GHOST, while yet in the womb of his mother ? Here I cannot think that the language is resolved by referring it absolutely to foreknowledge, or predestination. For the words of the angel, as he himself promised, were doubtless *fulfilled in their season*, and it is not lawful to believe that he, who by prophecy, was to be filled with the HOLY GHOST, was not so replenished, nor that he was not so in the time and place appointed. But if the HOLY SPIRIT replenished him, he was most surely sanctified ! How far, indeed, such a sanctification—whether in this case, or in that of the prophet, or in any other similar instance of preventing grace, if such there be—may avail against Original Sin, I would not rashly pronounce. Nevertheless, those whom God hath sanctified I would not hesitate to call sanctified ; and I would say that they went forth from the womb, with the same sanctification which they there received, and that the guilt contracted in conception did not so far prevail as to withdraw and detract from their nativity the grace already granted. Who, at any rate, will say that one filled with the HOLY GHOST, still remains, for all that, a child of wrath ; and that if perchance such an one should die in the womb, in this plenitude of grace, he would undergo the pains of damnation ? Incredible ! Nevertheless, I would, by no means, venture to decide anything from this, by my own opinion. And, be that as it may, the Church very justly—while of other saints she celebrates and makes precious, not their births, but their deaths—prefers, with a certain marked exception, and commemorates with festive joys, the Nativity of him, of whom she specially reads, in the message of an angel, that *many shall rejoice in his birth*. For why should not his birth be holy, and therefore glad and festive, who, even in the womb, was able to leap for joy !

What thus has been plainly given to, at least, a few of mortals, it is not right to suppose denied to so great a Virgin, by whom all mortality emerged to life. Doubtless the Mother of the Lord was a saint, before she was a breathing babe ; nor is there any mistake when Holy Church esteems even her birth-day sacred, and every year, with the out-breaking joy of all the earth, hails it with devoutest pomp. I suppose, moreover, that hers was a more plenary largess of sanctification, hallowing not only her birth, but thenceforward keeping her life pure from all stain of sin ; an immunity which to none other, born of woman, we can believe allowed. It was becoming, surely, that by a privilege of special holiness, the queen of Virgins should lead a wholly sinless life ; seeing that in bringing forth the destroyer of sin and death, she obtained the award of life and righteousness for all. Sacred, therefore, was her Nativity, for it was made sacred by that immensity of holiness which came forth, with her, from the womb.

To honors like these what further need be added ? They bid us

honor the Conception too, which preceded her venerable birth, since if this had not been, there had been no Nativity to celebrate. What if another, for the same reason, should assert that festive honors must be paid to both her parents? With as good cause, somebody might claim as much for her grandparents, and for their parents too, and so on forever, till feasts could not be numbered. But to our eternal home, and not this world of banishment, belong such endless rejoicings. Such perpetual festivals become the citizens of that better country, and not us, poor exiles! But a writing, they say—a revelation from above is alledged. Just as if anybody could not as easily produce a writing in which the Virgin should be found to bid the same thing for her parents, according to the commandment of the Lord, which saith—*Honor thy Father and thy Mother!* I can, with no great qualms, persuade myself not to be disturbed by that kind of writings, unsupported as they are by evidence, and destitute of authority. For where is the sense of saying that because conception preceded a holy nativity, therefore it also must be reputed holy? Was there something that preceded this also—and did it make holy, what it only meant to make exist? Whence then comes to it the sanctity which is conveyed? Ought we not rather to argue that because the conception was devoid of sanctity, therefore it was requisite that the embryo should receive sanctification, in order that the subsequent nativity might be holy? or, it is perchance pretended, that the latter reflects its sanctity up to the former? I see, verily, how the sanctification of a thing already conceived can pass down and hallow the birth; but as for its going backwards to the conception which had occurred before—that is altogether too much!

Whence then this sanctity of conception? Shall it be said to come from a preventing sanctification, by which a holy thing should be conceived, and so the conception be holy, just as we grant that an embryo may be sanctified in the womb, in order that its birth may be holy? But a thing must first *be*, before it can be holy; and that which is not already conceived, does not exist. Or was it so forsooth that *inter amplexus maritales*, a sanctity mingled with the conception, so that conception and sanctification were simultaneous? Neither in this is there any sense. For how should there be sanctity without the Sanctifier, and what company hath the HOLY SPIRIT with a sinful act? And was there surely naught of sin, where fleshly desire was not wanting? I hope no one says that she was conceived of the HOLY GHOST, and not of man! This, up to the present time, is not yet audible.

In short, then, I read what an angel declared, (*the Holy Ghost shall come upon thee*,) that the Spirit came on her, but not with her. And if I may venture to pronounce what the Church thinks, and she thinks the truth, I say the glorious Virgin did conceive by the HOLY GHOST, but was not herself so conceived; that she was a Virgin mother, but not also a Virgin's child. Otherwise, if the same be attributed to her mother, where will be that prerogative of the

er of the Lord, by which she is believed solely to exult in
 liar dowry of offspring and virginity together? This is not
 ; the Virgin—'tis robbing her of honor. If then, before her
 on, she could not by any means be sanctified, because she
 exist; and if in the conception itself it was impossible, be-
 its inherent sin, it follows that after her conception, being
 formed in the womb, she may be supposed to have received
 ation, which, by the obliteration of sin, made holy her nativ-
 not also her conception.

efore, though to some, at least a few, of the sons of man, it
 to be born in holiness, not so is it given any to be conceived,
 o One alone might be reserved the prerogative of an Im-
 ; Conception, even to Him who should sanctify all, and who
 himself without sin, should make the purgation of sin. Be-
 en He only was holy before conception, the Lord Jesus
 alone was conceived of the HOLY GHOST. And He being
 l—that saying applies to all the sons of Adam, which one
 and truly confesses of himself—*Behold I was shapen in ini-*
quity in sin did my mother conceive me.

g then these things are so, where now is the sense of any
 of the Conception? By what contrivance, I say, shall a
 on be made holy, which though I call it not sinful, is surely
 e HOLY SPIRIT? Or how shall it be festive, when it is by
 s sacred? Freely will the glorious One consent to lack a
 ent, by which either sin appears to be celebrated, or a false
 imputed. For by no means will that be pleasing to her,
 ontrary to the established ritual of the Church, is a daring
 —the child of levity, the sister of superstition, and the mother
 ity.* Even if it seemed good, the authority of the Apostolic
 old have been first consulted, instead of adopting so rashly
 lvisedly the foolery of a few upstarts.† Some time ago, in-
 found this mischief in a certain neighborhood; but kept
 inking that something might be indulged to pious yearnings,
 me of a simple disposition, and true love of the Virgin; but
 mong men of sense, and in a famous and noble Church, and
 hich I am pecuniary a son, this superstition was detected‡—
 not, whether without grave scandal even to all of you, I could
 led what I felt. But what I have said, let it be said with-
 idging any one more wise. Specially to the authority and
 of the Roman Church, I reserve this and all other matters of
 prepared to improve by its judgments, if I think in any
 erently.”

a Ecclesie ritum præsumpta novitas, mater temeritatis, soror supersti-
 . levitatis.
 pitanter atque inconsulte paucorum sequenda simplicitas imperitorum.
 ritibus deprehensa.

Now in this noble letter several things must be specially noted. First—that, as to the fact of the Conception, this last of the Fathers regards it as a novelty and a superstition, and even a profane presumption to assert it, claiming an Immaculate Conception as the distinction of our Lord JESUS CHRIST alone. Second—that the institution of even a voluntary feast in its honor, is regarded by him as a juvenile foppery, worthy of severe censure. Third—that his pious credulity as to the assumption, was no argument with him for such a novelty as that of the Conception; and fourth—that while he considers it a folly and even worse, when merely presumed as an opinion, the idea of making it an article of the Faith is so infinitely beyond his imagination, that he scornfully rejects it as unknown to the Church, unwarranted by Scripture, and wholly unfavored by tradition. Yet the pope assures us, after seven hundred years of additional suspense, that he has appointed some ecclesiastics, well versed in theological studies, and distinguished for piety, to examine this grave subject in all its relations—and of course to report favorably to its being added to the Creed! If this venerable College wants any special versicle and response for their preliminary Mass, we respectfully commend to their consideration the following quotation from the mellifluous St. Bernard:—

“ V. Numquid Patribus doctiores, aut devotiores sumus ?

R. Periculose præsumimus, quidquid ipsorum in talibus prudentia præterivit.”

Much indeed is made of St. Bernard's concluding sentences, in that stubborn letter which has been the stumbling-block of the Scotists for seven centuries. The Benedictines, in their edition of his works, are careful to give the topical title—*sententiam suam subjicit*—to this part of the letter. But special notice must be taken of *what* he submits to the Roman See; not, let it be observed, the defining of the faith, for the possibility of such a thing as the Conception being made a part of the Creed never enters his imagination; but only the instituting of a feast, like that of the Assumption, depending only on an opinion, and capable of being disputed. Yet even this he submits to the pope on very different principles from those of modern Romanists. Of a Tridentine pope, St. Bernard knew nothing. The Creed, with him, stopped just where it does in the Anglican prayer-book. And very plain it is from the strong language and indignant remonstrances of his letter that his appeal to the Roman See is far less one of submission than of sponsorship. He pledges the pope's deference to antiquity, and is sure, if he had been consulted, there would never have

been such a thing in the arch-diocese of Lyons, as a boyish celebration of a mere fiction, depending on the silly conceit of a few upstarts ! Well might St. Bernard submit to the pope, for the pope (Innocent II) owed his place to him, notoriously, and was quite at his service. Bernard was called the pope-maker, and Innocent was his creature. He submit his opinion indeed ! Well did the wily father know that the pope's infallibility, just then, "went in a cloak-bag" from Clairvaux. And if *Pio Nono* may turn back to the days of Eugenius III, for encouragement that the Hegira of the 19th century will not be worse than the flight to Campania in the 12th, which so nearly coincides with it, in other respects ; let him also put himself in the seat of a pope of Bernard's day, and allow St. Bernard to preach to him, as he preached to Eugenius.* To that pontiff he did not scruple to give cautions, quoting the text, *Man being in honor hath no understanding*. "A true successor of Paul," he says, "will say with Paul, *not for that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy*. An heir of Peter will hear Peter speaking—*neither as being lords over God's heritage, but being ensamples to the flock !*" So he talks to that pope, in whom, he says, "the Church reposed a degree of confidence, which she had not given to any of his predecessors for a long time." Pio Nono would do well to learn something from St. Bernard, besides Mariolatry.

The very different manner in which St. Thomas Aquinas opposed this doctrine of the conception, illustrates the feebleness of an appeal to reason, in matters which depend upon antiquity and testimony. It was easy for Scotus to reason differently, and to make the whole affair a mere collision of wits. Yet, for his testimony, it may be worth while to quote a sentence or two of his argument. "For two reasons," says he, "the sanctification of the Blessed Virgin, before her animation, cannot be admitted ; *first*, because this sanctification is nothing else than a cleansing from original sin. But now, a crime cannot be washed away, except by grace ; of which the subject is only a *creatura rationalis* ; and therefore, before the infusion of a reasonable soul, the blessed Virgin was not sanctified ; *second*, because nothing but a *creatura rationalis* is capable of a crime, therefore the embryo conceived, is not obnoxious to sin before the infusion of a reasonable soul. So then the Blessed Virgin, in whatever manner sanctified before animation, could not have received the taint of original sin, and so could not have required the redemption

* Epistle cccxxviii, Paris edition.

and salvation which are by CHRIST. . . So then CHRIST could not be the Saviour of all, which is incongruous. . . . It would derogate from his dignity, by which he is, of all, the universal Redeemer." He adds that the custom of some Churches, in celebrating *the conception*, is nevertheless not wholly to be reprobated; for he argues that this does not imply that her conception was immaculate; an attempt to get rid of the difficulty, quite unworthy of St. Thomas, and not very favorably contrasting with St. Bernard's honest attack upon the *necessary implication and results* of any such celebration.

However, suppose the whole Church, except only ourselves, should go over to Mariolatry. We stand upon St. Vincent's rule, and by it we make good our position against the world, as did St. Athanasius against the apostacy of Arius. We lift the old Vincentian banner in the face of the hordes of Jesuitism, and of the arch-apostate who has fallen like another Lucifer from the unshaken walls of Anglican Catholicity. "What then shall a Catholic Christian do," says St. Vincent, "if any small portion of the Church shall separate itself from the communion of the œcumenical faith! What, to be sure, but prefer the soundness of the body, to a pestiferous and corrupt member! But *what if some novel contagion attempt to infect not only some little portion, but likewise the whole Church?* Then let him see that he STICK TO ANTIQUITY, which is absolutely beyond the possibility of being corrupted by any trick of novelty." No wonder Mr. Newman makes war upon St. Vincent and antiquity. That is the only way to make war upon Anglican Catholicity. If the fathers,—then the prayer-book. The consequence is too logical for even a Scotist to circumvent. The prayer-book may lack somewhat, and might, no doubt, be improved, conceivably. But it embodies a pure theology, and a sound faith; and is an untarnished mirror of the fair beauty which glowed on the front of the virgin Church. In its Calendar, the blessed name of Mary stands in honor, just as the Holy Spirit wrote it on the page of Inspiration, neither more nor less; and just as it was written in the hearts of those primitive faithful ones, who rebuked the Collyridian heresy, and burned at the insult which offered to transform the blessed Deipara into a pagod queen of Heaven. Happily, she reposes in Paradise, beyond the reach of those strifes, which for seven hundred years have shamefully abused the sacred privacies of her soul, and explored those unutterable mysteries of her marvelous communion with the HOLY GHOST, which the SPIRIT has not revealed, but rather hidden, as with the veil before the Ark.

It is the glorious prerogative of our own humble Ritual to fulfill literally, and simply, her own recorded desire and prophetic demand, in that we call her *Blessed*, as whenever we speak her name, so especially when we celebrate the Immaculate Conception of Her glorious child, and when we commemorate her obedience and humility at the Feast of the Purification.

But the Mary of the Breviary is not the Mary of Scripture and the Church. Artists and legendists, whose pens and pencils have done so much for Romanism, assure us that when the Virgin went up, her coffin was found empty of her, but filled with lilies and roses, and blossoms of amaranth. Such a box is Mariolatry, all flowers and nosegays—but Mary is not there. What has the glorious Virgin to do with the Mary of fabulists, and painters, and sculptors, and brainsick fanatics like Alphonsus de Liguori! What mockery to call it honoring St. Mary, when thousands cast themselves down before a thing of wax, and glass eyes, and false hair; a thing of petticoats, and spangles, and slippers; the copy of some street-parading Neapolitan, modelled from her harlot figure, and colored from her shameless breasts and painted cheeks! Who dares bow down to such an image, and tell a Christian that he is honoring the stainless Mother of the Redeemer? Development does worse.* Shame on the withered right hand that has tried to stop the second thunderbolt of Sinai, in its right-aiming direction against the idol and its worshippers!

The Fathers do not live forever, but being dead they yet speak; and wherever they repose in beatitude, they are with us, and not with Rome. From paradise seems to come the voice which they breathe in all they wrote,—*we had no such custom*. So speaks that old bishop of Rome, whom pagans made a sooty miner in the quarries beyond the Pontic Sea for the faith of CHRIST, and who, from his serene abode, beholds his shaveling successor, an exile at Gaeta, not for CHRIST, but for the sword of Cæsar and the faith of Mary, which have changed that ancient home of Christians into a nest of revolutionists, and a city of infidels. Clement wore a chain and a clog for his people, but claimed no lordship over their faith; Pio Nono wears the livery of a lacquey to fly from his flock, and then dictates a new creed to Christendom, as it were from the coach-box that bore his Infallibility to Naples. And from that holy Clement, all down the bright

* Newman's Essay, p. 199.

succession of the Fathers, to the very last, their voice is as the rebuke of God. From the Vale of Wormwood, which he made the Vale of Glory, comes the remonstrance of St. Bernard, outweighing all that councils and congregations, friars and cardinals, can possibly reply, and representing what a mighty Church would answer Pio Nono, though he refuses to hear. Let him then listen to a tamer of popes, and a scourge of heresies, who tells him in our stead, that the Immaculate Conception was the lone and solitary miracle, by which, once only, forever, a *woman compassed a man*, and was a virgin still, sanctified and holy, and blessed above women, to all generations; but no more, originally, than a daughter of Eve, conceived in sin, and changed into the spotless Theotocos, only through the tender mercy of her God, and that cleansing of the Holy Ghost, by which she rejoiced in her Savior and her Son.

We leave decrepid, haggard, worn out popery at the gates of Rome, barred out by its own children, but claiming an entrance behind burnished rows of French bayonets, like a wolf prowling about a sheep-fold, and expecting his prey. If it enters Rome again, it will be to enshrine a new religion on the ashes of that ancient Church; or, at most, to make it somewhat doubtful whether this combined apostacy and revolution have fulfilled its Babylonian doom. Certainly if this Creed of the Conception becomes her Faith, as it has long been her practice, the last scruple will vanish from many a conscience that has stuck to call Rome idolatrous, and to abjure her fellowship. The New Hegira will have given Mariolatry an era, and a Mecca; and so long as God forbears, a new race of Collyridians will knead their dough and make cakes, and elevate the wafer of a mangled sacrament, before the Queen of Heaven.

ART. IX.—BOOK NOTICES.

NINEVEN AND ITS REMAINS: With an account of a visit to the Chaldean Christians of Kurdistan, and the Yezidis or Devil-worshippers; and an Inquiry into the Manners and Arts of the ancient Assyrians. By AUGUSTEN HENRY LAYARD, Esq., D. C. L. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1849. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 326, 374. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

We shall do no more here than announce the republication, in splendid style, by Mr. Putnam, of these remarkable volumes; remarkable for their own intrinsic interest; remarkable for the light they promise to throw and already reflect upon the history of perhaps the greatest nation of antiquity—of a nation which, though the sun and centre of literature and civilization in its day, has been lost for almost two thousand years; remarkable for their bearing upon the advanced state of our race in the arts at a very early period; remarkable as illustrating and confirming the historic and prophetic writings of the Old Testament; remarkable as effectually rebuking the self-conceit of modern infidels and German speculators, who prate perpetually about progress, and speak of the ancient and patriarchal times as inhabited by barbarians and semi-savages. We are sure we speak the sentiments of learned men, when we say that this work of Mr. Layard is the most important contribution to human science of the age. The author is a thorough scholar, a modest, unassuming man; his volumes are profusely illustrated, and are eminently deserving that profound consideration, which, as we see, they are everywhere commanding. In another part of this number, may be found a more thorough examination of the work.—We also read with high gratification the report that Mr. Layard is appointed an attaché of the British Embassy at Constantinople; and that the British Museum have voted an appropriation to enable him to prosecute his researches. This is an excellent movement, as it secures him from a repetition of annoyances, and authorizes the anticipation of still more satisfactory results.

WHAT DOES DR. BUSHNELL MEAN? From the New York Evangelist. Hartford: 1849. 8vo. pp. 28.

We are happy to see this pamphlet,—the authorship of which is publicly attributed to an accomplished scholar, a Professor in the Theological Department of Yale College. But why its anonymous appearance? Why, up to this hour, has not a single man, or any body of men, of the Congregational Order in Connecticut come forward to bear responsible witness against and denounce the glaring impieties, the damnable heresies, of this modern school, which Dr. Bushnell in his own person illustrates? This is the question which we stop to raise, rather than to examine the heresies themselves. Dr. Bushnell has been widely known as one of the leading Congregational divines in Connecticut. He has been, and still is, a conductor of, and leading contributor to, the "New Englander." He occupied his position at New Haven when one, and, in our judgment, the worst of the three "discourses," was delivered, by public appointment of the General Association of the State. And yet, up to this hour, not a man of that body has risen in his place to say, that Rev. Horace Bushnell, D. D., of Hartford is not strictly orthodox and evangelical, after the "way of his fathers." We confess that we are staggered at this. And not the less so, that after his book had appeared, and while multitudes were dismayed at his open renunciation, his even scoffing ridicule of the most solemn verities of the Christian Faith,—the two leading Congregational divines at New Haven attempt to face down public indignation and the alarm of Christian simplicity, by inviting him to their pulpits.

However all this may be, the author before us evidently regards Bushnellism as we have regarded it ever since his Sermon at New Haven, as out-and-out downright infidelity, of the pantheistic school. But yet why this dodging responsibility under cover of an anonymous pamphlet? If Dr. Bushnell "does sympathize with

the Pantheists to a greater extent than he himself is aware;" if "he takes the sleeping Brahma of the Hindoos as a fit illustration of the God of the Scriptures;" if he "represents all pious and good men as inspired;" if he "argues against the Trinitarian doctrine of three persons in one God;" if he "wholly rejects the doctrine of the Trinity, as held by the orthodox;" if he holds that the person of Christ "was a literal incarnation like that of the Hindoos;" if he "utterly discards the doctrine of the Atonement, as held by the orthodox;"—we say if all this is so, as the writer avers, (and more than this he might have said,) then, we ask, why, in the name of Truth, are not such charges followed up boldly and responsibly? Is the system incompetent to rid itself of such gangrene? Is the corruption more extensive than has been generally dreamed, and is an open issue feared?

The pamphlet before us, though written courteously, traces the line of demarcation clearly between the system of doctrine of the orthodox, as formerly held, and this shallow, irreverent, supercilious, and infidel philosophy. We have spoken of the views which Dr. Bushnell advocates as "downright infidelity." We speak deliberately, and hold ourselves responsible for the charge. These views are nothing more or less than *German Pantheism*; and German Pantheism is the latest, perhaps the last, at any rate the most subtle attack ever yet made upon the citadel of the Christian Faith. It is not the infidelity of *mockery*, as at the first with Celsus; nor of *bold denial*, as with the Hobbes school; it is the infidelity of *treachery*, which saps the foundations under the Christian name and garb. And yet it repels the charge of infidelity with great indignation. "Infidelity?" It exclaims, "We believe every thing. Inspiration? Every good man is inspired. Miracles? Nature itself is a perpetual miracle. The Incarnation? The creation of the world was only God outwardly producing Himself." If that is not infidelity, which, whatever its pretensions, *effectually* denies the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, Inspiration, and every essential feature of the Christian Faith, then there is no such thing as Christian doctrine, and no meaning in language. We ought to add, however, that Dr. Bushnell seems by no means to have mastered the system which he attempts to expound; and has attempted to supply his imperfect conceptions of German philosophy from the crudities of his own erratic imagination. He lacks the solidity and fertility to make him an oracle, and the learning to make him even a clever expounder.

It should be said also, that while the accomplished author of this pamphlet has thoroughly impeached the character of Dr. Bushnell's theology, he has failed to recall the attention of his readers to those great CENTRAL VERITIES OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH, which are to be the grand rallying point of disunited Christendom, when Tridentine and German developments shall both alike be discarded.

ANCIENT GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY. By Wilhelm Pütz, Principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Düren. Translated from the German. Edited by the Rev. Thomas Kerchever Arnold, M. A., Rector of Lyndon, and Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Revised and corrected from the London Edition. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1849. 12mo. pp. 396. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

At no period has History presented such strong claims upon the attention of the learned, as at the present day; and to no people were its lessons of such value as to those of the United States. With no past of our own to revert to, the great masses of our better educated are tempted to overlook a science, which comprehends all others in its grasp. To prepare a text book, which shall present a full, clear, and accurate view of the ancient world, its geography, its political, civil, social, religious state, must be the result only of vast industry and learning. Our examination of the present volume leads us to believe, that as a text book on *Ancient History*, for Colleges and Academies, it is the best compend yet published. It bears marks in its methodical arrangement, and condensation of materials, of the untiring patience of German scholarship; and in its progress through the English and American press, has been adapted for acceptable use in our best institutions. A noticeable feature of the book, is its pretty complete list of "sources of information" upon the nations which it describes. This will be an invaluable aid to the student in his future course of reading. We are glad to see that this volume is one of a series of

text-books to be published by the Messrs. Appleton, who always do well what they undertake.

VISITS TO MONASTERIES IN THE LEVANT. By the Hon. Robert Curson, Jr. With numerous wood cuts. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1849. 12mo. pp. 390. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

We think these "*Visits to the Monasteries*" one of the most entertaining books of the day. A passionate fondness for old manuscripts, and a love of daring exploits, seem to be stronger traits of character with the author than any very high appreciation of the sanctity of monastic life. His hair-breadth escapes are told with admirable naïveté. He is besides somewhat too jovial, and makes considerable demands upon our credulity. His shrewdness in driving a bargain with some old devout *agezmenos* for an illuminated manuscript on vellum, must have left a sorry impression of his protestantism. The four years during which he wandered among the monasteries which still dot the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean, have thrown open a rich field to the Christian and the antiquarian, though we could not but have wished for more distinct impressions of the religious life, the present state of doctrinal and practical Christianity among these descendants of the early saints. In his search for manuscripts and illuminated gospels of the earlier ages of Christianity, he visited the Coptic Monasteries at the Natron Lakes, on the borders of the Libyan Desert, the Convent of the Pulley at Thebes, the White Monastery, the Convent of St. Saba on the Dead Sea, the remarkable Greek Monasteries of Meteora at the base of the Thessalian Olympus, and those on the side of Mount Athos.

From the introductory chapter, we make the following extract, as affording a glimpse of the contents of the volume:

"The monasteries of the East are beside particularly interesting to the lovers of the picturesque, from the beautiful situations in which they are invariably placed. The monastery of Megaspelon, on the coast of the Gulf of Corinth, is built in the mouth of an enormous cave. The monasteries of Meteora, and some of those on Mount Athos, are remarkable for their positions on the tops of inaccessible rocks; many of the convents in Syria, the islands of Cyprus, Candia, the Archipelago, and the Prince's Islands in the sea of Marmora, are unrivaled for the beauty of the positions in which they stand; many others in Bulgaria, Asia Minor, Sinope, and other places on the shores of the Baltic Sea, are most curious monuments of ancient and romantic times. There is one on the road to Persia, about one day's journey inland from Trebizond, which is built half way up the side of a perpendicular precipice; it is encoined in several fissures of the rock, and various little gardens adjoining the buildings display the industry of the monks: these are laid out on shelves or terraces wherever the nature of the spot affords a ledge of sufficient width to support the soil; the different parts of the monastery are approached by stairs and flights of steps cut in the face of the precipice, leading from one cranny to another; the whole has the appearance of a bas-relief stuck against a wall; this monastery partakes of the nature of a large swallow's nest. But it is for their architecture that the monasteries of the Levant are more particularly deserving of study; for, after the remains of the private houses at Pompeii, they are the most ancient specimens extant of domestic architecture. The refectories, kitchens, and the cells of the monks, exceed in point of antiquity anything of the kind in Europe. The monastery of St. Katherine at Mount Sinai has hardly been altered since the sixth century, and still contains ornaments presented to it by the Emperor Justinian. The White Monastery and the monastery at Old Cairo, both in Egypt, are still more ancient. The monastery of Kuzzul Vank, near the sources of the Euphrates, is, I believe, as old as the fifth century. The greater number in all the countries where the Greek faith prevails, were built before the year 1000. Most monasteries possess crosses, candlesticks, and reliquaries, many of splendid workmanship, and of the era of the foundation of the buildings which contain them, while their mosaics and fresco paintings display the state of the arts from the most early periods."

A firman from the Patriarch of Constantinople, to whom he had letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury, (of whom the primate had never heard, this was in 1837,) gave him free access to the monasteries which crown the beautiful summits of Mt. Athos.

As a specimen of the style of the narrative, we give the following brief extract from his account of the Coptic Monasteries, near the Natron Lakes, the first place of retirement of the Anchorites.

"While we had been standing on the top of the steps, I had heard from time to time some incomprehensible sounds which seemed to arise from among the green branches of the palms and the fig-trees in the corner of the garden at our feet. 'What,' said I to a bearded Copt, who was seated on the steps, 'is that strange howling noise which I hear among the trees? I have heard it a number of times when the rustling of the wind among the branches has died away for a moment. It sounds something like a chant, or a dismal moaning song: only it is different in its cadence from anything I have heard before.' 'That noise,' replied the monk, 'is the sound of the service of the church which is being chanted by the Abyssinian monks. Come down the steps and I will show you their chapel and their library. The monastery which they frequented in this desert has fallen to decay; and they now live here, their numbers being recruited occasionally by pilgrims on their way from Abyssinia to Jerusalem, some of whom pass by each year; not many now, to be sure; but still fewer return to their own land.'

"Giving up my precious manuscripts to the guardianship of my servants, and desiring them to put them down carefully in my cell, I accompanied my Coptic friend into the garden, and turning round some bushes, we immediately encountered one of the Abyssinian monks walking with a book in his hand under the shade of the trees. Presently we saw three or four more; and presently we saw three or four more; and very remarkable looking persons they were. These holy brethren were as black as crows; tall, thin, ascetic looking men, of a most original aspect and costume. I have seen the natives of many strange nations, both before and since, but I do not know that I ever met with so singular a set of men, so completely the types of another age and of a state of things the opposite to European, as these Abyssinian Eremites."

TALES OF A TRAVELER. By Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. Author's revised edition. New series. Vol. VII. New York: Geo. P. Putnam. 12mo. pp. 456. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

It is refreshing to turn from the sickly sentimentality, the strained metaphors, the inflated stilted mannerism of the Headley school, just now so much in vogue, to the quiet, rich vein of wit and humor, which runs through all Mr. Irving's writings. And we are also gratified to see, that this new and uniform series of his various works, which Mr. Putnam is furnishing in such elegance, is duly appreciated by the public. The "Tales of a Traveler" are, we think, in a style the most nervous of any of his productions, and show that the author, who seems always so much at home in nature's gentle and quiet moods, is equally capable of delineating the mad war of human passion. We again announce an intention of paying, in due time, a more becoming tribute to the genius of our distinguished countryman.

THE CRAYON MISCELLANY. By Washington Irving. Author's revised edition. Complete in one volume. New series. Vol. IX. New York: Geo. P. Putnam. London: 142 Strand, 1849. 12mo. pp. 380. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

Besides the sportive and playful description of life on the western prairies, which on its first appearance was devoured with great avidity, this volume contains also the author's racy recollections of "Abbotsford," and "Newstead Abbey," immortalized by the genius of Sir Walter Scott and Lord Byron; as well as notes of the "Great Unknown," "the mighty minstrel of the North," from whom Mr. Irving was favored with marked personal attentions.

LECTURES ON THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL. By Stephen H. Tyng, D. D., Rector of St. George's Church, New York. Sixth thousand. New York: Carter & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 404.

A volume which is already so widely known, and which is commanding such a permanent sale, needs not our commendation to the notice of our readers. In it, the author distinguishes clearly between the Law and the Gospel as ground of justifi-

cation in the sight of God, and shows the reflection of each upon the other; the Law as a schoolmaster leading men to the Gospel; and the Gospel as magnifying the Law. If there is in it the constant recognition of a system of doctrine which multitudes of the most pious and devoted Christians of all names have not received; and if there is in it the want of recognition of the Christian Covenant with its Sacramental signs, and seals, and pledges, as found in most of the theology of the Church, still, throughout the work, we do not find the presence of a controversial tone or spirit; it is also eminently practical and earnest; and many portions of it are written with great force. That it will drive multitudes from a reliance upon the Law, to which, by nature, men are so prone, to a humble and alone dependence upon the Gospel of Jesus Christ, is our confident belief and earnest hope.

THOUGHTS ON THE GOSPEL MIRACLES. By the Rev. John Williams, D. D., Rector of St. George's, Schenectady. Stanford & Swords, 1849. 12mo. pp. 164.

We are pleased to welcome a new and neat edition of this valuable work. We regard Dr. Williams as among the very best of American Church writers. Some of our carping critics, who can dance a hornpipe of an hour around a supernumerary conjunction, might speak of a sentence now and then as carelessly framed. But it is only the carelessness of a great mind marching on to its conclusions with stately gracefulness. Of this book, we can say that it is, more than it seems. It shows that our blessed SAVIOUR's works, not less than his words, were "full of Grace and Truth." There is a deep significancy in His whole life, which an earnest confiding faith alone apprehends, and of which the irreverent infidel philosophy of the day knows nothing. We commend this book to those whose humility renders them capable of receiving instruction on such high and holy themes.

NARRATIVE of the late Expedition to the Dead Sea. Edited by Edward P. Montague. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1849. 12mo. pp. 336.

We are reluctantly compelled to speak of this book, notwithstanding its attractive title, as barren almost alike of good taste, interest, and information. Its preface however informs us that an account of the Expedition is in course of preparation by Lieut. Lynch, under whom, as commander, the Expedition was undertaken.

POEMS. By Clement C. Moore, LL. D. New York: Bartlett & Welford, 1844. 12mo. pp. 216.

We hope to be pardoned by the venerable author of these poems in speaking of them editorially, though his modest and retiring nature has given us no such permission. There is a rich vein of humor and naturalness characterizing his muse, which has given to some of his effusions a wide circulation. His "Visit from St. Nicholas" is familiar to all our readers. We cannot do better than quote the following lines from Philip Hone, Esq., of New York, sent to Prof. Moore, in return for a bunch of flowers and a charming little sonnet:

"Filled as thou art with attic fire,
And skilled in classic lore divine,
Not yet content, would'st thou aspire
In Flora's gorgeous wreath to shine?
Would'st thou in language of the rose
Lessons of wisdom seek t' impart,
Or in the violet's breath disclose
The feelings of a generous heart?
Come as thou wilt, my warm regard
And welcome, shall thy steps attend;
Scholar, musician, florist, bard—
More dear to me than all, as friend,
Bring flow'rs and poesy, a goodly store,
Like Dicken's Oliver, I ask for *Moore*."

SERMONS. By Henry Edward Manning, M. A., Archdeacon of Chichester. Vol. II. First American, from fourth London edition. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1848. 8vo. pp. 304. New Haven: Basset & Redfield.

The Sermons of Mr. Manning are winning their way to the libraries and hearts of multitudes by no straining after effect, no mere adaptation to popular taste, but by a comprehensiveness, an earnestness and depth of thought, a conception of the reality and power of the Christian life, a charming simplicity and clearness of style. The Sermons in this volume are eminently practical, and well adapted to private and devotional reading. We would instance the thirteenth sermon, as one which will make an impression upon the reader. Mr. Manning's view of Baptismal Regeneration, or, as he also calls it, the "regenerate life," and the "grace of regeneration," is not held and taught by him as a theory. It pervades all his teachings; and although some might except to an occasional expression, yet as a whole, few Prayer-Book Churchmen will dissent from him. He everywhere acknowledges the necessity of repentance for all: he says, "we should repent all our days of the fallen nature which by our birth-sin is within us," while he enforces the obvious necessity on the part of most even of the regenerate, who have fallen willingly into sin, of a deep and earnest conversion of the heart unto God. He thus distinguishes between that repentance which is needful for all, and that conversion which is necessary for those who have willfully sinned against the grace vouchsafed to them in their baptism. Alas! in our own branch of the Church, how few who grow up in Christ! How has a want of faithful Christian nurture on the part of sponsors according to the teaching of the Church, multiplied the number of those who trample under foot the blood bought covenant, and are laying up for themselves a bitterness and difficulty of repentance which shall make their future conversion almost as life from the dead!

THE GENIUS OF ITALY; being Sketches of Italian Life, Literature, and Religion. By Rev. Robert Turnbull, author of "The Genius of Scotland," etc. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1849. 12mo. pp. 332. New Haven: A. H. Maltby.

The author of "The Genius of Italy" has furnished a delightful book; and to have accomplished this on such a theme, is to merit very high praise. His style is graceful; and his reflections, as he passes from chamber to chamber of that vast treasure-house of Literature and Art, are expressed always in good taste, and usually we think with propriety and just appreciation. Upon the one great subject, when Religion in Italy is spoken of, the blighting curse of Popery which rests like an incubus upon that beautiful peninsula, Mr. Turnbull does not utter all these convictions which fill the breast of a well-instructed Churchman. Still he writes earnestly, and we doubt not, in the main, faithfully. We have marked numerous passages of great force and elegance. His rapid sketches of the savans and artists of Italy are among the most attractive portions of his volume. Dante, Tasso, Ariosto, Foscolo, Manzoni, Titian, Canova, Machiavelli, Petrarch, Galileo, Vico, Michael Angelo, and the fair and almost angelic Olympia Morata, are among his chosen witnesses to the exalted "Genius" which has made Italy her consecrated temple. His chapters upon Rome, and Pope Pius IX, will be read just now with special interest. We are sure that the book will give a higher appreciation of Italian character, and excite stronger hopes of its ultimate destiny.

THE GOOD AND THE BAD IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH: Is that Church to be destroyed or reformed? A Letter from Rome. By Rev. Henry M. Field. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1849. 12mo. pp. 34.

The pamphlet whose title we have announced, is noticeable particularly as an illustration of the effect produced upon an ingenuous and ill-educated Congregationalist, in his transition from the severely naked service of his own system, to the gorgeous and imposing ritualism of the Romish Church. The power and progress of the Romish system at the present day are owing not to its dogmas, so much as to its self-investment of the mere poetry of religion; its appeal to the religious sentiment through what is merely outward and sensuous; and its giving free scope to the passion of *devotism* in all its forms, which sometimes challenges our admira-

tion at its heroic, self-sacrificing spirit. Romanists will laugh at the honest simplicity of our author, who in his *vergency* almost becomes a convert to a system which he had evidently been accustomed to view with abhorrence. In his illustrations of the "good" and the "bad" in the Romish Church, he has not noticed the strong points on either side; and makes admissions which betray his ignorance of the whole subject. We wonder to hear him say of Rome, "its doctrines are substantially the same as ours. They are the common faith of the whole Christian World." Are the doctrines of the Papal Supremacy, of Transubstantiation, of Purgatory, of the Worship of the Virgin Mary, of the Invocation of Saints, of Expiation for Sin, (to say nothing of Infallibility,) as held and preached by the Romish Church at the present day—are these "substantially" the doctrines which Mr. Field receives?—And yet these, with Romanists, are among the essentials of the Christian Faith.

SKETCHES OF LIFE AND LANDSCAPE. By Rev. Ralph Hoyt. New edition, enlarged. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1849. 12mo. pp. 134. New Haven: Basset & Redfield.

Mr. Hoyt is a decided favorite with us; and we are glad to see that he is growing in reputation with the public. The characteristic of his poetry by which he is most strongly marked, is an unaffected naturalness. A school of poetry has grown up in modern days of a different cast; in which a certain vagueness, a sort of dreamy mistiness, hangs like a cloud between the reader's eye and the poet's vision; a gorgeous, glowing, subduing picture, sometimes, in the hand of a master, but a tissue of rhapsodical tameness, where the true inspiration of poetry is wanting. Of this school, Wordsworth stands as the noble and illustrious type; a great and true poet, with whom a lofty idealism clouds not the beauty and grandeur of his perceptions. Of this same school we have some American examples; but they are neither appreciated or understood. They are not slumbering under the weight of criticism, as Wordsworth was almost concealed for a time under the scorching sarcasm of his Reviewers; but simply for want of adaptedness to popular appreciation. Mr. Hoyt is a poet of a different stamp. He evidently writes because he cannot help it, and not merely to gaze upon the clouds of his own mystical creation. His published poems are few in number, and are all short; the longest we believe not exceeding two hundred lines. The poems entitled "Old—a rural sketch," and "The Angel," are, we think, among the best specimens from his pen.

MOSHEIM'S INSTITUTES OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. (Dr. Murdock's translation.)

This standard work, used in nearly every Theological Seminary in the country, has passed into the hands of Stanford & Swords, New York, as sole publishers.

A COMPLETE TRANSLATION of Mosheim's Commentaries on the Affairs of the Christians before the time of Constantine the Great, translated in part by Robert Studley Vidal, Esq., F. S. A., and in part by Rev. James Murdock, D. D. is also ready for the press.

This work is devoted to learned discussions of subjects which are more briefly considered in the Institutes; and will be perused by students of Ecclesiastical History with great interest. It will be published in two octavo volumes.

LAST LEAVES OF AMERICAN HISTORY; Comprising histories of the Mexican War and California. By EMMA WILLARD. New York: Geo. P. Putnam. London: J. Chapman, 142 Strand. 1849. 16mo. pp. 230. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

This volume may be properly termed Annals of our National History, reaching back to the time of the inauguration of President Harrison in 1841. These eight years of our career have been extremely eventful; and the authoress has attempted little more than to give a chronological record of the most important facts as they have occurred, with just enough of comment to weave them into one continuous narrative, and to relieve them of the tedium of dry detail. The history of California is prefaced by a brief account of the Spanish discovery, and occupation of that country; the Jesuit Missions, &c. The volume will subserve two important ends. It will help preserve in the public mind a distinct recollection of each

link in this chain of past events; and be of invaluable service to the future historian, when he shall come to describe more fully and philosophically this portion of our national career. The style of the authoress is compact and perspicuous, the tone and temper of the volume altogether impartial; and the work itself deserving of careful reading and preservation. If she, and her sex, are not called to deeds of valor on the tented field, in the service of her country, she fills a not less exalted sphere, in inscribing those deeds fairly and imperishably on the temple of fame.

THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, &c. New York: Stanford & Swords. 18ma. pp. 758. New Haven: Basset & Redfield.

We have no hesitation in speaking of this edition of the American Prayer Book, as the neatest edition yet published. Though numbering between 700 and 800 pages, so fine is its tissue-paper, that it is sufficiently compact for the reticule or the pocket, while its large clear type, and full open page, present a page attractive to the eye. It is a perfect gem of its kind, and must command a wide circulation.

CECIL AND HIS DOG, or the Reward of Virtue, a Tale for the young. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1849. 18mo. 2 vols., pp. 150, 290.

A most interesting story for children.

A SKETCH of the Life and Character of Deacon Nathan Beers; by SAMUEL W. S. DUTTON, Pastor of the North Church in New Haven. 1849. 8vo. pp. 34.

This is an account, in simple language, of a good man. The author has, rather needlessly we think, revived the troubles of the "great awakening" and with great disadvantage to the cause he seems to advocate; for it is plain from his own showing, that the peculiarities of the new divinity kept from the communion of his Church for forty years, one who "had been always pious." It is perhaps a fair sign of the accommodating spirit of Connecticut congregational theology, that the same man can extol the system which requires in every case a sharply defined conversion, can acknowledge in the next breath that the deceased, whose piety was beyond all question, found nothing in his experience corresponding thereto; and then a few Sundays after, admit to his pulpit a preacher who not only ridicules the whole system of revivals, but denies the leading articles of the Christian Faith.

SOUTHERN LITERARY MESSENGER.—We are pleased to find this able monthly Magazine upon our table. It is one of the most agreeable of our exchanges, learned without being dull, and piquant without being discourteous. The editorials are pretty well seasoned with *Attic salt*; and the table of Book notices is prepared with a manly independence altogether unusual. We are a little surprised to find so well-read a scholar as the editor, among the admirers of Thomas Babington Macaulay as a historian, and endorsing the caricature of Baptist W. Noel. The contents of the "Messenger" are more varied than of any Magazine within our acquaintance.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SCIENCE AND ARTS, Vol. VII, No. 21. Conducted by Professors B. Silliman, B. Silliman, Jr., and James D. Dana. May, 1849.

Among the papers of general interest in this number is one on the "Voyage of Capt. Sir James C. Ross to the Antarctic;" and another entitled "Observations on the Physical Geography of Oregon and Upper California," the latter by Mr. Dana, one of the editors. Among the miscellaneous intelligence we observe a notice of the Anniversary of the Geological Society for 1849, held in London, at which were present the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Robert Peel, the Belgian Ambassador, Sir R. T. Murchison, Sir H. De la Beche, Dr. Buckland, Dr. Mantell, and most of the great men of the metropolis. The Archbishop made an admirable speech in defense of Scientific pursuits and of geological researches in particular. Sir Charles Lyell, the new President, was in the chair.

The "American Journal of Science and Arts" is an honor not only to its Editors, but to the country at large. Its circulation and high reputation in the old world must be gratifying to its conductors.

A CHARGE delivered at his Primary Visitation held in Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, August 24, 1847. By John, Bishop of Fredericton. Republished in London by request of the Fredericton Cathedral Committee. 1848. 8vo. pp. 44.

Two Ordination sermons, preached in Christ Church Cathedral by the Lord Bishop of Fredericton. 1846. 8vo. pp. 24.

We are indebted to the Bishop of Fredericton for a copy of these valuable publications; and regret that our limits forbid transcribing a large portion of them, especially of the Charge. It is a clear and bold statement of the position of the clergy of the Church in the Province of New Brunswick, and of the duties attending that position. It treats of a great variety of topics; is eminently faithful and judicious; it breathes a heroic and elevated spirit, and shows its author to be a Bishop who realizes his obligation to the Church and is resolved to meet it.

We quote the following as suiting different latitudes than Fredericton:

"Of the prospects of the Mother Church of England, whether in this Province or the Mother Country, it is not necessary, perhaps not desirable, to say much. Conjectures and anticipations, easily made, are generally colored by the complexion of the prophet's own mind, his sanguine or gloomy disposition. Yet as far as I can discern, the danger to be apprehended is not from the Roman Catholic body, nor from Protestant Dissenters, but from the money-loving, self-indulgent, infidel spirit, prevalent among all bodies. There are multitudes, who, if they could speak out, would prefer a form of religion less distinct in points of faith than the creed of any religious body in existence, a way of life decently faithless, respectably selfish, and thoroughly godless at heart. By such persons, (and they are many,) every effort for Church improvement and Church extension, spiritually or materially, will be thwarted and obstructed to the uttermost of their power."

We observe that the Bishop's visit to England has secured to him an increase of Candidates for Orders; and nearly funds enough to complete the Cathedral at Fredericton.

CATALOGUE of the *General Theological Seminary for 1848-9*. The Rev. Drs. Turner, Wilson, Ogilby, Haight, and Clement C. Moore, LL. D. are acting Professors. The Seminary numbers 62 students, from 15 Colleges and 14 Dioceses. It has 346 Alumni, of whom 31 are deceased.

We venture to express the wish, that there were arrangements for an additional year of study at the Seminary, optional, however, to the students, and during which, thorough attention might be given to subjects for which there is now no time; and especially to those two classes of error, the Romish and the neological. One such year, under a competent adviser, or lecturer, and with a good public library, would be worth many years under the disadvantages of a parochial charge.

SWORD'S POCKET ALMANAC and Church Register, for 1849. Vol. XXXIV. 18mo. pp. 164.

This well known and almost indispensable manual, besides its usual and complete summary of General and Diocesan intelligence, contains also full lists of the clergy in the neighboring Dioceses of Quebec and Toronto; there being seventy-five in the former, and one hundred and twenty-nine in the latter.

NEW YORK AS IT WAS, during the latter part of the last Century. An Anniversary Address delivered before the St. Nicholas Society of the City of New York, Dec. 1, 1848. By WILLIAM ALEXANDER DUER, LL. D. New York: 1849. 8vo. pp. 48.

The St. Nicholas Society is subserving most important ends, in gathering up and preserving in its archives the personal reminiscences of the few trustworthy gentlemen left, who were familiar with the early history of our country. This Address gives us the author's personal recollections of the City of New York from the year 1783, when "the upper extremity of Broadway and the utmost limit of the city pavement" was at a point now occupied by St. Paul's Chapel; and where the author's family having located themselves, he says, the position "rejoiced in some

of the advantages of a country retreat!" The prominent public, professional, and business men of the city are also sketched; and as the city was then the seat of the General Government, we are treated with some portraits of men distinguished in our National Councils. Washington at the Inauguration of Adams; and Robert Morris caricatured by the wrathful Knickerbockers for gaining the removal of Congress to Philadelphia, are well described. The Address is written in a lively, pleasing style, and with a freshness and exuberance of feeling, which not once reminds us that the frosts of three-score and ten winters have fallen upon the author.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH CHRONICLE AND MISSIONARY JOURNAL.

This is an able Monthly Magazine, published by the Messrs. Rivington of London, and is devoted to the dissemination of Colonial Church intelligence, and to the great cause of Christian Missions. It contains papers of great historical value, is published at a cheap rate, and may be confidently commended to any of our readers who would keep watch of the movements of the Church of England.

THE STRANGER IN THE CHURCH. By the Rt. Rev. GEORGE BURGESS, D. D., Bishop of the Diocese of Maine. Boston: Mass. Tract Society. 1848. 12mo. pp. 34.

We know of no little work better adapted to remove prejudices against the Church than this. Those points in the Church system and services, which first arrest the stranger's eye, are so presented as to appear not only free from objection, but suitable and edifying. It has been, we understand, extensively circulated, and with great satisfaction.

FILIAL DUTY, a Sermon delivered in Trinity Church, Pittsburgh. By GEORGE UFFOLD, D. D., Rector. 1849. 8vo. pp. 28.

This is emphatically a sermon for the times, when, as the writer most truly says, "insubordination, a restlessness under, and resistance of authority, appears to be very much the prevailing spirit of our age and country. And this insubordination not only characterizes the general social life, but enters extensively into the domestic circle. There is a precocious independence observable in our children and youth, an indomitable self-will, which, beginning with almost the first budding of intelligence, grows with their growth, and strengthens with their strength, and becomes a habit of mind and action antagonistic to that filial reverence and subjection which the promptings of nature, and the law of God, teach them to cherish, cultivate, and practice." These are pregnant words, and solve the mystery of half the radicalism in Church and State, which is rampant around us. The self-willed child becomes the self-willed religionist, philosopher, and statesman; the pantheist, the Fourierite and disunionist.

PRACTICAL CHARITY, a Sermon delivered in Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, in aid of Domestic Missions. By GEORGE UFFOLD, D. D., the Rector. 1849. 8vo. pp. 34.

This Sermon is dedicated to Bishop Kemper, the first Missionary Bishop of our Church. The appendix contains a letter from Rev. Mr. Breck of the Nashotah Mission to the Sunday School of Trinity Church, and some statements of the Rector in commendation of that particular mission. The whole subject is presented in a manner well calculated to make an intelligent and permanent impression.

THE STRANGER AT HOME. A Sermon preached in St. Luke's Church, Rochester, on the first Sunday after Easter, by the Rev. Henry W. Lee, Rector. 1849. pp. 16.

The excellent Rector of St. Luke's has here treated upon an important matter in a very faithful and efficient way. His object is to direct the attention of the members of the Church of England and Ireland, to the Church of their fathers, which in this land of their adoption still stands ready to receive and bless them. Mr. Lee states that of the more than 320 families in his parish, more than 150 are English and Irish. Considerable numbers of them must also be found in all our cities and larger manufacturing towns, to whom the shepherds of Christ's flock owe a special duty. We suggest to our Rev. Brethren across the Atlantic, whose parish

ians may leave for these western shores, the propriety of always giving to them letters of commendation addressed to Christ's ministering servants, wherever in God's providence their lot may be cast. Since writing the above, we observe that the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts have adopted and recommended the following Form.

"To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop, and the Reverend the Clergy of the Church of England, [or of the American Church,] in the Diocese of

"I desire herewith to commend to your pastoral care and brotherly good offices, of the Parish of _____ in the Diocese of _____, who with his family is about to settle in _____, and I certify that he is a member of the Church of England, and that his children, severally named _____ have been baptized.
Minister of _____

Diocese of _____
Dated this _____

BURLINGTON COLLEGE. Fifth Term.

This pamphlet of 84 pages contains Bishop Doane's theory of education; a thorough exposition of the course of instruction and discipline adopted at Burlington College; the course of studies prescribed; Catalogues of Professors and students, with maxims for teachers, parents, &c.

Bishop Doane has gone to work upon the theory that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well; and this thoroughness he carries into all the little details which make up the routine of College and Academic life. He overlooks nothing; systematizes every thing; puts the machine in motion, and makes every thing and every body move on in harmony. We have no doubt of the entire success of Burlington College. We can bear witness to converts to the Bishop's scheme,—and this warm confidence based upon the intuition, that he has hit upon the true, and only true theory of education.

BISHOP DOANE'S ORDINATION SERMON ON TRINITY SUNDAY.

From this Sermon we give the following extract of surpassing beauty :

"The doctrine of the Trinity is the great, comprehensive, and conservative doctrine of the Gospel. It is the golden vase, in which all others are enclosed. They are shut up within it, as the germ is in the seed. Take out the germ, from its appointed nest, and plant it, and it dies. It dies, for want of shelter. It dies, for want of nourishment. It dies, from dislocation and dismemberment. So, to compare the Infinite, the Eternal, the Incomprehensible, with mites and moles; precisely so, with Gospel Truth. The Catholic doctrine of the Trinity has never been held, and the Catholic doctrine of the true and real divinity of Jesus Christ, His effectual mediation, or His sufficient atonement for all human sin, been lost. Nor has the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity ever been rejected, and the Catholic doctrines of the divinity, mediation, and atonement of Jesus Christ, retained. Well and wisely has the Church ordained this Holy Feast.

"The feast of Trinity has been, from earliest times, an ordination Sunday; as our twentieth Canon declares: 'Agreeably to the practice of the Primitive Church, the stated times of ordination shall be on the Sundays following the Ember Weeks, viz: the second Sunday in Lent, the feast of Trinity, and the Sundays after the Wednesdays following the 14th day of September, and the 13th of December.' Bishops, with outstretched hands, impart to faithful men, the gift of God, to minister in his own name, to dying souls. And heaven is opened, with new mercies, and its arches vocal with new songs, as angels strive in vain to count the multitudes, that shall be given, as seals, to these new messengers of pardon, of sinners that repent. Beautiful observance, that connects us, in this humble house of prayer, with the whole Church, in all the world, and with the whole sacred past. Beautiful embodiment of the communion of saints, that, at a zone of altars, which encompass the globe, brethren kneel down to-day with us; and Priests, and Deacons, in a multitude, beyond our power to number, start forward, from this day, leaders in the great sacramental host of God's elect, to bear the banner of the Cross, to new and nobler triumphs; to bear to broken hearts, the healing unction of the Saviour's name, who dyed it with His blood."

ART. X.—LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

QUARTERLY RECORD.

ENGLAND.

The following important works, bearing more or less directly upon *Theology*, were published in England during the Quarter ending May 1st. The Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, in Coptic, edited by the celebrated Coptic scholar, Rev. H. Tattam. A complete collection of the Ignatian Epistles, genuine, interpolated, and spurious; together with numerous extracts from ecclesiastical writers, in Syriac, Greek, and Latin, with critical apparatus, by Rev. William Cureton; also a translation of the Apostolical Acts and Epistles from the Peschito or Ancient Syriac, the vernacular language of our Lord and His Apostles, by J. W. Etheridge; to whom we have already been indebted for a translation of the Syriac Gospels and Liturgy.

The Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel has published an *Essay on the Union of Church and State*, intended as an apology for his secession from the Church of England and joining with those with whom he has long been associated in spirit. The work contains many truths, though not the most kindly or judiciously uttered. Their force, however, is much abated by the grievous error which runs through the book. It is evidently the work of an unquiet spirit, as indeed we might expect from the previous history of the man, and from his former publications. The *Essay* has been replied to by C. Gillmoor, T. Boys, and some others.

A. Coquerel's *Answer to Strauss' Life of Christ* has been translated from the French, and published;—R. Gibbins has a volume on Roman forgeries and fabrications;—S. R. Maitland, on subjects connected with the Reformation in England;—E. C. Harrington, on the Reformers of the Anglican Church and Mr. Macaulay.

J. Gray has published a work showing that the Earth's antiquity is in harmony with the Mosaic account of the creation;—E. Madely, on the Science of Correspondencies, intended as a key to the true interpretation of Scripture;—G. R. Gliddon has just issued a work on Egyptian Antiquities. His means of knowledge have been good, and if he has exercised sound judgment, the work will be valuable. His previous publication was characterized by especial hostility to the *Hebrew Bible*.

Of Exegetical works, we observe *Notes on the Apocalypse*, by H. F. Burder;—*Lectures on the same*, by C. Wordsworth;—*Commentary on St. Luke's Gospel*, by W. Trollope;—*Thoughts on Nehemiah*, by H. Woodward;—*Commentaries on the New Testament*, by H. Olshausen.

Rev. W. Goode has published a work on the doctrine of the Baptism of Infants in the Church of England, with an Appendix containing the Baptismal Services of Luther, and the Liturgies of Nuremberg and Cologne.

AMERICAN.

The Quarter ending June 1st, has presented us with the following works of interest to the Christian scholar. A new edition of Palmer's letters to Dr. Wiseman, on the Errors of Romanism, a complete and thorough confutation; a republication of the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel's *Essay on Church and State*, already characterized;—Turnbull's *Review of Dr. Bushnell's Theories of the Incarnation and Atonement*, intended as a supplement to his *Theophany*;—*Review of the same work*, by Rev. Dr. Pond;—*The Good and Bad in the Roman Catholic Church*, by Rev. H. M. Field, a curious book, considering its source;—*An attempt to show that Sprinkling is the only mode of Baptism made known in the Scriptures*, by Rev. Dr. Peters;—a new edition of Rev. Dr. Tyng's "*Israel of God*."

The works of the Rev. J. M. Mason, D. D.;—*Life and Thoughts of John Foster*;—*Life of Rev. David Abbel*;—*Life and Works of Miss Mary Jane Graham*—have also appeared.

We may also mention the republication of Layard's *Nineveh*, a work of great merit and value ;—Curzon's *Monasteries of the Levant*, which is both interesting and useful ;—D'Aubigne's *Germany, England, and Scotland*, being reminiscences of travels in 1845 ; Cummings' *Manual of Bible Evidence for the people*, with an introduction by Hon. T. Frelinghuysen ;—J. A. James' *Earnest Ministry*, the want of the times, with an introduction by Rev. Dr. Condit, of Newark, N. J.

The *Philosophy of Religion*, by J. D. Morell, is an able work, clear, lucid, and satisfactory if we adopt the author's stand-point. But there is a falsehood running through the whole which renders it comparatively worthless as a work on Religious Philosophy ; the assumption that the consciousness of the natural and renewed man, is so identical, that the one may be educated up into the other. This is the foundation stone of the popular religionism of the day, and can be effectually met and overcome, only by reasserting more clearly and emphatically, the old doctrine of the Church, that the Grace which renews the soul imparts to it a new and higher consciousness, and thereby enables it to know things which are beyond the reach of, and incomprehensible to the natural understanding. Dr. Rothe, from whom our author has copied a long extract as a "Note" to the last chapter, admits this distinction, though in a cautious and careful manner. Without this distinction, Pelagianism, Perfectionism, or Pantheism, is a necessary logical alternative.

Wiley, of New York, has published a fac-simile of the Leipsic edition of Hahn's *Hebrew Bible*, which is announced in the papers as *the first American Edition*. It should have been said, first American edition *with points*, an edition having been published in Philadelphia, in 1814, from the text of Van der Hooght, without points.

The republication of The *Æsthetic and Miscellaneous works of Frederick Von Schlegel*, adds a valuable work to our literature ; which is more than we can say of a strange book entitled, *Beneficence of Design in the Problem of Evil*, vindicated by the law of causation in the Physical construction of Matter. It purports to be by a "Journeyman," and assumes the title of a "Tenth Bridgewater Treatise." Rev. Dr. Dickinson's *Religion Teaching by Example, exemplified by scenes from Scripture*, has already reached a second edition. Rev. Dr. Miller's *History philosophically illustrated*, is a valuable text-book for those who wish to see the Providence of God in history. A *History of the Vaudois Church* has also been issued from the press.

"*Voice of the Anglican Church on Confession*," is the title of an anonymous pamphlet, subsequently acknowledged by Rev. Daniel Macleod, the design of which is to revive the practice of Auricular Confession, by showing that the great divines of the English Church have approved it, and wished its restoration. "*Voice of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States on Confession ; with an Appendix*," is the title of a counter pamphlet, taking the ground that, whatever might have been the opinion of the English Divines, the American Church has decided for herself against it. "Confession, as held by the Anglican Church," is the title of a third pamphlet, attributed to Rev. Dr. Seabury, in review of the preceding, showing that the proof offered by the first is made out by unfair and garbled quotations, and that the ground taken by the second is unnecessary and improper.

The *Origin and Use of Creeds*, Rev. S. Fuller ;—*Thoughts on the Gospel Miracles*, Rev. Dr. Williams ;—*Lectures on the Second Advent*, Rev. E. Winthrop ;—*A few Days at Nashotah*, Rev. Dr. Kip ;—*The Stranger in the Church*, Bp. Burgess ;—*Apostolical Succession*, Rev. Dr. Wheat ;—*Economy of secondary causes in Spiritual things*, Rev. W. D. Wilson ;—*History of American Baptist Missions*, by Prof. William Gammell, must be added to the above.

Among the most important works of the day, all things considered, must be reckoned the *Mercersberg Review*, the organ of the so-called Mercersberg school of theology. This school represents the most orthodox portion of the New Lutheran school in Germany. The principal characteristics of the school are, deep earnestness of spirit,—great scientific accuracy,—a hearty reception of the old Catholic Creeds,—full acknowledgment of the Church as the body of Christ, and its authority in matters of faith,—and the sacraments as necessary means of communion with the Life of the body,—strong condemnation of the sect system,—and a longing after greater union among all orthodox Christians on the basis of Apostolical Christianity.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Anthony, George,	Henshaw,	May 14, 1849,	St. Matthew's, Jamestown,
Applegate, Thomas,	Whittingham,	May 13, 1849,	Trinity, Elkton, Md. [R. I.
Cushman, George F.,	Cobbs,	May 20, 1849,	St. John's Montgomery, Ala.
Chase, P., Jr.,	Chase,	Mar. 25, 1849,	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Child, S. R.,	Chase,	Mar. 25, 1849,	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Elliot, J. H.,	Gadsden,	Mar. 4, 1849,	St. Philips', Charleston, S. C.
Huger, E. W.,	McIlvaine,	May 6, 1849,	St. James', Zanesville, O.
Howard, O. R.,	DeLancey,	April 29, 1849,	Grace, Lyons, W. N. Y.
Johnson, Lloyd,	Chase,	Mar. 25, 1849,	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Morris, Thos. A.,	Cobbs,	May 20, 1849,	St. John's, Montgomery, Ala.
Morrison, Theo. N.,	Chase,	Mar. 25, 1849,	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Neide, G. L.,	Potter,	April 8, 1849,	Trinity, Southwark, Pa.
Roberts, —,	Chase,	Mar. 25, 1849,	Jubilee Chapel, Ill.
Sill, Frederic,	Brownell,	June 12, 1849,	Christ, Hartford, Conn.
Smith, John Cotton,	McIlvaine,	May 6, 1849,	St. James', Zanesville, O.
Watson, J. N.,	Whittingham,	June 3, 1849,	Grace, Elk Ridge La'ng, Md.
Wheelock, J. A.,	Otey,	May 6, 1849,	Immanuel, La Grange, Ten.

PRIESTS.

Cobbs, R. A.,	Cobbs,	April 29, 1849,	St. David's, Dallas Co., Ala.
Davenport, J. R.,	DeLancey,	Mar. 4, 1849,	St. Paul's, Syracuse, N. Y.
Jones, A. D.,	Whittingham,	June 3, 1849,	Grace, Elk Ridge Landing,
Littlejohn, A. N.,	Brownell,	June 12, 1849,	Christ, Hartford, Ct. [Md.
Mackie, Anth.,	Doane,	June 3, 1849,	St. Thomas, Glassboro', N. J.
Passmore, J. C.,	Whittingham,	June 3, 1849,	Grace, Elk Ridge La'ng, Md.
Pierce, H. N.,	Freeman,	Jan. 3, 1849,	Christ, Matagorda, Texas.
Quick, C. W.,	Potter,	April 23, 1849,	St. Paul's, Chester, Pa.
Randall, S.,	Potter,	April 25, 1849,	St. Andrew's, Phila., Pa.
Reed, H. H.,	Smith,	May 27, 1849,	St. Peter's, Paris, Ky.
Rice, S. M.,	DeLancey,	Mar. 4, 1849,	St. Paul's, Syracuse, N. Y.
Rogers, R. C.,	Brownell,	June 12, 1849,	Christ, Hartford, Conn.
Sanson Henry,	Freeman,	Jan. 11, 1849,	Christ, Houston, Texas.
Thompson, J. A.,	Whittingham,	Mar. 11, 1849,	Mount Calvary, Balt., Md.
Wallbridge, —,	McIlvaine,	May 13, 1849,	Grace, Mansfield, O.

REMOVALS.

	<i>To Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Geo. M.,	Zion,	Fulton, W. N. Y.
J. J.,	St. Matthew's,	Jersey City, N. J.
A. A.,	Christ,	New Orleans, La.
R. H.,	St. James',	Chicago, Ill.
of.,	Harcourt,	Gambier, Ohio.
Geo. C.,	St. James',	Muncy, Pa.
Rob. B.,	St. John's,	Stillwater, N. Y.
a. C.,		Moravia, W. N. Y.
F. L., D. D.,	Mediator,	New York City.
J. W.,		Tashua, Conn.
Geo. H.,	Transfiguration,	New York City.
on, Enoch,	Trinity,	Trumbull, Conn.
a. S.,	Trinity,	Fort Wayne, Ia.
William,	St. Mark's,	Malone, N. Y.
T. H., M. D.,		Winchester, Ky.
ugh, J. W., D. D.,	St. Luke's,	Jackson, Tenn.
J. A.,	Assist. St. Mary's,	Burlington, N. J.
L. E.,	St. Peter's,	Perth Amboy, N. J.
T. R.,	St. Paul's,	Stockbridge, Mass.
W. Y.,	St. Paul's,	Louisville, Ky.
A. G.,	Christ,	Sharon, Conn.
Erastus,		Westmoreland, N. Y.
H.,		Pulaski, W. N. Y.
P. M.,	St. Mark's,	Penn Yann, Pa.
a, C. W.,	St. John's,	York, Pa.
J. C.,	St. James' College,	Maryland.
I. T. F.,	Grace,	Lyons, N. Y.
a, T.,	All Saints,	Wolcott, Conn.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>
a,	Gloucester City, N. J.,	Doane,	May 17, 1849.
	Stonington, Conn.,	Brownell,	May 31, 1849.
	Norwich, Conn.,	Brownell,	May 18, 1849.
	Trumbull, Conn.,	Brownell,	April 30, 1849.
s in the			
ness,	Russell co., Ala.,	Cobbs,	May 27, 1849.
s',	Greenfield, Mass.,	Eastburn,	May 10, 1849.
pe's,	Fredericksburg, Va.,	Meade,	April 22, 1849.
s,	South Trenton, N. J.,	Doane,	April 12, 1849.

DIOCESAN.

Following resolutions were adopted by the Convention of Pennsylvania, by great unanimity:

Resolved, That the removal by the House of Bishops of the disabilities imposed on the Rt. Rev. Henry U. Onderdonk, D. D., would give great satisfaction to the individuals, clerical and lay, composing this Convention, and also it is to many others, as well in the Church generally, as in the diocese once under jurisdiction.

Resolved, Moreover, that while such removal would cheer the declining years of a noble and distinguished servant of the Church, it would secure to his many productions their just estimation by posterity, and be in accordance with the example so eloquently portrayed in the teaching and so consistently exemplified in the conduct of the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

DENOMINATIONAL.

The following table will give a statistical view of the labors of the various societies which held their anniversaries in May last.

<i>Society.</i>	<i>Receipts.</i>	<i>Expenditures.</i>
American Home Mission,	\$147,172	\$153,816
Presbyterian Assembly, B. F. M.,	110,081	110,207
Am. Seaman's Friend's Society,	18,582	18,497
Methodist Ep. Miss. Society,	84,045	102,940
Am. Anti-Slavery Society,	6,952	6,975
Foreign Evangelical Society,		24,000
American Tract Society,	258,300	258,283
Am. Bap. Publication Society,	25,416	
Am. Bible Society,	251,870	
Am. Soc. Ameliorating the Jews,	3,221	3,208
Am. and For. Bible Society,	39,840	38,321
Am. B. Com. Foreign Missions, (9 months,)	217,000	
Am. Education Society,	27,301	27,764

OBITUARIES.

Died, in the city of New York, March 25, 1849, the Rev. HUGH SMITH, D. I. Rector of St. Peter's Church, in that city. The Rev. Dr. Smith was born August 29th, 1795, at the Narrows, Long Island. After finishing his preparatory course at Flatbush, he entered Columbia College in 1809. He was graduated in 1811, studied for the ministry under Bishop Hobart, from whom he received Deacon's Orders in 1816, and Priest's Orders in 1819. In November, 1816, he married Miss Helen Clarke, daughter of J. B. Clarke, Esq. of Brooklyn, and shortly after sailed for Savannah, where he supplied the Church during the absence of the Rector, the Rev. Mr. Cranston, until the following April, when he returned to New York, and was appointed by the Rev. Dr. Bowen, his assistant in Grace Church. In the same year he accepted the Rectorship of St. Ann's Church, Brooklyn. In 1819, he removed to Augusta, Georgia, and became the Rector of the Church in that place where he remained until March, 1831; when he was elected Rector of Christ Church, Hartford. There were but three communicants in Augusta, when Dr. Smith entered upon his duties. During his rectorship a beautiful church was built and a large and prosperous parish established. In 1833, having been appointed Missionary of the Church of the Holy Evangelists, in New York, he returned to that city, and labored in that field until he received a call in 1836, to the rectorship of St. Peter's Church, his last parish. In October, 1836, at the request of the Standing Committee of the Gen. Theological Seminary, he undertook the duties of the Professorship of Pastoral Theology and Pulpit Eloquence. He resigned his temporary charge of the Professorship, and obtaining leave of absence, he sailed for Europe, in 1837. He returned the same year, with renovated strength and spirits; and continued his labors among his attached people, for nearly nine years when he was compelled again to try a voyage, which was again of essential service. His health continued good, until July, 1848, the time when he last sailed for England. After a short sojourn, he returned wholly incapacitated for further duty. Dr. Smith received the degree of Doctor of Divinity, from Columbia College, in 1838. The corner-stone of St. Peter's Church was laid in 1836, and the noble and beautiful building was consecrated in 1838. The number of communicants in the last report prepared by the Rector, but not published, was 250. Dr. Smith expired at St. Peter's Rectory, on Sunday morning, March 25th, in the 54th year of his age.

We have also to record the death of Rev. WILLIAM POWELL, Rector of St. Peter's Church, Westchester, N. Y.; and of Rev. JOHN W. BROWN, Rector of St. George's Church, Astoria, N. Y., and for some time Editor of the Protestant Churchman; and also, of Rev. BIRDSEY G. NOBLE, of this Diocese; but are not yet in possession of such particulars as we wish in regard to them.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CONSECRATION.—The Rt. Rev. Robert Knox, the new Bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore, was consecrated at Armagh on Tuesday, May 5th; the Installation on the 3d in the Cathedral Church in Lisburn; and the Enthroning on the 5th at the ancient Cathedral of Dromore. Bishop Knox is successor to the lamented and well-known Bishop Mant.

NEW COLONIAL BISHOPRIC.—The Queen has been pleased to order Letters Patent to be issued for the erection of a Bishopric in the Red River Settlement—Prince Rupert's Land. The Reverend David Anderson, M. A. of Exeter College, Oxford—formerly Theological Tutor at St. Bees College, Cumberland, and now perpetual Curate of All Saints', Derby, has been nominated first Bishop of the new See. Mr. Anderson took his B. A. degree in Michaelmas Term, 1836. The endowment is provided partly by a bequest of the late James Leith, Esq., who passed many years of his life in Prince Rupert's Land, and partly by a salary (with house) allowed by the Hudson's Bay Company to the Bishop as chaplain to one of the Churches in the Settlement. The Consecration of the Bishops of Victoria and Rupert's Land took place at Canterbury on Tuesday, May 29.

The new diocese will probably comprise the whole of the territory which was granted to the Hudson's Bay Company by a charter from Charles II, in the year 1670. This territory extends from the frontier of the United States in north lat. 40 to the limits of exploration northward, and from the western boundary of Canada to the Pacific. Its superficial area is stated in the "Colonial Church Atlas" to be 370,000 square miles, and the total population, (though this must needs be a rough estimate,) 103,000. The country, for the most part a vast plain, is varied by a succession of lakes and rivers, and is intersected by the great chain of the Rocky mountains stretching from northwest to southeast.

The native Indians, who seek a precarious subsistence by hunting and fishing, live in wigwams and tents, and there is nothing that deserves the name even of a village in the whole territory.

In 1811, an agricultural settlement was formed on the banks of the Red River, to the south of Lake Winnipeg, by the Earl of Selkirk.

When Governor Semple was sent out in 1815, he was specially requested to report to the Company whether any trace was to be found of either temple, of worship, or idol, and whether it would be practicable to gather the children together for education, and for instruction in agriculture or other manual employment. In his answer he said, that no place of worship of any sort was to be seen, and most feelingly expressed his anxiety for the immediate erection of a church.

In 1820 the Company was enabled to send out the Rev. J. West as Chaplain to the settlers. He was accompanied by a schoolmaster, who was supported by the contributions of the members of the Company and other friends. Two years afterwards, the Church Missionary Society was induced by the representations of Benjamin Harrison, Esq. and Nicholas Garry, Esq., two of the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, to found a Mission in their settlement. The Rev. D. T. Jones was accordingly sent out in 1823, and found on his arrival that a church had already been built by the exertions of Mr. West. A second church was completed in 1825, and in the same year the Mission was greatly strengthened by the accession of the Rev. W. Cockran. To this devoted Clergyman the Mission is largely indebted for its success. He at once set himself to reclaim the Indians from their roving and indolent life. He taught them agriculture by practical lessons in ploughing, sowing, and reaping. When their corn had been harvested, he got a mill erected, and taught them how to grind it. He taught them also how to build houses, and how to thatch the roofs with reeds. In short, he was the Oberlin of the settlement;

and in proportion as he employed the natives in farm-works, he secured the attendance of their children in school. Under such zealous and judicious management the Mission made rapid progress. The Rev. Messrs. Cowley, Smithburns, and Hunter, were successively added to the Missionary body; and Henry Budd, one of the first native boys who had been entrusted to the care of Mr. West, was appointed schoolmaster. Such is a brief outline of the history of the Mission up to the year 1844, when the Bishop of Montreal, disregarding all considerations of personal convenience, undertook a journey and voyage of 2000 miles to visit it.

The following particulars, furnished by his Lordship, will be read with interest. The total population of the settlement was 5,143, of which rather more than half are Roman Catholics, and all the rest members of the Church of England, for no body of dissenters has ever established itself there. The soil, which is alluvial, is remarkably fertile, and a particular farm is mentioned which had borne an abundant crop of wheat for eighteen years in succession, without ever having been manured. The blessing, therefore, of plenty is vouchsafed to the natives and settlers; that is, abundance of produce for the satisfying of their own wants, but without any market or means of export. They have also horses, cattle, and sheep in fair proportion.

The settlement extends for fifty miles along a strip of land on both sides of the Red River. It contains four churches, built at short intervals from each other. The number of the members of the Church of England at the time of the Bishop's visitation was 2,345, and of these no fewer than 846 were confirmed by him during his visit. Frequent services were of course performed during the seventeen days of the Bishop's stay, and he mentions that the largest congregation which met him amounted to about 500, while the smallest did not fall far short of 200. These facts will serve to show that Christianity has made no inconsiderable progress in that settlement, and that the field of labor to which a Bishop has now been consecrated, though remote and under some aspects forbidding, is yet full of interest and encouragement to the true soldier of the cross.

EXTENT OF THE BRITISH COLONIES.

From a lecture delivered before the Islington Protestant Institute, by Rev. Edward Bickersteth, on "Popery in the Colonies," we make the following extract on the extent of the British Colonies:

"The colonial empire which God has given to this country is unparalleled in the history of all nations. The four chief empires that have prevailed over the earth, in connection with the church of God—Chaldean, Persian, Grecian, and Roman—had an exceedingly contracted dominion, in comparison with that which Britain now possesses.

"The Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch, Danish, and other nations have established colonies; but no other nation has now an extent of colonial empire to be compared with that of Great Britain.

"The British colonies, in the remarkable providence of God, have been acquired since the Reformation, during the period from the reign of Elizabeth to the present day.

"In Europe, besides the British and Channel Isles, we have Heligoland, Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands. In Africa, we have Sierra Leone, Cape Coast, the Ascension, St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, the Secheffes, and Aden; in Asia, the vast continent of Hindoostan, with mighty annexed possessions. We have also Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, and Borneo. In Australia and New Zealand new empires are rising up under the sway of the British crown. In North and South America, in the western hemisphere, we have a widely separated dominion, extending from our remote possession of the Falkland Isles, by British Guyana and the West Indian islands, to our wide-spread territories in North America. No other kingdom has such a dominion influencing every part of the world. It embraces a population of above 130,000,000 subjects, while probably 50,000,000 more are under our influence.

"The population of our colonies, apart from Hindoostan, is as follows, by returns to Parliament in 1842:

North America.....	1,621,152
West Indies.....	901,082
Other colonies.....	2,152,101

Total.....4,674,335

,"This population probably now exceeds 5,000,000.

That of our eastern empire is reckoned at.....100,000,000

That of the British islands.....27,000,000

Of the other colonies.....5,000,000

Total.....132,000,000

Thus, taking the population of the earth at 1,000,000,000, nearly one-seventh of its population are our fellow subjects, besides the vast numbers more or less under our influence.

"The Roman colonies under that fourth empire were the germs of the civilization of northern and western Europe. May the British colonies be the germs, not merely of the civilization, but of the Christianizing of all heathen countries."

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

PÆMUNIRE.—The Bishop of Exeter rose to present a petition from a very respectable body of clergymen in his diocese on a subject of very great interest to the clergy of the Established Church in general. It related to a bill which had lately been introduced by his learned friend on the benches opposite, for the consolidation of the criminal law—["No," said Lord Brougham, "for a digest of the criminal law,"]—and prayed that the extreme penalty of *pæmunire*, which was very vague and almost unintelligible, might be exchanged for something distinct and practical. As affairs were now conducted, it was really impossible for any man, lay or clerical, to state what the law of *pæmunire* was; for the Court of Queen's Bench on a recent occasion had been equally divided upon it.

SCRIPTURAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.—The Bishop of Cashel presented a petition, signed by 40,000 Protestants in Ireland, and another signed by 1,300 of the clergy of the united Church of England and Ireland, in favor of scriptural education. The Right Rev. Prelate, at considerable length, pointed out the unfavorable position in which the schools in Ireland connected with the Established Church were placed, in comparison with the schools of Dissenters in England.

The Archbishop of Dublin contended that great misapprehension and delusion existed in the public mind as to the facts of the system of Government education in Ireland; and should a commission of inquiry into that system be instituted, he thought much good would result from it. The only restriction put on schools in Ireland was one to prevent children from being forced to read the Bible.

The Bishop of London could not see upon what principle the great body of ministers of the Established Church should be shut out from the privilege of teaching the Scriptures to their flocks. It was the prerogative of the Church to teach the Scriptures unrestricted, and therefore he would not feel justified, if in Ireland, to allow children to go to a school in which the Bible was not taught.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE CHURCH.—Mr. G. A. Hamilton presented a petition from Dublin, praying for the reestablishment of the suppressed Irish bishoprics.

ANTIQUITIES OF NINEVEH.—Sir J. Pakington rose to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it is the intention of her Majesty's Government to assist Mr. Layard in his discoveries of the remains of Nineveh by any pecuniary grant; and, if so, to what amount. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said application had

been made for a grant of £3,000, but he had only agreed to an advance of £2,000. Another application had been made, to which no answer had yet been given.

The Jewish Disabilities Bill has passed the House of Commons by a vote of 378 to 185. Its fate now hangs upon the decision of the House of Lords. Should it be adopted, it is a virtual but pregnant repudiation of Christianity as the religion of the State, and places the Church in a still more awkward position.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN SCOTLAND.—A petition of the clergy and laity of the Church of England, resident in Scotland, was presented to the House of Lords on the 18th of May, praying for adequate Episcopal superintendence at the hand of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or of the Bishop from whom the said clergy may have received ordination, and that the English Bishops extend visitations into Scotland for the purpose of ordaining and confirming, not as exercising territorial but ecclesiastical jurisdiction over English congregations. The petitioners claim, that the Scottish Episcopal Church is a distinct body from the English Church; was regarded by the Act of Toleration when its spiritual functions were legitimated in 1792, and the Act further modified in 1840; is so proved by the independency of its discipline in making and unmaking Canons; and by its Communion Office; and they further complain that the Scottish Bishops deny any jurisdiction of English Bishops in North Britain, and also deny the existence of English congregations in Scotland.

The debate on the petition drew out the best talent in the House of Lords. The petition was ordered to lie on the table.

CASE OF MR. SHORE.

As capital is attempted to be made out of this case of imprisonment, we give the following statement of facts.

The Duke of Somerset determined to have Bridgetown within the Parish of Berry Pomeroy, erected into a separate parish; and to have the patronage thereof vested in himself. This, his Bishop refused unless he would grant a suitable endowment. Difficulty between Mr. Shore, who had been previously licensed to the Chapel at Bridgetown, and the successive curates of Berry Pomeroy, at last led a new incumbent to refuse a renewed nomination to Mr. Shore. This resulted in a long and tedious altercation between the Duke, Mr. Shore, and the Bishop; Mr. Shore to the very last protesting his devotion to the Established Church, and his adherence to its Articles and Liturgy. Meanwhile, the agent of the Duke takes out a license for the Chapel as a place of Dissenting worship; and Mr. Shore having threatened to officiate in it, *without* Episcopal license, if *not* with it, proceeds to do so. It is not, therefore, a persecution at all on the ground that Mr. Shore is a Dissenter. Mr. Shore appealed to the law; and happens to find it very bad now it turns out against him. It is the case of a clergyman and professed adherent of the Establishment, acting in defiance of the authority of his Bishop, and of the law of the realm, and suffering consequences clearly foreseen. Certain pecuniary liabilities, for which he is held in durance, he will neither pay himself nor allow his friends to pay for him. Meantime, the original "Clergy Relief Bill" which it was hoped to push through Parliament on the strength of this public sympathy, has become so judiciously amended, that the best friends of the Church do not object to it; and Mr. Shore's "martyrdom" threatens to answer the purpose only of pointing the arrows of malice and slander, which always sooner or later find their way back to their authors.

ROME.

The plot which has been thickening for months has assumed an imposing aspect. The pope still remains at Gaeta. The French, in order to restore the pope to civil power, and at the same time maintain French influence in the Peninsula, have sent an army to Rome, which met with a signal and most disastrous defeat; 600 being killed on the spot; and 452 taken prisoners, who were treated with the greatest care and kindness. The French instructions given to General Oudinot were to

the following effect :—"To intervene with the Roman government, never recognized ; to take the necessary measures for maintaining the influence of France in the Italian peninsula, and to lay down an order of things upon a foundation conformable to the interests of the population ; to receive from the established authorities all proposals, and to make with them all necessary arrangements ; for form's sake, however, to avoid all recognition of the principle established at Rome. We believe (says the Instructions) that you will be eagerly received by some as a liberator, by others as a useful mediator, against the dangers of a reaction. Your march upon Rome would, no doubt, facilitate the *dénouement*, by giving courage to the honest portion of the community."

Meanwhile the troops of the king of Naples, on the 5th of May, marched against Rome, who were also put to flight, leaving the Romans again victorious. Austria, too, who had united in the plan of intervention to restore the pope, is busily occupied at home with the revolting Hungarians. At Rome this temporary triumph inspiring the people with indomitable courage, with relentless hatred against the Cardinals and with offensive priests, some of whom have been slain ; and it is becoming a certainty that a restoration of the pope to civil power is utterly hopeless. Among the great mass of the French people, a strong reaction is prevailing, amounting to almost indignation, at the course of the French government. Throughout the Roman territory not a single village has declared in favor of the Pope ; while the laboring classes, and even the women, are infuriated with zeal in the cause of the revolution. The Constituent Assembly of Rome have framed the following Address to the English and French Governments, which is so rich in information, that we give it entire. We wait the issues of this whole movement with the deepest interest.

The following is the address of the Constituent Assembly of Rome to the Governments and Parliaments of France and England :

"The representatives of the free Roman people confidently appeal to the Governments and to the Parliaments of the two most free and most powerful nations of Europe.

"It is well known that we have been for many ages governed by the Church, with the same special and absolute authority in all matters temporal as in spiritual, whence it happened that, amid the enlightenment of the 19th century, we are surrounded by the darkness of the middle ages. Civilization was combatted at times with open warfare, always with the force of inertia, to such a degree that it was considered a crime in us to feel and call ourselves Italians.

"It is well known that we have on many occasions attempted to achieve our own liberty ; but Europe has made us expiate by a harder slavery those very attempts by which other nations have been rendered glorious. At length, after our long martyrdom, the day of redemption appeared to have arrived, and we trusted to the power of ideas as well as to that of events, and to the mild character of the times. We desired, above all things, to be Italians. This was a crime. We believed ourselves free ; this was an illusion. The day came when the prince abandoned us, and we were left without government : all attempts at conciliation failed ; messages and messengers from the Parliament and the Municipality were rejected ; the people awaited their time with patience, but the emigrated government no longer proffered a single word of liberty or of love ; it stigmatized three millions of men with the guilt of an individual, and when we deliberated on employing the only means which remained to us for constituting an authority which the prince had, in fact, abdicated, the priest pronounced a malediction upon us.

"It is well known that our Assembly had its origin in universal suffrage ; that Assembly, exercising of necessity an imprescriptible right, decreed the dethronement of theocracy forever, and proclaimed the Republic.

"No one opposed it. The only voice of complaint arose from the theocracy which we had overthrown. And yet it is to this voice that Europe is willing to listen, and seems to forget the story of our woes, and to confound what lies within the province of spiritual authority with that which is purely temporal.

"The Roman Republic has sanctioned the independence and the free exercise of the spiritual authority of the pope, and has thereby demonstrated to the Catholic world how profoundly deep is its conviction that the liberty of religious action should be inseparable from the supreme head of the Church. To maintain this liberty in

the fullest integrity, the Roman Republic adds to the moral guarantee afforded by the devotion of all our Catholic brethren, the material guarantee of all the force at its disposal. But Europe is not contented with this, and it is repeated that the existence of the temporal power of the pope is essential to Catholicism.

"For this reason we invite the Governments and Parliaments of France and England to consider what right can be alleged by any power to impose any form of government whatever on an independent nation, and where is the wisdom of attempting to restore a government by its very nature irreconcilable with liberty and civilization—a government long since morally abolished, and actually so, for upwards of five months, without any one among the clergy having attempted to set up again its fallen standard; or where is the wisdom of resuscitating a government universally detested, incapable of a long existence, and, on the contrary, certain to provoke continual conspiracies, disturbances, and revolutions.

"And if we assert that such a government cannot be identified and reconciled either with liberty or civilization, we have surely good grounds for such an assertion, since the experiment we have lately made of a constitution has proved how much the attempt to establish an affinity and combination between temporal and spiritual concerns has impeded its working and development. Here ecclesiastical canons nullified civil statutes: under the empire of theocracy, public education and instruction were the privilege and monopoly of the clergy—the ecclesiastical privilege of mortmain impeded the transmission of property. Ecclesiastics were exempted by privilege from appearing before the civil tribunals, while the laity were subject to the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical tribunals, all which constituted a condition of things so far removed from real liberty or civilization, that any free nation must prefer the alternative of waging ten wars to enduring a single one of them.

And how can Europe—so often thrown into commotion by the sacerdotal power which launched the thunders of the Church against her States—how can she expect three millions of men to submit at the present day to an authority which not only exercises its political right of temporal punishment against the offender, but even threatens damnation to his soul? Europe cannot reason herself into the belief that free institutions can be fitly carried out under a prince who can, under cover of his political power, turn the enormous authority of the priest to perplexing and disturbing consciences.

"We trust that England and France, so justly jealous of their own independence, will never willingly consent, that there should exist in the centre of Italy, a people neutral with respect to other nations, made serfs for the sake of the rest of the catholic world, excluded from the rights of nations, and made a mere apauage for the clergy. The Roman people claim to be masters of the Roman state. And if catholic nations may intervene in behalf of their religious affairs, surely they have no right to interfere with our political rights, or our social pact. However neutrality may be imposed upon a whole nation, it surely cannot be imposed on the central district of a country with regard to the rest, it being impossible for this centre to have by itself a national life, by the mere force of treaties or protocols.

"The representatives of the Roman people would consider it an insult to the political wisdom of the Governments and Parliaments of France and England, were they to doubt their acknowledging the importance of the rights and arguments herein slightly touched upon, no less than the advantage to Europe herself, who must ensure its own lasting tranquillity by securing the abolition of the government of the priesthood.

"Undoubtedly it can never be expected of us that we should not oppose the restoration with a bold, determined, and irrevocable will; nor can Europe impute to us the threatening catastrophe that may ensue, nor the inevitable injury that a violent and bloody restoration would occasion, even to the catholic authority of the papacy. We are convinced that England and France will lend us both aid and counsel in order to avert such evils, and to draw closer the bond of amity in which all free nations should now be united.

"For the National Assembly,

"G. GALLETTI, President

"G. Pennacchi, A. Fabbretti, A. Zanobianchi, G. Cocchi, Secretaries

"Rome, April 18, 1849."

THE
CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. II.

OCTOBER, 1849.

No. 3.

EARLY CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT.

- ART. I.—1. *The Life of Samuel Johnson, D. D., First President of King's [Columbia] College, N. Y., etc.* By Rev. T. B. CHANDLER, D. D. 18mo. pp. 208.
2. *History of the Church in Newtown, [Rev. D. Burhans']* Churchman's Magazine, Hartford, 1822.
3. *American Biography and Historical Dictionary.* By WILLIAM ALLEN, D. D., Pres. Bowdoin College. pp. 800, 8vo. 1832.
4. *Missions of the Church of England in N. A. Colonies.* By ERNEST HAWKINS, B. D. pp. 448, 8vo. 1845.
5. *A Friendly Expostulation, &c.* By [Rev.] J[OHN] B[EACH.] pp. 48, 8vo. [1763.]
6. *Early Churchmen of Connecticut.* By A. B. CHAPIN. pp. 28, 8vo. 1839.
7. *Sermons of the Early Clergy, MSS.*

IN the April number of the *Church Review* for 1848, when sketching a brief outline of *Colonial Church Missions of the Seventeenth Century*, within the limits of what are now the United States, we had occasion to speak of Rev. Dr. Johnson, and the influence he exerted upon the growth and character

of the Church in Connecticut. We propose now to consider, more at large, the nature and character of that influence, as seen in the lives and history of those Clergy who were brought into the Church by his means. It would afford us great pleasure to begin with Rev. Dr. Johnson himself, first in time, character, and influence, among the early Clergy of Connecticut; to detail some of the leading events of his history, and point out some of the obligations which Churchmen and others owe this venerable man. But we hope to see this better done than we should be able to do it, by the publication of an autobiography of the man, under the editorial supervision of one fully competent to the task, and who, we trust, will enrich it with many valuable and interesting notes. We shall merely say, in this place, therefore, that there is in the possession of a friend, a life of Dr. Johnson, written by himself, and which formed the basis of the biography known as *Chandler's Life of Johnson*. The autobiography was placed in the hands of Rev. Dr. Chandler, who re-wrote it, omitting many interesting particulars which he did not deem expedient to publish, and adding some others which the modesty of Dr. J. would not allow him to write. The work of Dr. Chandler was published under the supervision of his son-in-law, the Rt. Rev. Bishop Hobart, of New York, who does not seem to have been aware of its real origin. To this autobiography we hope to see appended such additional matter, by way of notes and illustrations, as we know to be in existence, and which shall serve to make us acquainted with the extent of our indebtedness to Rev. Dr. Johnson—an extent of which many of us seem not to have the slightest conception—which is not confined to mere matters of theological controversy, but includes also Biblical science and polite literature within a wide range.

JOHN BEACH,* the son of William Beach, was born at Stratford, A. D. 1700. He manifested an ardent desire for knowledge at a very early period, and especially for such knowledge as would throw additional light upon the Sacred Record, to which his attention was principally turned. For this purpose, geography and history were pursued to the extent of the means within his reach; and the habits of inquiry thus early formed, continued to influence him through life. The

* A Life of Mr. Beach was prepared for the press as early as 1810, and forwarded to Mr. Lazarus Beach, his grandson, then a printer at Washington. Returning from Washington, Mr. B. lost his trunk, containing the MSS. together with many valuable pamphlets illustrating the history of the times.

and example of a pious father sinking deep in his and producing in him a spirit of prayer and a love of religion unusual in one of his age, he cared little for the sports of youth and childhood; and leading a life of quiet and meditation, his enemies afterwards reproached him with what they were pleased to term "a monkish holiness." His father designed him for a tiller of the ground, but his father's wisdom, and his deep solicitude to be able to understand the Bible in its original tongues, induced him to study. Mr., afterwards Rev. Dr. Cutler, then the Congregational minister of Stratford, to advise, and his father to consent to his "going to college." He entered Yale College in 1721, and after "making uncommon proficiency in learning," graduated in 1721, under the Presidency of Rev. Dr. Cutler, who had then presided over the College for two years. Under the influence of his former pastor and others, Mr. Johnson was induced to study the Episcopal controversy, which had only commenced in the Colony the following year, by the announcement that Rev. Dr. Cutler, the President of the College, Mr. David Brown, a tutor in the same institution, and Mr. Johnson, the Congregational minister of West Haven, had declared for Episcopacy. This inquiry created many doubts in his mind concerning the validity of Presbyterian ordination, which becoming known, he was offered a salary of £60 per annum, and was invited to go to England for Orders. But he had doubts concerning Presbyterian ordination, he had doubts as to the lawfulness of conformity in the Church of England, and hence declined the offer. After this, he was unanimously called to the charge of the Congregational parish in Newtown, where he remained about five years, or until 1732, greatly respected and beloved. His acquaintance commenced with Dr. Johnson at New Haven, and was continued, and the various topics of difference between them were frequently discussed by these gentlemen in Newtown, where Dr. Johnson then preached once in three weeks. This seems to have excited some suspicion of Mr. Johnson's soundness, which was subsequently confirmed by his habitually using the Lord's Prayer in his public prayers.*

* force of prejudice" was never better illustrated than in the Puritan treatment of the Lord's Prayer. Mr. Beach says:—"I am sorry that our neighbors not only neglect this Divine Prayer, but take a great deal of pains to vilify it as no Prayer, and as not fit to be used by a Christian."—*Friendly Exposure*, p. 37. The same page asserts a fact that seems almost incredible. But compare with

When to this was added the alarming fact, that in examining the children of his parish in the Westminster Catechism, he omitted the question, *What are the Decrees of God?* he was looked upon as one far gone in those "ways and paths of error which lead towards the Church." Nor were their fears altogether without reason, for within a year from this time he announced to his people, from the pulpit, that after a serious and prayerful examination of Holy Writ and Primitive Antiquity, he was convinced of the invalidity of his ordination, and of the unscriptural mode of government practiced by the Congregationalists—that he was satisfied of the lawfulness and propriety of conforming to the Church of England, and that he could not continue longer to administer the ordinances of the Gospel with a safe conscience, without Episcopal Ordination. He also informed them that if it was their desire, he would procure ministerial services for them while he went to England, and upon his return would continue with them. The congregation at first seemed satisfied with this, but news of the affair getting abroad, the discontented ones were stirred up to call a council of Congregational ministers, who, when assembled, proceeded at once to dissolve the connection between Mr. Beach and his parish, and to forestall him by inducing the people to call another man in his room.

Mr. Beach immediately proceeded to England for Orders and on his return as a missionary of the venerable Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was stationed at Newtown and Reading, where he arrived in September, 1732. At the time Mr. Beach declared for the Church, there were but some half dozen families of Churchmen in the place; but six months after his return, he had the happiness to report forty-four communicants. An incident occurred about this time which served to increase the number of families attached to the Church. A member of his congregation, on his return from Church, lost his Prayer Book, which was picked up by a Congregationalist, who had never seen a book of the kind. It was read with considerable avidity, as a curiosity, until it was discovered to be designed for the use of the Church of England, when it was pronounced a *mass book*, containing

it the following expression of this "enlightened age." We quote from the *Quar. Chria. Spectator*, Vol. VIII, p. 257, where it is said, that "the Lord's Prayer is not strictly a *Christian* prayer. . . . Had *CHRIST* given a form of prayer after His resurrection, we doubt not it would have been essentially different." And more recently still, the language of a "Congregational Pastor" within the limits of our own town:—"This form does not meet the requirements of Scripture."—*Forms of Prayer*. New Haven, 1849.

many wicked and dangerous things. The circumstance becoming known, and a matter of general conversation, the owner was enabled to find his book, and the way was prepared for the ready distribution of some Prayer Books Mr. B. had brought with him from England. The addition of *eight families* to his flock, within a year, was the result of this apparently trifling incident. In 1734 they erected a Church, and in 1736 he reported one hundred and five communicants at Newtown and Reading. In 1751 the ordinary congregation, in each place, was between two and three hundred, and the communicants between ninety and one hundred; and in 1762 he was able to report that the Churchmen at Newtown had become more numerous than all the dissenters; and they have continued to be so most of the time to the present day.

Mr. Beach was eminently practical in all he said and did; far more disposed to labor faithfully and diligently in the direct duties of his profession, than to enter into discussion and controversy. Yet, in the midst of his laborious career, he was called to buckle on the armor of the militant soldier and do battle in defense of the Church, her doctrines and discipline. In 1736, the Rev. Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabethtown, N. J., published a sermon, entitled, *The Vanity of Human Institutions in the Worship of God*, in which it was asserted that the Church of England, Pharisee-like, taught for doctrines the commandments of men; that forms of prayer were not Apostolic; that the Book of Common Prayer was nothing but the Romish Mass Book re-modeled; that the Conformists to the Church in this country were dissenters, guilty of schism, rending not merely the government out the very body of CHRIST. The high standing and commanding talents of Mr. D., coupled with the confident assurance of his statements, rendered the sermon extremely popular, and copies of it were widely circulated. Mr. Beach found him in his own parish and among his own people—given him with the polite intimation that it was a work Mr. Beach could not answer. Under the circumstances, there seemed no alternative, and Mr. Beach immediately replied, in *A Vindication of the Worship of the Church of England*, published the same year. To this Mr. D. replied the next year, (1737,) and was again answered by Mr. Beach the same year. The controversy was ably conducted on both sides, and sustained by arguments similar to those with which we are now familiar. In one respect, however, the points in dispute have changed. It was then agreed on all hands, that separation from a Church

without lawful cause, was schism; and that schism was not to be regarded as a blessing, but to be looked upon as a heinous sin. The modern notion of men being at liberty to connect themselves with, or withdraw from, any Church, as fancy or interest may dictate, had not then been heard of. Both parties, also, agreed in the necessity of an uninterrupted succession in the ministry—one deriving it through the line of Presbyters, the other through the line of Bishops.

That Mr. Beach had the advantage of his opponent in this discussion may be fairly inferred from the fact, that Mr. Dickinson, in his answer to Mr. Beach, published the next year, (1738,) shifts his ground somewhat, and instead of making the direct charge of schism against Churchmen, is satisfied to maintain, *The Reasonableness of Non-conformity to the Church of England in point of worship*. At this time, Mr. B. published a sermon under the title of *The Duty of Loving our Enemies*, which, though not directly an answer, appears to have closed the controversy.

In 1745, Mr. Beach published a sermon *On the Freedom and Fullness of Salvation*, from Rom. vi, 23; to which Mr. Dickinson replied in 1747, in *A Vindication of God's sovereign free Grace*. Mr. Beach replied the same year, vindicating the doctrines of the sermon, to which Mr. D. replied the year following, (1748;) to which Mr. B. soon rejoined. The same year the Rev. Mr. Hobart, the Congregational minister of Fairfield, published *A serious Address to the Members of the Episcopal Separation in New England*, in which symptoms were manifested of a disposition to give up the doctrine of Apostolic succession. Mr. Beach replied to this early in 1749. About 1750, Rev. Mr. Dickinson of Norwalk renewed the discussion concerning *Decrees, etc.*, to which Mr. Beach replied in such a clear and convincing manner, developing the consequences involved in the Calvinistic doctrine of decrees, with such force and precision, that Mr. Dickinson confessed in his reply, "that if God's decrees do influence the event, I must acknowledge his [Mr. B.'s] consequences just, and his arguments from God's decrees unanswerable." Mr. Dickinson escaped this dilemma, however, by denying that the decrees of God do influence events; whereupon Mr. Beach affirmed, that the real ground in dispute was conceded; that a decree which did not render the event necessary, was no such decree as Calvinism taught, and that Mr. D. himself was approximating Arminian ground.

In 1760 he preached a sermon before the Clergy in attend-

ance upon a Convention held at New Haven, containing a vindication of the fundamental articles of the faith, afterwards published with a preface from the pen of Rev. Dr. Johnson. In 1765 he published an answer to a thesis proceeding from some one connected with Yale College, entitled, "Obedientia personalis non est necessaria ad Justificationem." His other publications, so far as known, were, 1758, *An Inquiry concerning the State of the Dead*, which, being misunderstood, was misrepresented, and which he therefore retracted publishing; though the doctrine itself seems to have been sound and orthodox. Mr. Beach also published three sermons at Boston, without date, with the title, *Discourses, Jansenistic and Practical*, on 2 Kings ii, 23, 24; Matth x, 16; and Luke xxi, 28. Also a sermon on the death of Rev. Dr. Johnson, in 1772. There is also one other publication of Mr. Beach, deserving notice. In 1762, an anonymous pamphlet was published, entitled, *Advantages of Conforming*, purporting to be *Letters* from a Clergyman of the Church, personating Rev. Mr. Beach,* to a young man, who is represented as of dissolute habits. For some time, Mr. B. refused to take any notice of the scandalous thing, but some persons relieving, or pretending to believe, that they were genuine letters, Mr. B., under the advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed *A Friendly Expostulation* to the authors and abettors of the work; which, considering the provocation, is written in a spirit of great moderation and calmness. The work, which was attributed to the pen of one or more Congregational ministers with whom Mr. B. had been engaged in controversy, represents the Church as a convenient rendezvous for gentlemen of other persuasions, who meet with difficulties in their doctrines, but especially in their discipline; intimating that the clergy of the Church were good livers, sparing neither punch nor Madeira, and that they were particularly attentive to the ladies. The writer then says: "I have dwelt the longer on these temporal advantages of the Church of England, because I think the hinge of the whole controversy turns upon them; since I have good grounds to believe that there are ten times as many converts made by them, as by all other arguments put together." It is hardly possible to conceive of such libellous practices in any Christian man, but especially in one

* We have seen a parallel to this in our day. In 1819 a scurrilous pamphlet was published at New Haven, without name or date, with the title—"A Serious Call to those who are without the pale of the Episcopal Church: By a consistent Churchman;"—which pamphlet was got up by three Congregational ministers, two of whom are now living and hold prominent places among their brethren.

who calls himself a Christian minister ; and it must be regarded as proof of a mastery over the spirit rarely attained, that Mr. Beach could bring himself to treat the authors with ordinary courtesy. He mildly meets the infamous charges—denies their truth ; boldly challenges inquiry into the minutest circumstances attending the conformity of the clergy ; defies the authors to make good any of their wholesale charges ; and finally inscribes his work to the Governor of the Colony, himself a Congregationalist, as a judge and arbiter between them. When we consider the time, place, occasion, and manner of this publication, it must be regarded as a triumphant vindication of the general purity of motive and Christian character of the Churchmen of those days.*

This was not the only annoyance experienced by Mr. Beach from the same quarter. Upon the publication of his sermon concerning the state of the departed, which has been already mentioned, they made garbled quotations from it, representing him as a heretic, to which accusations of immoral living were added, and the whole transmitted to the Society of which he was a Missionary. When these were received in London, copies of them were transmitted to Mr. Beach for his answer, when he was able to meet and reply to them to the satisfaction of his employers ; thus defeating and putting at naught the counsels of his enemies.

The asperity of feeling thus produced and kept active by this species of warfare, rendered Mr. Beach's situation peculiarly uncomfortable during the entire period of the Revolution. Believing that hostility to the Church was one of the chief causes of the civil dissensions and troubles in the Northern Colonies, he not only refused to participate in them, but resolutely continued to pray for the "King and Royal family," until the close of the war, being, it is supposed, the only clergyman in New England who did it. This caused him and his parishioners to be, to use his own language, "the butt of general hatred ;" and of necessity led to many annoyances, the particulars of which have not been preserved.

The amount of labor performed by Mr. Beach was immense. For nearly half a century he filled a cure extending twenty miles in length and twelve in width, besides performing service in numerous other places, on a great variety of occasions. At the end of forty years he had preached twice

* A copy of the *Advantages of Conformity, &c.*, was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who said of it : "It is written in a ludicrous manner, yet with strong virulence, and seems likely enough to do great mischief."

every Sunday, alternately at Reading and Newtown, having lost but two Sundays by sickness, notwithstanding he had been troubled with a rheumatic colic which had not allowed him a day's freedom from pain during the whole period. The distance between the Churches of Newtown and Reading, was between eight and nine miles, and the road not good; and yet winter and summer, snow and rain, were to him alike, neither cold, nor storm, nor unbroken paths ever preventing, in a single instance, his regular attendance at Church on Sunday. Once, in attempting to ford a deep and rapid river, he came near being drowned, and was rescued from a watery grave in a most providential manner, and often in his travels he was without the common comforts of life. But he bore all with cheerful resignation, rejoicing that he was permitted to follow the footsteps of his Divine Lord and Master,—to be made partaker of his sufferings, that he might hereafter partake of his glories. He departed this life on the 19th of March, 1782, in the 82d year of his age.

Among the Parishes which owe their existence to the labors of Mr. Beach, besides those under his immediate care, are those of New Milford and Roxbury, in Connecticut, where Parishes were organized by him, and where there are now flourishing Churches. The Parishes of Lanesborough in Massachusetts, and Arlington in Vermont, owed their existence mainly to emigration from the Parishes under the care of Mr. Beach. At New Milford, Churchmen were fined for non-attendance upon Congregational worship, which fines, under the advice of Mr. Beach, were paid, and copies of the proceedings taken to be forwarded to the Bishop of London, in order to be laid before the King and council. This fact becoming known, the authorities were glad to refund the money, and grant permission to build a Church, which before had been refused. All the other Parishes in the same vicinity were also under more or less obligation to Mr. Beach.

Of Mr. Beach's personal appearance we have no knowledge. That his scholarship was much above the common standard of educated men of his day, there is every reason to believe. His numerous publications show him to have been a man of clear head and sound mind, quick to perceive, and apt in developing the hidden tendencies of any premises, true or false; ready himself to abide all the consequences of his principles, and holding others strictly to the same course. Yet he was ever ready to distinguish between acknowledged principles and their logical consequences, when those consequences were disavowed. His style of writing was simple

and unadorned, yet nervous and generally convincing. His theological opinions were such as were common to the clergy of New England, and coincided, in the main, with the views of Barrow and Butler, Clarke and Cudworth, J. Scott and Secker, Sherlock and Stillingfleet, Leland and Lowth, Leslie and Lowman, Hall, Wilson and Whitby, Patrick and Pearson, and other kindred writers, which were the text-books and the examples of the early clergy of Connecticut. That men who followed such guides would be sound in the faith, is a necessary inference. Yet there have not been wanting men, both then and since, ready to charge the whole body of the clergy of that day, as being anti-evangelical, wanting all experimental knowledge of the deeper mysteries of the Gospel. And this charge, made first in the heat of party strife, and perpetuated by sectarian prejudice, has deceived some of our own members. It is due to the Church, and to the memory of the departed faithful, therefore, to set this matter in its true light.

That there was a wide difference between the theological sentiments of the early clergy of the Church and their opponents, is known to every one; but in what these differences consisted, is not so well understood. That those who were arrayed in theological hostility to our forefathers, accused them of being unevangelical, all are aware, but what were the grounds upon which those charges were based, few seem to understand. We must know, therefore, what were the points in dispute between the parties, and what were the consequences of the respective views upon the practical teaching, of both, before we are prepared to decide how far the allegations were even apparently well founded. Indeed, it is mainly by the fruits of the doctrines, as seen in their practical teaching, that we are to judge the truth or falsehood of the premises from which those consequences proceeded. But, unfortunately, on this most important point the public are almost entirely without any means of judging. The early Clergy of Connecticut were too much engrossed by the multitude of their labors to have leisure to pen or publish practical treatises on any subject, and were so much embarrassed by their position that they would not have been able to publish them, had they been written. The works they did publish, were such as the controversies of the day imperatively called for, and these being almost entirely confined to a few controverted points of doctrine and discipline, give us little insight into the character of their parochial teaching. But the good providence of God has put it into our power to

remove some of the obscurity resting upon this point. A volume of Manuscript Sermons, written by the early Clergy of Connecticut, and by them preached in their respective Parishes, collected at first as a matter of curiosity rather than for their historical interest and value, came into our possession several years since, in which are comprised Sermons by Rev. Drs. Johnson and Cutler, Rev. Mr. Beach, Andrews, Marshall, and Winslow, together with some, the writers of which are unknown. We should have been glad to give copious extracts from these, but our limits will not permit, to which we might add extracts from some publications of a polemical nature, made by the Rev. Dr. Leaming and Rev. Mr. Andrews, and by these we should be entirely willing to abide as to the Scriptural and evangelical character of the teaching in question. And the decision of this point decides the place which all the early Clergy of Connecticut should hold in our affections and reverence, for among the many Sermons, Letters, pamphlets, and publications made by these men, which have passed under our notice, we have discovered not a single trace of any diversity of sentiment among them, as regards either doctrine or practice. They held the unity of the faith, in the bond of peace, more strictly and thoroughly than any other set of men within our knowledge, since the primitive ages, and the result has already been seen upon our pages.

Man's utter helplessness without the assistance of God's SPIRIT, and his freedom therewith,—his inability to do any thing whereby to merit God's favor, and yet the necessity of obedience,—his justification by faith alone and the necessity of good works flowing from a true and living faith, are among the fundamental doctrines of the early Clergy. And they saw in these more than a mere spiritualism,—they saw them outwardly realized in the Church and the Sacraments, to depart from which, was to involve themselves in the heinous crime of schism. The circumstances of the times gave some doctrines a peculiar prominence, especially in their more public ministrations, and this fact was seized upon by their enemies, and turned into evidence of an undervaluation of other important doctrines, which more reckless opponents interpreted into a denial of them. We can now add no more than to say, that we know none among all the calumniators of the early Clergy of Connecticut, who, judged by the standards of the Church, would be more sound as Churchmen, or more evangelical in doctrine, than they.

Rev. TIMOTHY CUTLER, D. D., was born at Charlestown, Mass., A. D. 1683, and was graduated at Cambridge, 1701. He was ordained as a Congregational minister at Stratford, Conn., January 11, 1709, where he remained ten years, in high esteem, being the most celebrated preacher, and most liberal scholar in the colony. In 1719, he was elected President of Yale College, which was regarded as a most auspicious event. President Allen says, "he was a man of profound and general learning, particularly distinguished for his acquaintance with Oriental literature, and that he spoke Latin fluently;"—President Stiles, that "he had more knowledge of the Arabic than any man in New England before him, except President Chauncey, and his disciple Mr. Thatcher;"—and Rev. Dr. Miller, that "he was a man of strong natural powers and extensive acquirements, well acquainted with classical learning,—one of the best Oriental scholars ever educated in America, and well skilled in Logic, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, Theology, and Ecclesiastical History." These testimonies from men of different faith, leave no doubt of the extent and variety of his erudition, or of his great popularity.

For about thirty years Dr. Cutler labored earnestly and faithfully, scarcely losing a day by any illness whatever. But for the last eight or nine years of his life he suffered greatly. He died Aug. 17th, 1765, in the 82d year of his age. His manner was distinguished and lofty, but rather distant, nor was he skilled in the art of winning general popularity: yet, says Elliott, "people of every denomination looked upon him with a sort of veneration."

We cannot wonder, therefore, that when, in 1722, he announced to the corporation of the College that he was convinced of the invalidity of his ordination, and of the necessity there was laid upon him of withdrawing from the communion of the Congregationalists, and conforming to the Church of England, that it should have thrown the whole colony into commotion, and that every effort should have been made to induce him to retract his announcement. Especially, when we remember that the Rev. Mr. Johnson, another of the best preachers and scholars in the colony, made the same declaration, in which Mr. Brown, one of the tutors, and Rev. Mr. Wetmore, another Congregational minister, coincided, and that the Rev. Messrs. Hart, Elliott, and Whittlesey confessed themselves almost persuaded of the same fact,—when we remember all this, and consider the state of public feeling here at the time, we cannot be surprised at the harshness and

severity that was afterwards manifested towards them ; nor, that the magnificent donation of books, made by Berkeley to that Institution, similar to those which were supposed to have been the first cause of this defection, should be considered by Cotton Mather as "a sad accident to the College."* But we do not, and at this time, cannot understand nor appreciate the strength of motive that must have operated upon the minds of such men, to have induced them to forego all the temporal advantages they possessed,—which caused them to give up a certain competence, with honor and praise as much as man could ask, for an uncertain maintenance among a few despised, dispersed sheep in a wide wilderness, amid hatred, obloquy, and disgrace. The charge of worldly and mercenary motives which some of the most reckless of their opponents brought against them, has not a shadow of foundation ; and when it was said in the testimonials given them on going to England for Orders, that they were "men of unspotted characters and of the nicest virtue," who "pursuing the dictates of a good conscience, had forsaken their dearest interests and valuable settlements," nothing was said beyond the strictest truth.

Cutler, Johnson, and Brown sailed from Boston November 4th, and arrived in England December 15th, 1723. They underwent the usual examinations, and were ordained a short time after by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Green, Bishop of Norwich, acting on behalf of the Bishop of London—who lay at the point of death. Upon their return, Cutler was appointed to be charge of a new Church recently organized in Boston ; and consequently his subsequent history properly belongs to the Diocese of Massachusetts. We shall only add in this place, therefore, that in three years from his arrival in Boston, he had a Congregation of from seven to eight hundred, which subsequently became much larger. He died August 7, 1765, aged 82 years.

It is an honor in which the Church in Connecticut may well rejoice, that, under God, she was permitted to have three

* It is a curious fact not generally known, that two of the principal donors of Yale College were *Churchmen*. Elihu Yale, the chief donor, and after whom the College was named, was a Churchman, and gave what he did, not for the purpose of confirming the Colonists in their religious opinions, but because he deemed the light of intelligence essential to their recovery from error. Bishop Berkeley also gave about a thousand volumes of valuable books to this College, together with his farm in Rhode Island. Nor have these donations been unblessed, for of about one thousand and six hundred clergymen educated in this College, previous to 1845, over one hundred and sixty, or more than one tenth, have been or have become *Episcopals*.

such men for her founders, as Cutler, Johnson, and Beach; and it was owing in no small degree to the long and faithful lives of the two last, that her foundations were so deeply and securely laid. Men of sound and well stored minds, masters of all the learning of the age, of unceasing industry and toil, they were patterns to their flocks, and should be to the clergy of coming ages. Lest our language should be considered as the eulogy of partial friendship, we extract the following from President Allen's Biography of Rev. Dr. Johnson:—"He was happy in the calmness of his temper, which was seldom discomposed. Those who knew him, generally revered him. The same good disposition which made him amiable in private life, marked all his proceedings of a public nature, and may be discovered in his controversial writings. Benevolence was an auspicious trait in his character. He seldom suffered a day to pass without doing to others some good offices relating to their temporal or spiritual affairs. His conversation was enlivened by the natural cheerfulness of his disposition, yet in his freest discourse he retained a respect to his character as a Clergyman. His piety was unmingled with gloom or melancholy, and he contemplated with admiration and gratitude the wonderful plan of redemption disclosed in the gospel." He published, among other things, *A System of Morals*, 1746; *A Treatise on Logic*, and another on *Ethics*, reprinted together in 1872, *A Hebrew Grammar* in 1767, which evinced an accurate acquaintance with that language,—reprinted in 1771, with additions and improvements.*

The History of the Church in West Haven bears the following testimony to the character of the same man. "We cannot leave this part of our subject without lingering a few moments to contemplate the character of him, who is justly styled *the Father of Episcopacy in Connecticut*, and to admire and adore that overruling Providence, which has evidently guided and governed us from the beginning. Upon the character of the Rev. Dr. JOHNSON, no one can dwell but with satisfaction. As a man, as a scholar, as a Christian, and as a minister, it is deserving of high eulogy. His talent for learning was very considerable, and his mind clear and discriminating. He had read much, and thought more, and having the result of both his reading and reflection well systematized and arranged, he was unusually ready on all points of learning

* Bishop Lowth said of the first edition of this Grammar: "I have read it with much satisfaction, and, I think, in both parts, it is as clear and full as any thing I have met with in so small a compass."

ly to come up ; and for this reason possessed an advantage over almost every man he met. And when to this we add kindness, the affection, and the sincerity of his manner, accompanied as it was by a life that evinced the reality of his professions, it is not wonderful that he was able to lead the minds of such multitudes in subserviency to his own, or rather, we should say, it is no wonder that he should have been able to have infused so much of his own spirit into those around him. When we consider Dr. JOHNSON in every point of view, we cannot hesitate to pronounce him one of the master-spirits of the age, and if we may so speak, as a point on which, to a considerable extent, the character of the age was made to turn."

The picture we have here drawn of a few of the early clergy of Connecticut, is descriptive of all, and is true of all ;—proof of which we do ourselves and our readers the pleasure of copying the following tribute to their memory, from the pen of one who has taken much pains to inform himself on this point :

"They were men of God. They were men of prayer. They were devoted to their sacred calling. Each one taking charge of several different flocks, which were scattered, and far apart ; constantly occupied in riding to and fro ; preaching on the Lord's day, and preaching on the week day, visiting the sick, burying the dead, comforting the mourning, and ever making the business of their profession their sole business, they were men of missionary zeal and devotion. They were everywhere revered. They were everywhere beloved. . . . Their faults might be spoken against, but *themselves* never. Officially and personally they were without reproach ; and tradition, so fond of relating any incidents respecting them, which should excite a sigh to be heaved over human frailty, of them and their lives, triumphantly declares, that of whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, they were patterns.

"They were, also, men of *learning*. They were scholars. And though few of their number would now be called polite scholars, yet the acquirements of all were solid and exact.

. . . . They were living in the midst of learned men of other denomination, who were continually demanding of them reasons for their faith. In despite of themselves, they were compelled to be scholars, and scholars armed at all points. They were attacked from the pulpit, they were attacked from the press, they were attacked in private conversation ; and from the pulpit, from the press, and in private

conversation, they were obliged to give prompt and full replies. If a fondness for classic ease is sometimes to be imputed to the clergy, they at least are exempt from the charge. They were champions in full array, and they were champions who knew no rest. They were sentinels, and sentinels who knew no relief. Now they were attacked from this quarter, and now from that. Now they had to confront argument with argument, and now, authority with authority; and in order not to discredit their cause, but to acquit themselves like men, they were obliged to explore the inmost depths of sacred erudition.

"They were men of too stern a mould to heed consequences. Truth they had sought, truth they deemed they had found, and truth they were determined to follow at all hazards. They did declare openly, that they had been preaching without the proper authority. They gave up their places. In vain kindred wept; friends entreated; brethren now threatened, and now expostulated, and now deserted. In vain arose in vision the dangers of a long voyage over the deep. In vain appeared in certain reserve, a life of toil, self-denial, and poverty. In vain raged the war of pamphlets, and paragraphs, and of village calumnies. On they went in their noble career, with an almost martial bearing and tread, and with that inward majesty of soul, with which truth and principle always inspire their faithful votaries.

"Having finished the work which was given them to do, they are now taken to their reward. They are gone to that Saviour whom they served. They walk in light, with the goodly fellowship of the prophets, with the noble army of martyrs, and with the spirits of all just men made perfect. They are with that cloud of witnesses, brethren, who are marking our course; for the eyes of all in that invisible world are upon us."

We have already pursued these sketches so far, that we must omit further biographical notices until a future number. There are many other names equally deserving, which we hope to notice, and among them, none more so than that of Bishop Seabury, whose energy, learning, and zeal were instrumental, in a high degree, in preserving for the Church in this country those sound principles of doctrine and discipline, which Johnson, Beach, and Cutler were so successful in planting, and so faithful in defending. Nor do we intend to rest with the early Clergy of Connecticut, for, *Deo Volente*, we purpose to give sketches of the early Clergy of the Church in the country generally.

SMYTH AGAINST CONFIRMATION.

ART. II.—*The Romish and Prelatical Rite of Confirmation Examined: and Proved to be Contrary to the Scriptures, and the Practice of all the Earliest and Purest Churches, both Oriental and Western.* By THOMAS SMYTH, D. D., Author of "Lectures on the Apostolical Succession," "Presbytery and not Prelacy the Scriptural and Primitive Polity," &c. With an Appendix on the Duty of requiring a Public Profession of Religion. New York: Mark H. Newman, &c. 1845.

A PECULIAR feature of this little book has, no doubt, been its protection, so far, against a full and complete answer. A Romanist could not engage in such an undertaking, without entirely throwing himself into the Roman system. The author, with his usual artfulness, so intimately associates the "Romish and Prelatical Rite of Confirmation," that his reader, unless previously instructed in the doctrine of the Church, would conclude, that all ground for the observance of the rite was quite swept away.

Such being the character of the work before us, it is plain that the only form our review of it can assume, must be that of an exposure. This done, the work will, with all candid minds, lose or fail to win any confidence; and thus be more effectually disposed of, than by an elaborate reply. We shall proceed, then, to show that the author has dishonestly stated the Church's view and estimate of Confirmation, with the design of imposing on uninformed readers; that he represents Confirmation as a *Sacrament*; combats it as such, and endeavors to make it appear from our own writers, that it is but little esteemed by some of them; and, thus, by depreciating the rite, he hopes to destroy its authority and obligation in inquiring and obediently-disposed minds.

Soon after the appearance of the work, having noticed, on the back of the title page, a glaring fraud in a partial quotation from Burnet on the Articles, we exposed it in the *Banner of the Cross*, Vol. VIII, p. 302. In the present fuller notice, it is proper to set forth the same thing. The passage from Burnet occurs again in the body of the work, and is quoted in full; but after the mind has become prepossessed with the idea

suggested by the first and most conspicuous introduction of it. And even where it is fairly cited in regard to the words, the same attempt at misrepresentation is manifest. It will not be necessary to comment on the place where it occurs the second time. To avoid all appearance of unfairness, we refer the reader to the passage, (p. 100,) where he may judge for himself whether the *labor* at misrepresentation does not obviously arise from the author's having to encounter the very clause which he had omitted when giving the passage without remarks. In connection with two extracts from Archbishop Whately, he quotes Burnet thus:—"The invention that was afterwards found out, by which the Bishop was held to be the only minister of Confirmation, was a piece of superstition, without any color from Scripture."—Bishop Burnet on the XXXIX Art., p. 354.

In our copy of Burnet, (London, M,DCC,LIX,) we find the passage on page 337, under Art. XXV. The entire sentence reads thus: "The invention that was afterwards found out, by which the bishop was held to be the only minister of *Confirmation*, [even though Presbyters were suffered to *Confirm*,] was a piece of superstition, without any color from Scripture." The clause in brackets, it will be observed, is omitted by Dr. Smyth. Now, some allowance might have been made for this, and some mitigation of our judgment on his misrepresentation of the Bishop, had not the whole tenor of the Bishop's remarks on this 25th Article been infinitely clearer than the one sentence in hand. But the omission betrays some fear on the part of the Doctor. He saw very evidently that if he should allow its place to the clause, "*Presbyters were suffered to Confirm*," his readers would discover that confirmation did not appertain to the office of Presbyter, but that only under certain circumstances the Presbyter was *suffered* to confirm. In order to judge of Burnet's sentiments in regard to such an allowance to Presbyters, we must quote him at some length:—

"In the *Latin Church*, *Jerome* tells us that in his time the Bishop only confirmed; and though he makes the reason of this to be rather for doing an honor to them, than from any necessity of the Law, yet he positively says the Bishops went round praying for the Holy Ghost on those whom they confirmed. It is said by *Hilary*, that in *Egypt* the Presbyters did confirm in the Bishop's absence: so that custom joined with the distinction between the consecration and the applying of the *Chrism*, grew to be the universal practice of the *Greek Church*. The greatness of *Dioceses*, with the increasing numbers of the Christians, made that both in *France* and the Councils of *Orange*; and in *Spain* and the Council of *Toledo*, the same rule was laid down that the *Greeks* had begun. In *Spain*, some Priests did consecrate the *Chrism*, but that was severely forbid in one of the Councils of *Toledo*. Yet at *Rome* the ancient custom was observed, of appropriating the whole business of *Con-*

firmation to the Bishop, even in Gregory the Great's time ; therefore he reproved the Clergy of *Sardinia*, because among them the Priests did confirm, and he appointed it to be reserved to the Bishop ; but when he understood that some of them were offended at this, he writ to the Bishop of *Carali*, that though his former order was made according to the ancient practice of the Church of *Rome*, yet he consented that for the future the Priests might confirm in the Bishop's absence. But Pope *Nicholas*, in the ninth century, pressed this with more rigor. For the *Bulgarians* being then converted to the Christian religion, and their Priests having both baptized and confirmed the new converts, Pope *Nicholas* sent Bishops among them with orders to confirm even those who had already been confirmed by Priests. Upon which, the contest being then on foot between *Rome* and *Constantinople*, *Photius* got it to be decreed in a Synod at *Constantinople*, That the *Chrism* being hallowed by a Bishop, it might be administered by Presbyters ; and *Photius* affirmed that a Presbyter might do this, as well as baptize, or offer at the Altar. But Pope *Nicholas*, with the confidence that was often assumed by that See upon as bad grounds, did affirm that this had never been allowed of. And upon this many of the *Latins* did, in the progress of their disputes with the *Greeks*, say that they had no Confirmation."—(pp. 337, 338.)

From this language of Burnet, it is beyond any dispute, that however the practice may have varied at different times, he considered the ancient custom to have confined confirmation to the Bishop ; for example—"At *Rome* the ancient custom was observed, of appropriating the whole business of confirmation to the Bishop." The fact is too clear, then, to be obscured by Dr. Smyth's artifice, that the author, whom he so shamefully misrepresents, held confirmation to be an ancient rite. But we shall now further show that Burnet esteemed it to be of Apostolic origin. On page 335, he says :—"We must consider in what respect our Church receives Confirmation." "We find that after *Philip*, the Deacon and Evangelist, had converted and baptized some in *Samaria*, *Peter* and *John* were sent thither by the Apostles, who laid their hands on as many as were baptized, and prayed that they might receive the Holy Ghost ; upon which it is said, that they received the Holy Ghost."—(Acts viii, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17.) And subsequently in this connexion, the Bishop adds,—“So, from these warrants, we find in the earliest writings of Christianity, mention of a confirmation after baptism, which, for the greater solemnity and awe of the action, and from the precedent of St. Peter and St. John, was reserved to the Bishop, to be done only by him.”

Now it is true, that the question might still be asked, how we would explain the passage quoted by Dr. S., and reconcile it with such as we have quoted. And we admit that the writer must be kept consistent with himself, or both of the conflicting passages be dropped as worthless. The latter alternative is all we need to urge, for the defeat of our author in this particular instance. But we shall examine the Bishop further in this place, both because he will thus appear free from con-

tradition, and will be found treating confirmation, not as Dr. S. represents it, as a Sacrament, but as one of the religious rites of the Church. What he says is found under the Article on two Sacraments, (Baptism and the Lord's Supper.) He is there opposing the so called Sacraments of the Roman Church, and maintaining the only two specified in the 25th Article. What he alludes to, then, as the "Invention that was afterwards found out," was the introduction of oil into use at Confirmations, which he says (p. 336) the Church of Rome supplied so as to have the *matter* that is considered essential to a Sacrament. This oil, or chrism, he calls the invention that was a piece of superstition. True, he says, "the invention that was afterwards found out, by which the Bishop was held to be the only Minister of Confirmation," &c. This, however, is very different from saying, the invention, that the Bishop was the only Minister, &c. He clearly shows, that the *primitive* custom confined the administration to the Bishop—that afterwards the practice varied. But, as the principle involved in the ancient usage was not to be violated, those who introduced the variation felt the necessity of some such device as would still preserve the ancient principle of confining the power to the Bishop, while yet Presbyters might be *suffered* to administer the rite. The *invention* then by which Bishops should be regarded as the only Ministers, though Presbyters were suffered to confirm, was the introduction of oil, which the Bishop alone could consecrate, but the Presbyter might apply. The power was thus, in one sense, confined to the Bishop, while, in the opinion of the inventors, the Presbyter might administer confirmation. Burnet says finally, "Presbyters thus confirming, was thought like Deacons giving the Sacrament, though Priests only might consecrate the Eucharist," (p. 337.)

Once, in the course of our author's work, we observe an expression of candor. It is in a case where the truth would certainly disclose itself, even though he had endeavored to conceal it. We refer to page 13, where he professes to be *just* "entering upon an examination" of his subject. The result of his labor fully confirms what this declaration induces us to expect—the essay of a novice.

He frets against confirmation because, "if," says he, "the doctrine of confirmation, as held either by Romanists or Prelatists, be correct, then is our baptism vain, our Christianity imperfect, and we are still unregenerate, alienated from God, strangers from the commonwealth of Israel," (p. 14.) But, after all, he does not better his cause or condition. For

any thing established against confirmation, can never affect one way or the other, the validity of what he calls his baptism. It is valid or invalid, without reference to confirmation. It might be a much more profitable task to him, to search into the Scriptures for the authority of his baptism, than to be concerned for the temporal authority of that in which he claims no share.

But it is time to come to his statement of the doctrine, which he intends to demolish. On page 14 he says, "confirmation consists in the imposition of hands, with prayer and other ceremonies, for the full admission of baptized persons into the Church, and their participation of that further grace which it is necessary to convey." For the present, let us test the correctness of this definition by the Prayer Book. At the time of confirmation, the Bishop says to those who are to be then confirmed, "Do ye here, in the presence of God, and of this congregation, renew the solemn promise and vow that ye made, or that was made in your name, at your baptism; ratifying and confirming the same, and acknowledging yourselves bound to believe and do all those things which ye then undertook, or your sponsors then undertook for you?" To which the answer is, "I do." After a few versicles, follows a prayer that God, who has vouchsafed to regenerate his servants by water and the Holy Ghost, and given them forgiveness of all their sins, would strengthen them with the Holy Ghost, the Comforter; and daily increase in them his manifold gifts of grace; the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength, the spirit of knowledge and true godliness; and fill them with the spirit of his holy fear. Then while the Bishop lays his hands on every one severally, he says: "Defend, O Lord, his thy child, [*or this thy servant,*] with thy heavenly grace; that he may continue thine forever, and daily increase in thy Holy Spirit more and more, until he come into thy everlasting kingdom. *Amen.*" In another collect in the order of confirmation, occurs the petition, "We make our humble supplications unto thee for these thy servants, upon whom, after the example of thy holy Apostles, we have now laid our hands; to certify them, by this sign, of thy favor and gracious goodness towards them. Let thy Fatherly hand, we beseech thee, ever be over them: let thy Holy Spirit ever be with them: and so lead them in the knowledge and obedience of thy word, that in the end they may obtain everlasting life, through our Lord Jesus Christ; who, with

thee and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth ever one God, world without end. *Amen.*"

These are the principal portions of the service at confirmation. Let any one examine them carefully, with all the service, as found in the Book of Common Prayer, and he will feel but a slight obligation of belief in our author's declaration, that "confirmation consists in the imposition of hands, with prayer and other ceremonies for the full admission of baptized persons into the Church." But the incorrectness of this statement will more fully appear, on a comparison of the form of confirming, with the form of baptizing. After what we have given as specimens of the former, it remains only to extract a few sentences from the latter. In the very first prayer, whether at infant or adult baptism, we find the petition, that the persons to be baptized may be delivered from wrath, and "received into Christ's Church:" and in another prayer, that they "may receive the fulness of" God's "grace, and ever remain in the number of" his "faithful children, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*" Directly after the administration of the water, the persons are received "into the congregation of Christ's Flock." And, after this reception, the minister says, "Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that these persons are regenerate, and grafted into the body of Christ's Church, let us give thanks," &c.

After all this, said at the baptism of those who are admitted into the Church, can the audacity be easily surpassed, that affirms confirmation to consist in "prayer and other ceremonies, for the full admission of baptized persons into the Church?"

On pages 17, 18, our author says, imposition of hands was

"Used under the New Testament economy by our Saviour in communicating his divine blessing and healing the sick, (Matt. xix, 13, Mark v, 23, Matt. ix, 18;) and by his Apostles, first in healing the sick, (Acts ix, 12, 17, and xxviii, 8;) secondly, in imparting the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit, (Acts viii, 19, and xii, 6, 2 Tim. i, 6;) and finally in inaugurating Deacons or Presbyters into office, (1 Tim. v, 22, Acts vi, 6, and xiii, 2, 3.)"

Then on page 22,

"These, then, are the only purposes for which imposition of hands was used under Apostolic direction, and as no one can now, with a *same* mind, pretend to have the power of 'healing all manner of diseases,' and conferring all manner of miraculous and supernatural gifts, (such as speaking with divers tongues, prophesying, &c.) the only service in which we can find any scriptural authority for employing the ceremony of imposition of hands now is in the ordination of Presbyters or Bishops, officers which the New Testament everywhere identifies in name, in office, and in authority."

So Dr. Smyth is among the number of those who maintain that confirmation is not to be retained, because miracu-

lous signs do not follow it. But, most unfortunately for the Doctor, he says that imposition of hands is now to be employed *in ordination*. Has he forgotten that he has referred, only five pages above, (p. 18,) to the inauguration of presbyters or deacons into office, and given as one of his references, Acts vi, 6? But, on referring to it, lo, we find Stephen, on whom hands had been laid to make him a deacon, possessed of this very miraculous power. The narrative says of Stephen and others: "Whom they set before the Apostles; and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them. And the word of God increased; and the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly, and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith. And Stephen, full of faith and power, did great wonders and miracles among the people." (Acts vi, 6-8.) Here is a case of inauguration into office, furnished by the Doctor himself, and yet the imposition of hands was followed by "great wonders and miracles." What is left the Doctor now, but to oppose the laying on of hands in ordination too? And as it regards the other reference, (Acts xiii, 2, 3,) though we have evidence that it was no ordination, yet, as he esteems it such, he must abide by his own judgment, and suffer for his own indiscretion in adducing it. The verses he refers to, record the imposition of hands on Barnabas and Saul. He considers it an ordination. Well, be it so; it will suit our purpose quite as well as his: for in the following verses (8, &c.) we find Saul miraculously depriving Elymas of sight. Surely, our author was dreaming, when he employed such authorities. However, he can escape yet, by only contracting a little more, and denying that imposition of hands should accompany ordination. But we must press him a little further, and compel him to give up baptism also. This is a plain case. Nowhere can he once find it said in the Bible, that these miraculous gifts *should* follow the imposition of hands. True, we find that they did; but, so far from its being invariably the case, the Apostle implies that it was not, when he asks, "are all workers of miracles?" (1 Cor. xii, 29.) While then there is no declaration, that the imposition of hands should be accompanied by miraculous gifts, our Saviour did most plainly connect miraculous powers with belief, and belief with baptism, when he said to his Apostles, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned. And these signs *shall follow them that believe*: In *my name* they shall cast out devils; they shall speak with new

tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover." (Mark xvi, 15-18.) From our author's book we learn that he has charge of a congregation, and he tells us in a note on page 14, that he has a regular season for the administration of baptism. Will he excuse our inquiring, what is his procedure in the case of persons whom, on profession of their faith, he baptizes, if they fail to furnish the signs of belief? Suppose there should be some who can neither cast out devils, nor speak with new tongues, nor take up serpents, nor drink deadly draughts with impunity, nor, lastly, *recover the sick by the imposition of hands*, are they all to be viewed as so many impostors? Most undoubtedly, if the author's rule is a good one, we have to conclude that faith has fled from the earth; for those signs were to follow such as believed. We leave it to the Doctor himself to decide, if they are not more inseparably connected with faith, than with the laying on of hands.

On page 25, he shows, without disguise, his determination to represent, as one and the same, what he calls the "Romish and prelatical rite of confirmation." After quoting from the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, to show the Roman dogma, he says, "As it regards the prelatic Church, she concurs with her Romish mother in asserting the necessity of this ordinance; in limiting its administration to the bishop; and in excommunicating all who will dare to question its truth or power," (p. 25.) He does not profess to have patched this up with shreds derived from various sources, but gives his reference directly to Constitutions and Canons. And here we will test again his approximation to the truth. The Canon reads, "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England by law established are wicked, anti-Christian, or superstitious, or such as, being commanded by lawful authority, men who are zealously and godly affected may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored till he repent and publicly revoke such his wicked errors." (Eng. Con. and Canons Ecc. VI.) Where, we would ask, do we find in this language a warrant for saying that the prelatic Church "concurr[s] with her Romish mother in asserting the necessity of this ordinance; in limiting its administration to the Bishop; and in excommunicating all who will dare to question its truth or power? How could a man of conscience use the expression, "*concurr[s] with her Romish*

mother," when he was referring to the Canon just quoted, and giving the Canon of Trent in these words: "whoever shall affirm that the confirmation of the baptized is a trifling ceremony, and not a true and proper sacrament; or that formerly it was nothing more than a kind of catechizing," &c.: "let him be accursed?" This Canon of the Roman Church he quotes at length, and then instead of treating in a similar manner the Canon of the English Church, he draws his inference, which he forces upon his reader. Had the English Canon been furnished in conjunction with the Roman, the reader would have perceived at once that while the latter considers it an offence worthy of anathema, to deny that confirmation is a *sacrament*, the former does not even name it in particular, but only includes it in the general term "*rites and ceremonies*." But the question may be raised, does not the *Prayer Book* contain something that warrants the author's statement as to the sacramental character of confirmation? The catechism, the earliest instruction given to members of the Church—to children before confirmation—asks: "How many sacraments hath Christ ordained in his Church?" To which the answer is, "Two only, as generally necessary to salvation; that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord." The article on the Sacraments (xxv) says, "There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Those five commonly called sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, *are not to be counted* for Sacraments of the gospel."

Thus plainly rejected is the Roman dogma, which would make confirmation a sacrament. We might quote the Homilies also, as according with the above extracts from the *Prayer Book*. The Homily on Common Prayer and Sacraments, we shall quote freely, as not only confirming the correctness of our statements, but as giving some insight into the differences which the Church constantly and clearly recognizes between sacraments and rites.

Speaking of Ordination, the expression is,

"Therefore neither it, nor any other sacrament else, be such sacraments as baptism and the communion are. But in a general acceptation, the name of a sacrament may be attributed to any thing, whereby an holy thing is signified. In which understanding of the word, the ancient writers have given this name, not only to the other five, commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven sacraments; but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet, and such like; not meaning thereby to repute them as sacraments, in the same signification that the forenamed sacraments are. And therefore St. Augustine, weighing the true signification and exact meaning of the word, writing of *Januarine*, and also in the third book of *Christian Doctrine*, affirmeth, that the

sacraments of the Christians, as they are most excellent in signification, so are they most few in number; and in both places maketh mention expressly of two, the sacrament of baptism and the Supper of the Lord. And although there are retained by the order of the Church of England, besides these two, certain other rites and ceremonies about the institution of ministers in the Church, matrimony, confirmation of children, by examining them of their knowledge in the articles of the faith, and joining thereto the prayers of the Church for them, and likewise for the visitation of the sick; yet no man ought to take these for sacraments, in such signification and meaning as the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper are: but either for godly states of life, necessary in Christ's Church, and therefore worthy to be set forth by public action and solemnity, by the ministry of the Church, or else judged to be such ordinances as may make for the instruction, comfort, and edification of Christ's Church." (Homilies, pages 316, 317, Ed. George and Wayne, Phil. 1844)

Our author, anticipating, perhaps, how easily his unfair treatment of our standards might be exposed, calculates, in all probability, to adduce the opinions of individuals, as specimens of the doctrines of the Church. We see flourishing here and there in his book, the term "Oxford Tracts." No doubt he hoped to find something in them to his purpose. We must suppose him to have been disappointed. His reference on page 26, note, to Tract xliii, 12-14, has nothing on the subject in hand. It is either a misprint, or our editions do not correspond. Dr. Pusey, who certainly will not be suspected of under-estimating the rite, gives us the following views in his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford. It is found at the end of the second volume of the "Tracts for the Times." "On the Sacraments," he says, "two sets of charges are brought; one, that we unduly exalt the Sacraments of our Lord; the other, that we are not disinclined to ascribe a sacramental character to other rites, which the Church of Rome has defined to be Sacraments in the same sense as Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. And these two charges have naturally gone together; for in the school of Calvin and Zuingli, the two great sacraments have been so lowered, that they who have learned therein, would speak of them in language scarcely so high as we should of rites, which are not 'Sacraments of the Gospel.' We must then to them appear both to ascribe to these rites the character of Sacraments, as they conceive of Sacraments, and to exalt the true Sacraments to something higher." (p. 65.)

In referring then to the Prayer Book, the Homilies, and to a high Oxford writer, so far from agreeing with the statement of our author, that the prelatie Church "concurs with her Romish mother," would not any honest reader exclaim, that the Roman Church anathematizes the Church of England, nay, Dr. Pusey himself, for holding views of confirmation so different from her own? The identity of doctrines of

the English and American Churches, exposes the latter to the same sentence ; and yet Dr. Smyth affirms, with what honesty the reader may judge, that she concurs with the Church of Rome. A strange *agreement* this, that incurs the anathema pronounced on account of *disagreement*.

We might here stop, as having fully shown the character of Dr. Smyth's book. But we have just arrived at a point in our argument where we must take advantage of what has already been said. It will appear that our author had a noble design in the misrepresentation of his subject. He wished to define confirmation as something which he could prove to be both unscriptural and unprimitive. Even that as a useless work. For long before his day, Hooker, and Burnet, and Wheatly, and a host of other Church writers, showed that as a *sacrament*, it had no origin with the Apostles, and no support from the Fathers. But Dr. Smyth had a object in view. He wished to wrest away the argument derived from Calvin's testimony, and even to make it appear that he had been unfairly employed. The writers of our Church, who have quoted Calvin as bearing testimony to the antiquity and apostolicity of confirmation, have meant, as most obviously they would mean, that he favored it as practiced in this Church. No one pretends that he anticipated such use of his opinions on the one hand, or such a necessity for them on the other. But it is evident that in opposing the Roman dogma of seven sacraments, and arguing against confirmation as one of them, he expresses the fullest conviction of the practice of antiquity, which corresponds to confirmation, as now viewed and administered by the Church. His own words show also, that he did not attempt to prove that in his system there was any thing corresponding to the ancient rite. In our quotations from him, we refer to the ninth volume of his works, published in Latin, at Amsterdam, by John Jacob Chipper, M,DC,LXVII, folio, containing his "Institutes : " and the seventh volume of his Commentary on the New Testament, published in Latin, at Berlin, by Gustavus Niehler, M,DCCC,XXXIV, containing the commentary on Hebrews.

"This," says he, " was formerly the custom, that the children of Christians, after they had grown up, were placed in the presence of the Bishop, that they might perform the office which was exacted of those who, as adults, offered themselves for baptism. For these sat among the catechumens until, having been duly instructed the mysteries of the faith, they could make the confession of their faith before the Bishop and the people. Those, therefore, who as infants had been initiated by baptism, since they did not then make a confession of faith at the Church, were then presented by their parents, towards the close of childhood or beginning of adolescence, were examined by the Bishop according to a form of catechism, which

was then certain and common. But that this action, which even otherwise deserved to be esteemed solemn and sacred, might have still more reverence and dignity, the ceremony of imposition of hands was also employed. Thus the boy, his faith being approved, was dismissed with a solemn benediction. The ancients frequently mention this custom."—(*Inst. Lib. IV, ch. xix, 4, De Confirmatione.*)

Calvin then quotes what Pope Leo said in regard to laying hands on returning heretics; and says, that his adversaries (meaning the Romanists) would call that a *sacrament*, in which the Holy Ghost was given. To which he replies, by another quotation from Leo, which he considers satisfactory. In reference to Jerome, he says, he conceives that he was somewhat deluded in supposing the observance to have been apostolical. In regard to this judgment concerning the opinion of Jerome, we can only say, that we shall find, in the Commentary to be quoted presently, a very different expression; which shows either great inconsistency in this learned reformer, or that in his work of reformation he had reformed his own sentiments. And here let it be noted, that the Commentary was written thirteen years after the Institutes; the Epistle dedicatory of the one being dated 1536, that of the other, 1549.

But we are not quite ready to lay by the Institutes. An expression occurs at the close of the paragraph already quoted, to this effect: "Therefore, such an imposition of hands as may be esteemed simply as a benediction, I commend, and wish it were restored in our day to its pure use." That this was no reflection on the confirmation now administered in the Church of England or America, but was aimed directly against the Roman mode of administering it, needs no other proof than the fact, that Calvin thus expressed himself twelve years before the reformation of this rite in the Church of England. While then it is impossible that he could have had that in view, it is beyond a doubt, that he must have been lamenting the then present condition of all the advocates of the Reformation. All were then destitute of that mode of administration that he wished to see restored, (*restitutam*.) It is plain that he is opposed only to raising this rite to the dignity of a sacrament. The chapter in which we have been examining him, is that "*De quinque falso nominatis Sacramentis*."—(Concerning the five falsely called Sacraments.) He says, moreover, "The ancients speak of imposition of hands, but do they call it a Sacrament?"—(*Ibid, 12.*)

It is mortifying, but still somewhat amusing, to observe our author's ingenuity. As it is a well known fact, that Presbyterians have no established substitute for that imposition of hands, which the Genevan reformer approved, the author

could not furnish anything to remedy the defect. The attempt made in his Appendix, so far from accomplishing this, is but a further acknowledgment of the imperfection—no remedy. But by a little dexterity, he handles Calvin's words so as to make it appear that the denomination to which he belongs acts upon them as acknowledged authority. "They believe, however," to use the words of Calvin, "in the propriety of 'the custom, which was practised among the ancients, before this abortive image of a sacrament made its appearance,'" &c., quoting to the end of the paragraph 13. (p. 29.) It really affords entertainment, to witness this display of ingenuity. The *belief* of Presbyterians he must be careful so to express, as not to betray how different it is from their *practice*. But he would have failed in this, had he said, '*We wish that we had retained the custom of the ancients, before this abortive image of a sacrament made its appearance.*' The utterance of such a wish, would have betokened the absence of the object desired. But it would have been the very sentiment of Calvin, expressed in the word "*Utinam.*" "*Utinam,*" says he, "*vero morem retineremus quem apud veteres fuisse admonui,*" &c. 'O, that we had retained the custom which I have made known to have existed among the ancients,' &c.

As we have already remarked, such were the expressions of Calvin, twelve years before the Church of England had restored the rite of Confirmation to the ancient simplicity which he longed for. And in them all, the least favorable clause is that which declares his opinion that Jerome was mistaken in giving to Confirmation an Apostolic origin. But even this seems to be annulled by his later production, the Commentary on Hebrews. That appeared thirteen years after the other work; and consequently, just about the time the First Book of Edward VI was ratified by Parliament. Let us see what Calvin says on that verse in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which speaks of laying on of hands. (Heb. vi, 2.)

"He [the Apostle] joins imposition of hands with baptism because, as there were two orders of catechumens, so the ceremony was twofold. For those who were without, did not come to baptism before the profession of their faith was declared. In them, therefore, catechizing used to precede baptism. But children of the faithful, since they were adopted from the birth, and by right of the promise belonged to the body of the Church, were baptized as infants. But their infancy being passed after they had been introduced into the faith, they offered themselves also for catechizing, which in their case was subsequent to baptism. But another rite was then applied, viz, the imposition of hands. This one place abundantly testifies that the origin of this ceremony flowed from the Apostles: which, however, was afterwards changed into a superstition, as the world commonly degenerates from the best institutions to corruptions."—(*In. Ep. ad Heb.*, cap. VI, 2.)

In the face of all this, our author has the bold effrontery to say of Calvin, on page 41, note, "Yet this is the man who is paraded as an authority in proof of the truth and propriety of confirmation, by all the prelatical writers on the subject." "We shall see more of his sentiments in a moment." That "moment" never came. Nay, though a separate section was devoted to the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, Calvin is not permitted to speak; nor is his name found among the dozen and more references given on p. 69—a very plain intimation how the Doctor understood the later language of this reformer. It must not be supposed, however, that every reference given is of the character in which it is adduced. As it regards the "*Suiceri Thesaurus*," where our author says, see "under the word," he must be informed that the word *ἐπίθεσις* nowhere occurs. In the place he refers to, we find the words to be *χειροτονία* and *χειροθεσία*; and under them, not the least favor is found. Bloomfield also is enlisted, merely because our author could paraphrase him to his purpose. He represents him as not believing that the place had reference to confirmation. He says:—"Bloomfield, in his *Greek Test. and Crit. Digest*, vol. VIII, p. 443, ascribes to the best commentators, ancient and modern, the opinion that it refers to the symbol then used of the spiritual gifts vouchsafed to many, and of whose nature they should be informed, and as this accompanied, in his opinion, baptism, it could not of course refer to confirmation," (p. 69, note.) Now supposing that Bloomfield had actually used such language, as that it *accompanied* baptism, why, then the inference would not be warranted, that he did not believe it to refer to confirmation. For Dr. S. seems to be acquainted with Wheatly on the Common Prayer—he quotes him largely, saying in one place—"Wheatly, the standard expositor of the Book of Common Prayer, may, I presume, be taken as a fair propounder of the true prelatical belief concerning confirmation," (p. 25.) But Wheatly did not consider the fact of imposition of hands *accompanying* the baptism, at all opposed to its being confirmation. So far from it, he uses, as one of the Scripture examples of it, the occurrence at Ephesus, where the one followed immediately on the other, (Acts xix, 5, 6, *quoted by Wheatly*, p. 388.) Is the Doctor ignorant, too, that this was a very general practice, and that in some Churches confirmation was part of the sacrament of baptism? Even then, if Bloomfield had said, as he is represented to have thought, that imposition of hands accompanied baptism, we could not infer that he did not interpret the passage in question of confirmation. But let us

near him for himself. "—— ἐκείνους χερσίν. Here we have a separate head of doctrine, though closely connected with the last; and (as the best Expositors are agreed) there is a reference to the *laying on of hands*, [his own italics,] by which, in that age, baptism was followed."—(*Gr. Test. in loco.*)

Stuart on Hebrews, is another of the references. But we cannot see how he serves our author's end, who affirms in the very place on which the reference is given, (p. 69,) that the rite refers to *ordination*. We cannot see how Stuart serves him, when he so expressly says, "It is a very palpable mistake to suppose, that imposition of hands was practised only in the case of ordaining persons to the holy ministry," &c.—(*On Heb. in loco.*)

We must also, in passing, correct the Doctor's version of Calvin in one more place. A word is sometimes very significant. On p. 14, he quotes Calvin thus:—"Are Bishops the only Apostles? or are they Apostles at all?" Whereas, Calvin himself says, "An soli Episcopi Apostoli? imo an omnino Apostoli?"—(*Inst. Lib. IV, ch. xix, 10.*) Which surely does not question their being in some sense Apostles; he does not cast a doubt over what in other places he shows his belief in. His meaning, then, as rightly translated, is—"Are Bishops alone Apostles? rather, are they wholly (*i. e.* in the fullest sense) Apostles?"

The contents of pages 38, 39, and 40, we cannot notice, without degrading the present Review. There is about as much argument as one usually encounters in a tissue of gross abuse. It is a blow aimed not at Confirmation or the Church, except through the medium of personal obloquy. We read of the audacity of wickedness which assailed the character of Him who was "holy and undefiled." And this has prepared us for any thing that might be attempted against his disciples. "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household?"

The fourth section of the work, beginning on p. 42, considers the imposition of hands on the believers, whom Stephen had baptized in Samaria. An array of authorities is adduced against this as an example of confirmation. We have not thought it important to examine them, because from his own statement their opinion rests on the improbability that Simon Magus was of the number of those on whom hands were laid. 'Then,' say they, 'it was not the practice to lay hands on all who were baptized; it was evidently done

to those only who were designed for some special work, as the ministry, or the performance of miracles, &c. As long as this is the ground of the opinion, if the list of authorities were indefinitely prolonged, it would still be worthless; for although we have no positive proof that Simon did receive the imposition of hands, the probability is that he did; and the plain narrative leads to this conclusion, except where, by some inadvertency, it is supposed that that was the gift he sought of the Apostles. Hear our author: "Neither were *all*, who were baptized, and who had professed their faith in Christ, made partakers of the supernatural signs and gifts imparted on this occasion; for Simon Magus, finding that he had not received them, immediately offered to purchase them," (pp. 48, 49.) Dr. Smyth does seem to be very prone to blundering. How could he understand, that the power of working wonders was what Simon asked for? It is not once intimated. The request of Simon is altogether compatible with his having that power, which was conferred on many of those who received the imposition of hands. It is untrue, that Simon, finding that he had not received this power, offered to purchase it. He offered to purchase the *apostolic* power, which consisted in imposing hands on others, and thus enabling them to work the miracles—the power to impart power was what he sought. No refined argument, based on the previous pursuit of Simon, can stand against the plain words of the narrative; which are, "When Simon saw that through laying on of the Apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying, Give me also this power, *that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost.*" As this mistaking of the proposal of Simon lies at the bottom of denying the imposition of hands to have been performed on all the baptized, nothing more needs to be said on this record of the eighth chapter of Acts.

The nineteenth chapter of Acts, however, being introduced into the same section, deserves our notice. And the first thing arresting our attention is, that he does not take it up for examination, but unceremoniously appropriates it to his own use, still laboring under his mistake, that confirmation must necessarily be separated, by a considerable interval of time, from baptism. Under that mistake, he brings in the passage without any proper connexion. Let us ask the Doctor, what else that is, which is recorded in the sixth verse, than the confirmation of those Ephesians whose baptism is mentioned in verse fifth? Verse 5, "When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus." V. 6, "And when Paul had laid

his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them ; and they spake with tongues and prophesied." What, in this, is opposed to its being understood as confirmation that Paul administered—what, except the previous assumption, that the baptism and imposition of hands are too intimately connected in the time of their administration ? But this is no impediment. For in every age, if the baptism, in case of an adult, was administered by a Bishop, the confirmation might follow before any lapse of time. When Philip baptized, he being but a deacon, the rite of confirmation could not be administered until an Apostle was sent for the very purpose. (Acts viii.) But when the Apostle Paul baptized, he, as an Apostle competent to lay on hands, confirmed the subjects without delay.

While this place is before us, we may remark, that the evidence is decidedly in favor of supposing that hands were laid on *all* who were then baptized. To quote it again : " And when they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus. And when Paul had laid his hands on them, the Holy Ghost came on them ; and they spake with tongues and prophesied. And all the men were about twelve." Now, while there is not in the Bible the shadow of evidence, that imposition of hands did not always follow baptism ; in other words, that *all* the baptized were not confirmed ; while no such evidence can be found, the place just quoted has to be barbarously handled, in order to prevent the strong inference that *every one*, who was baptized, received the imposition of hands.

On page 80, the author says, " No trace of the ordinance of confirmation can be discovered anywhere, or in any Church, in any part of the world, before the third century, when the use of ointment, and no more, is mentioned by Tertullian and Origen, and in the Apostolical Constitutions, and by Cyril." " Cyprian, as late as A. D. 248, calls it *consummation*, that is, the completion of baptism." The author can make nothing by his clause, " before the third century : " for he knows the value of that antiquity, when defending the Scripture practice of infant baptism. But we can try the correctness of another part of his bold assertion, " The use of oil, and no more, is mentioned by Tertullian." We use the Latin edition of Tertullian's works, published in folio, at Venice, in the year M,DCC,XLIV.

In his treatise *De Baptismo*, VIII, he says : " Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans et invitans Spiritum sanctum. Sane humano ingenio licebit Spiritum in aquam

arcessere, et incorporationem eorum accommodatis desuper manibus alio spiritu tantae claritatis animare, Deo autem in suo organo non licebit per manus sanctas sublimitatem modulari spiritalem?" 'And then [i. e. after baptism] the hand is imposed, through benediction supplicating and inviting the Holy Spirit. Shall it indeed be allowed a human device, to call a spirit into water, and the hands being adjusted above, to animate their union by another spirit of such clearness, and shall God not be allowed, on his own instrument to modulate with holy hands, the spiritual sublimity?' He then goes on to say that this is according to an ancient mystery, the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh, by the imposition of Jacob's hands on their heads; and yet our author can say, "The use of ointment, and no more, is mentioned by Tertullian."

But in another place, (*De Resurrectione*, VIII,) Tertullian says: "Caro manus impositione adumbratur, ut et anima spiritu illuminetur." 'The flesh is shaded by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be enlightened by the Spirit.' Where do we find here "the use of ointment, and no more?"

Next, let us hear Cyril. We quote here from the Oxford translation, the original not being at hand. In his *Catechetical Lectures*, (Sec. xvi, 26,) we find him saying, "In the days of Moses, the Spirit was given by the laying on of hands; and Peter also gives the Spirit, by the laying on of hands. And on thee also, who art about to be baptized, shall His grace come; yet in what manner I say not, for I will not anticipate the proper season." Where, we ask, is the mention of ointment and no more? Yet of Cyril too, does our author boldly affirm, "the use of ointment, and no more, is mentioned."

Pursuing him a few lines further on page 80, after choosing to say that confirmation was, according to Tertullian and Cyril, "use of ointment, and no more," which we have shown to be otherwise, he adds, "Even then, however, and among the Latin writers, this anointing was not called confirmation. Cyprian, as late as A. D. 248, calls it *consummation*, that is, the completion of baptism." Is this true? In exposing the character of the statement, we shall use the folio Latin edition of Cyprian's works, published in Paris, in M,DCC,XXVI.

In his Epistle, LXXIII, "*Ad Iubaianum de hæreticis baptizandis*," he says, in reference to the Samaritans, whom Philip had baptized, "Illi enim qui in Samaria crediderant fide vera crediderant, et intus in ecclesia, quae una est, et cui soli gratiam baptismi dare et peccata solvere permissum est, à Philippo diacono, quem iidem apostoli miserant, baptizati erant. Et idcirco quia legitimum et ecclesiasticum baptismum consecuti

fuerant, baptizari eos ultra non oportebat, sed tantummodo quod deerat, id à Petro et Ioanne factum est, ut oratione pro eis habita, et manu imposita, invocaretur et infunderetur super eos Spiritus sanctus. Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur, ut qui in ecclesia baptizantur, praepositis ecclesiae offerantur, et per nostram orationem ac manus impositionem Spiritum sanctum consequantur et signaculo dominico consummentur."

And this last word was enough for Dr. Smyth—"consummentur"—and he lays hold of it, not reminding us of the drowning man catching at a straw, but of another who took hold of the anchor. For surely if the word has any peculiar significance, it implies that they who were not thus perfected by imposition of hands, were so far defective. What else could be St. Cyprian's meaning, than that there was a ceremony in his day, corresponding to that of the Apostles? And where is there out of the Church, where especially among Presbyterians, any thing that answers to this? Is it not identical with confirmation? There is no escape from this place: 'They who had believed in Samaria, had believed with the true faith, and within, in the Church that is one, and which alone is permitted to dispense the grace of baptism, and to loose sins, had been baptized by the deacon Philip, whom the same Apostles had sent. And therefore, inasmuch as they had procured the legitimate and ecclesiastical baptism, beyond this it was not becoming that they should be baptized, but only that what was wanting should be done by Peter and John, viz: that prayer being offered for them, and the hands imposed, the Holy Spirit might be invoked and poured upon them. Which thing is now also practised among us, that those who are baptized in the Church may be offered to the bishops of the Church, and by our prayer and imposition of hands may receive the Holy Ghost, and be perfected with the seal of the Lord.' Thus results the examination of Cyprian, who, our author says, calls this anointing "consummation." Where is the anointing? We find it not here: but we do find "*manu imposita*" and "*manus impositionem*."

It must appear by this time, that the work under review is not to be relied on; that the Doctor himself has either willfully misrepresented authors, or has unsuspectingly used second hand quotations; and the judgment of the prudent, in either case, will be, that no confidence whatever can be placed in the book. He either willfully misrepresents, or is culpably ignorant.

If there were held out any assurance of gain to the cause advocated, in opposing the right of Confirmation, this would

somewhat account for such attempts in the absence of principle. But what advantage would a Presbyterian writer derive, if he should prove upon us the error of holding Confirmation to be a Sacrament? It would still be manifest, and admitted by him, that in Apostolic times there was some ceremony of laying on of hands; that such a ceremony was everywhere prevalent in the Churches from the earliest ages, and that there is a Church (not the one Church of this country, or of England, or of Papal Rome, but a body in the true sense Catholic) by which it is now practised; but that Presbyterians *do not observe it*. Here would appear, then, a remarkable departure from Apostolic usage, on the part of one body, and a scrupulous adherence on the part of another. What we have already said, we conceive to be sufficient in disproof of the absurd notion, that the ceremony was no other than that of ordination.

And the lame attempt of our author to show that in the primitive Church the right was administered by presbyters, if successful, would have left him quite as destitute as he is now. It has already been admitted, that in some instances presbyters did confirm. If we had been forced by facts to acknowledge that it was a *universal* practice, still would no advantage accrue to those who have not even presbyters.

The book on which we are treating, comes from a minister of a denomination, which, as a body, does not administer the rite. He steps out of his path, then, *to give light to the Church*. Perhaps the labor to vest this power in presbyters, may find an impulse in some faint hope of showing, that the order of presbyters has been preserved by his denomination. The name of "Presbyterians," however, can never make that appear. The author, it is true, has exerted himself in larger books to establish his position. Whether he succeeded, can be answered by those who have read his argument. If we mistake not, it has actually produced a conviction the very opposite of what he aimed at. In his "Confirmation Examined," in order, we suppose, to prevent its swelling to too great a size, he refers to his previous works, for his arguments against the Apostolic Succession. Consulting brevity in this article, we would, also, on the same subject, refer, for the argument in its favor, to Chapin's "Primitive Church," Marshall's "Notes on the Episcopal Polity of the Holy Catholic Church," "Episcopacy Tested by Scripture," "Taylor on Episcopacy," &c.

A few words on the *futility of a claim to Presbyters where there is no Bishop*, will close our remarks.

In the Gospel of St. Luke xxii, 29, we find our Saviour

aying to the twelve Apostles alone, "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me." The context shows that this was said, not to the whole body of believers, but to the twelve Apostles. Then we must understand from it, either that they alone composed this kingdom, or else that some special power and authority were to be vested in them. No one pretends the former. What do we infer from the latter? After the resurrection, the Saviour "showed himself alive" to his Apostles "by many infallible proofs, being seen of them forty days, and speaking of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God," (Acts i, 3.) We are nowhere expressly told what the discourse of those forty days was. It pertained to the kingdom of God; and yet the subjects of that kingdom were no further informed concerning it. The obvious conclusion is, that it had reference to the power and authority of those Apostles, to whom it was addressed. And it is a fair inference, that they acted under the instruction then received, when they filled the vacancy in their number by choosing Matthias to the Apostleship.* There was a particular work to be done by these twelve, before they were removed by death; and that work required the completion of their number twelve. It was to restore to three the ministerial orders, which, by the ascension of our Lord, had been reduced from three, (*himself, is twelve, and his seventy,*) to two, (*the twelve, and the seventy.*) We say, they restored to three the orders which by our Lord's ascension had been reduced to two. This was done by creating the office of Deacon, the ordination of some of whom is recorded in the sixth chapter of Acts.

Now it is plain that the first order alone acted in filling their own vacancy. It is plain, also, that the same first order ordained the deacons, (see Acts vi. 6.) Now, beyond a doubt, they acted under those words, "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me," (Luke xxii, 29,) and, "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you." (John xx, 1,) as more fully defined in the forty days' discourse on "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God," (Acts i, 3.) We are thus prepared to find ordinations of Apostles and deacons confined to Apostles. But what is to be said of ordination of presbyters? Now, because the seventy became the second order when the Apostles became the first, are we to clothe them with the equal power of ordaining? Would it not be quite as reasonable, to maintain that the Apostles had power

* For the authority, propriety, and regularity of this proceeding, see Johnson's Examination of Snodgrass on the Apostolical Succession, from page 10 to 15.

to ordain, even while our Lord, on earth, was holding the first office? When He promoted them to the first office, then only could they perform the functions that had been confined to Him. And when they afterwards, the first, promoted any presbyters to their own office, then only could these latter perform the functions that had been confined to the former. Besides, as it appears that the very lowest office was not filled by ordinations conferred by the next above it, but by the highest of all—the Apostles—how idle is the supposition, that the office *next higher* could receive ordination from those who could not ordain to the *lower*? The ordination of presbyters is thus unavoidably vested in the Apostles, or ministers of the highest order. And after the death of the original Apostles, when those who held the same office, from deference to them, appropriated the title of Bishop, which, as well as presbyter, had formerly designated the second order, and left the title of presbyters as before used, the power of ordaining remained vested in this first office, then called the office of Bishop, and ever since, up to our own time, recognized without any confusion.

The late attempt, on the part of some Presbyterians, to assume the title, so far from resulting in a conviction that they have the office, naturally excites the inquiry, 'Why is this attempt necessary in the present day, when we witness in the Church no effort to put it on, but only the wearing of that, by which her chief officer has been designated from the earliest antiquity?' 'Give us the history,' one would say, 'of the loss of it, and we will listen to the pleading for its restoration. Nowhere can the former be found: vain is the latter.'

Now, then, it being a fact that ordinations, whether to the first, the second, or the third order, were performed only by a minister of the first order, it is evident that the two lower can never exist without the higher. True, presbyters and deacons may be found without their proper Bishop; but they had once been ordained by Bishops. The Bishop of a diocese, for instance, dies; but his Clergy had already been ordained by himself, or by some other Bishop. And these Clergy, whose chief minister has been removed by death, receive another afterwards from other *Bishops* who ordain him. Also, those presbyters who had been ordained by Bishops of the Roman Church, (Knox, for example,) were themselves presbyters; but as they never had power to ordain, it is manifest that a society of such ministers could not perpetuate their own office, and consequently, on their death, their

ministry must utterly fail; and futile must be the claim to a ministry of presbyters, without Bishops. The consequence is, not an *imperfect ministry*, or ministry defective on account of its not being of three orders; but it is the entire absence of authority from which a ministry can be derived. And, hence, nothing could be made out of the proof, if furnished, that confirmation used to be administered by presbyters. We have shown, however, and that from the fair representation of the authorities, which our author has adduced in his own favor, that it was not the universal practice; but that it was very generally confined to the Bishop. It is also to be noted, that when administered by presbyters, not only was the *existence* of the Episcopal office, but its *superiority*, proved by the very *permission* given, under certain circumstances, to presbyters to confirm. But *if* a Bishop, in his individual capacity, could give the power, does it follow that there would *be* any valid confirmation in the absence of that permission? How much less valid would be the performance of presbyters, *in* the very face of Bishops, without their permission; and *what* a perfect nullity the lay administration, by those who *have* not received ordination, and consequently are destitute *of* authority to perform the very first ministerial act!

ART. III.—PASTORAL VISITING.

As the practice named at the head of this article is one, the importance and utility of which cannot be overrated, and as, at the same time, it is one which there is but too general a disposition to overlook and neglect, owing no doubt in most instances to want of due reflection upon the subject, we think it may not be without its use for us to urge some of the many strong reasons in favor of it, and in favor of *diligence* in it.

One of those reasons is, that besides affording a most beneficial, and, where the Pastor is, as he ought to be, a student, an almost indispensable relaxation and diversion to his mind, this practice is a means of increasing his store of information and knowledge, and thus of increasing his capability of usefulness as a *Preacher*. If he get no other knowledge by means of his visits among his people, he obtains that which is perhaps the most important to him—a knowledge, and an accurate one, too, of themselves; of their peculiarities of life, character, and opinion. Without some such knowledge of the people of his charge, his public exhortations and instructions must be vague and pointless. With it, they may be exactly adapted to individual cases, and thus be far more likely to prove useful. Without it, he may earnestly combat errors, both in doctrine and practice, which obtain but to a small extent among them; while in regard to others which are not a little prevalent, he may say but little. He may address himself very frequently and fully to classes of persons, both of the obedient and disobedient, who scarcely exist at all among his people; whilst to such as do, perhaps in some numbers, some of them, too, it may be, greatly needing and desiring counsel and instruction—the youthful Christian, for example, and the sinner just beginning to return to God—he has nothing scarcely to say; at least nothing direct and definite. The word in season, if it come to any one, comes only by accident. The arrows shot by him are arrows shot without an aim; his bow is a bow drawn only at a venture. “Rely on it,” very truly remarks a man whose testimony on such a point is worthy of much more regard than on a controverted one—“Rely on it, he who hopes to discharge the duties of the pulpit, ably, appropriately, seasonably, and to the greatest advantage of his flock, with-

out being much with them, entertains a hope which is perfectly unreasonable, and will certainly be disappointed."

But not merely is the frequent visiting of his people useful in giving the Pastor such a knowledge of them as fits him the better for being such a workman as rightly divides the word of truth, giving to every one his portion in due season, but it is often of great use to him in his own personal capacity; and in qualifying him the better in other respects for his sacred office. "Wherefore neither disdaineth he," writes the saintly Herbert in his *Priest to the Temple*, "to enter into the poorest cottage, though he even creep into it, and though it smell never so loathesomely. For both God is there also, and those for whom God died; and so much the rather doth he so, as his access to the poor is more comfortable than to the rich; and in regard to himself, it is more humiliation," (p. 39.) "In regard to himself it is more humiliation," (writes Herbert,) and if in any case it be humiliation at all, which certainly it often is, it is not without its use. If in any case it aid in causing us, like our Divine Master, to humble ourselves; and especially if it aid in making us, like him, habitually "meek and lowly of heart," it will aid in making us more like what we ought to be, whether we regard our Christian obligations, our capability of usefulness, or our reward hereafter. And surely, the sight of so much sin and misery, in those who are but bone of our bone, as are to be seen almost everywhere, *will* have a tendency to beget this feeling. And it will also have a tendency to call forth and keep in exercise the kindly sympathies of the Pastor's nature, causing him to "rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep;" and thus, besides causing him to perform, at the time, the duties exacted of him by Christian charity, it will ever be qualifying him more and more for being, like his Divine Master, such a Priest as becomes men; one who can "have compassion on the ignorant and on him that is out of the way," and can be "touched with a feeling of their infirmities." And *thankfulness*; such thankfulness as will contribute to his being both a better man and a more devoted minister, will be a further result of many of his visitations; presenting him, as they will, with scenes of difficulty and sorrow to which his own lot, however beset with trials, is quite a contrast. And still further, in his visitations how often will he see examples of meekness and submission under trials, constancy under temptation, and composedness and even joyfulness in view of death, from which he cannot but learn the most useful lessons. And in addition to all, if he be properly sensible of the effect

upon others for good or for evil, of his every word and act, the practice of frequently visiting his people will materially assist in forming in him the important habits of self-recollectedness and watchfulness, and in making him what he is required to be, "an example of the believers in word, in conversation, in charity, in spirit, in faith, in purity." It will help among other things to make him "sober," "just," "holy," and "temperate."

In all these and still other ways is the practice of frequent and friendly visiting by a Pastor of use to himself, both as a man and with reference to his qualifications for his holy office. It was the opinion of Cotton Mather, "that he not only did, but *got* good in his conversations with all sorts of persons; and thought he never walked more in the Spirit, than thus walking to his flock to serve and seek their best interest."—(*Bridges*, II, 132.)

A third reason in favor of diligence in pastoral visiting is, that if the deportment of a Clergyman be what it ought to be, he hereby attaches his people more closely to himself, and thus acquires greater ability to do them good. The more they respect and love him, the greater is the influence over them which he possesses; and there is no way of increasing their love and respect for him, at all comparable to that of visiting them and manifesting an interest in them and their affairs. The effect of a few such visits, especially in times of trouble and affliction, has often been the formation of the most deeply seated and permanent attachments for Clergymen; such attachments as gave them the most powerful influence for good. In still more instances have they been of the greatest use in inducing people to attend upon the services of the sanctuary, and thus besides performing a paramount duty, to place themselves in the way of good. Most families prize a visit from a Clergyman whom they respect, in such a way, as to feel themselves obliged in courtesy to attend upon his ministrations with some degree of regularity, at least for a time; and of *this*, the effect often is, their becoming so interested in the services, and in the affairs of religion as to continue to attend from choice. In this way are persons often brought to attend Church, who could in no other way have been brought to do so. In regard to many cases it is an indispensable way of bringing them to attend to this great duty;—and, as a general thing, the consequence of the habitual neglect of it by any Pastor will be, that he will, more and more frequently, miss from their accustomed places in the sanctuary—persons and families who ought to be there. He will perhaps

hear of them attending upon the ministrations of teachers whom he regards as unauthorized—as running without being sent—and who have succeeded in drawing them away from him, and from the Church, by the use of the very means which he has neglected. As a general thing—and strictly speaking, this is an *additional* reason in favor of the practice under consideration—frequent and friendly visiting is not merely useful, but even *indispensable* in the work of extending and building up the Church. It is often indeed on account of the many enemies with which the Church is surrounded, indispensable even to the prevention of its material decrease, even to the retaining of the measure of size and strength already attained; sometimes, possibly, even to its very existence. Her ministers must in all cases, so experience teaches us, be diligent both in and out of the pulpit, or they can effect but little. They must be found through the week, in the houses of their parishioners and wherever else they can honorably obtain admittance, as well as in the Church on Sundays. They must be found in the cottages of the poor as well as in the palaces of the rich. They must be found at the bedside of the sick, or kindly associating themselves with those in health; being always ready wherever they may be, for every work of piety and mercy, and for the discharge of any of their ministerial duties; being always, *also*, careful to let their whole conduct and conversation be such as they ought to be, “giving no offense in anything that the ministry be not blamed.” They will thus be taking a way of approving themselves as the ministers of God, and also of doing good to the Church, far more effectual in our day, than that of showing in the clearest manner the Apostolic authority of the Bishop who ordained them, or even than that of the most abundant and most able labors in the pulpit. “In a destitute locality,” says Dr. Chalmers, according to a late number of the *Spirit of Missions*, “the *attractive* principle only brought a congregation of some forty-seven persons, while in a case as nearly similar as possible, the *aggressive* principle, that is, the outgoing of the Clergyman as a missionary upon the people, in household visitations, was rewarded with a congregation of about four hundred and eighty.”

All “venerate the man whose heart is warm,
Whose hands are pure, whose doctrines and whose life,
Coincident, exhibit lucid proof
That he is honest in the sacred cause.
To such,” men “render more than mere respect,
Whose actions say, that they respect themselves.”

Another reason in favor of diligence in the practice of Pastoral visiting, is the direct good that may often thereby be done to the souls of men.

By going in and out among his people, and kindly associating with them, not only does a clergyman obtain that knowledge of them and of their peculiarities of life, character, and opinion, which, as has been remarked, is essential to the most efficient discharge of his pulpit duties, but he frequently obtains opportunities of speaking to them with a directness and plainness, which are altogether impracticable in the pulpit. He frequently obtains opportunities of speaking to them individually, and of saying to each one in the way of reproof, warning, instruction, or comfort, whatever he may see necessary or expedient to be said. And thus he is often the means of doing the greatest good, and good which would not otherwise be done. He perhaps awakens to consideration and prayer, persons who otherwise would have continued spiritually asleep; and he gives to others already awakened, or already professed Christians, such counsels and comforts as they respectively need, and such as are essential to their becoming and continuing what they ought to be. He proves a means of leading sinners to repentance who would probably otherwise have gone on in sin and perished; and he stirs up to greater measures of faith, and zeal, and love, and holiness, and so prepares for greater degrees of usefulness now and of glory hereafter, persons who otherwise might only just have been saved. He warns the unruly, comforts the feeble minded, strengthens the weak, and performs all other specific duties of his office in the best manner, and often with a much greater measure of success than attends upon the more public performance of them. And even where he does not feel called upon in his visitations to perform any of the specific duties of his office, or even to speak at all on the subject of religion, if the tone of his character and sentiments be what they ought, not a little good is often the result. By his walk and conversation he silently, but effectually preaches; both illustrating and enforcing the truths and duties of the Gospel; and by the purity and correctness of his sentiments on all subjects connected with morality and religion, he materially assists in purifying and exalting those of others.

Now, if what has just been advanced, as to the frequent and direct usefulness of Pastoral visiting, be true, the reason under consideration is of all those yet mentioned, the *strongest*, and will weigh most with the conscientious and reflecting Pastor. Of such a man the great object is to do

good to souls ; to do as much good as possible ; to bring as many sinners as possible to repentance, and to build up in their most holy faith as many of God's people as are committed to his care. It was with a view to this that he sought at first, or at least now continues in the ministry of reconciliation, and all his "cares and studies are drawn" towards the most effective fulfillment of it. By such a man, therefore, so likely a way of accomplishing the great ends of his ministry as Pastoral visiting, ought not to, will not, be overlooked, but will be made use of with diligence proportioned to the degree in which he reflects upon its usefulness.

But not merely is this practice useful ; it is likewise *obligatory*, which is another and still stronger reason for diligence in it. The mere circumstance indeed that it is *useful*, makes it obligatory ; for it is incumbent upon the minister of God to make use of every means of doing good to the souls of men. He is "never to cease his labor, his care and diligence, until he has done all that lieth in him, according to his bounden duty, to bring all such as are or shall be committed to his charge, unto that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among them either for error in religion or viciousness in life."

But the practice for which we plead, is obligatory on other accounts than because of its usefulness. It was one which was followed by the holy Apostles as well as by our Saviour himself, and which also they *enjoined* upon those whom they had admitted to the sacred ministry, and therefore upon all their successors.

That the Apostles themselves were in the habit, not merely of resorting to places of public concourse to preach the word, but also of going for this purpose from house to house, indeed from man to man, is very evident. It was the touching language of one of them on a familiar occasion, "Ye know, from the first day that I came into Asia, after what manner I have been with you at all seasons, serving the Lord with all humility of mind, and with many tears and temptations, which beset me by the lying in wait of the Jews : and how I kept back nothing that was profitable unto you, but have showed you and have taught you publicly, and from house to house, testifying both to the Jews and also to the Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." From these words alone, the practice of *St. Paul* at least is manifest. It is, if possible, still more manifest from what he afterwards said in this same address. "Therefore watch, and re-

member, that by the space of three years I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears." So faithfully indeed had he discharged his duty in regard to each individual that he could on the same occasion say, "wherefore I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men." And the practice which he followed so faithfully at Ephesus, he followed also at other places. "Whom," viz, Christ, "we preach," writes he to the Colossians, and referring most probably to the other Apostles as well as himself, "Whom we preach, warning every man, and teaching every man in all wisdom; that we may present every man perfect in Christ Jesus." As to the other Apostles, it is indeed expressly related, that "daily in the temple and in every house, they ceased not to teach and to preach Jesus Christ." The practice then of the Apostles is evident from these express passages of the sacred record; and even if it were not; no one could doubt it, who considers the intimate knowledge which they appear to have had of all the Churches planted by them, and the wonderful results of their labors. To all this on the subject of the practice of the Apostles, we add what is related of one of the Bishops ordained by them, Ignatius, viz: "that he knew personally every individual in his flock."

Now the *practice* alone of the Apostles and other ministers of Christ, in and soon after their day, would be a sufficient indication to us of our duty. But in addition to this, we have some express injunctions relating to this custom. In the address of St. Paul to the presbyters of Ephesus, already quoted from, he said to them, "Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers, to feed the Church of God which He has purchased with His own blood." All and every one of the flock therefore, was to be an object of their Pastoral care and attention. And to Timothy, the first Bishop of Ephesus, this same Apostle, in a most solemn manner, addressed the charge, "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine." By the expressions "in season," "out of season," are here supposed to be meant, in and out of the stated regular times of preaching: so that here is an injunction to be diligent, zealous, and urgent in preaching in private as well as public, to families and even individuals, as well as collections of individuals. In addition to which direct and express injunctions, they gave many others, as, for example, those contained in the conclusion of the charge just considered, viz: to reprove, and to rebuke and exhort, which *imply* the necessity and duty of

pastoral visiting, for they can be complied with, at least in the best manner and to the greatest advantage, only in private. And still further, they speak of clergymen under figures which could with no propriety be applied to them, if it were no part of their duty to labor privately as well as publicly. They speak of them as "overseers," as "stewards," as "watchmen," as those who "watch for souls as they that must give account," and as "Pastors" or "Shepherds." Under this latter character they are frequently spoken of and addressed, being commanded with reference to it, to "feed" the Church of God, which is also called with the same reference, the "flock" of God, and the members of it, his "sheep," the young lambs, his "lambs." Now under this character particularly, they could not with propriety be spoken of, if Pastoral visiting were no part of their duty. A principal part of the business of the Pastor or Shepherd is, to go frequently among his flock, inspecting them individually and doing for each whatever he may see requisite: "seeking that which is lost, bringing again that which is driven away, binding up that which is broken, strengthening that which is sick." And as to the particularly and repeatedly specified duty of feeding the flock, this plainly implies the duty of Pastoral visiting, for, without such visiting, no flock, at least the *whole* of no flock, lambs as well as sheep, can be properly fed: can be fed as God would have them fed, and so, that no member of it will "take any hurt or hindrance by reason of" the Shepherd's "negligence."

There can be no doubt then concerning the imperative obligation of the practice we are considering. Both the practice and the precepts of the Apostles, as well as the characters under which they speak of clergymen, and the eminent usefulness in various ways of the practice, proclaim its obligateness: and they further show that the Church, when she asks of each candidate for Priests' Orders, whether he will use both public and private monitions and exhortations, as well as to the sick as to the whole within his cure, as need shall require and occasion be given," but asks a question which is in strict agreement with the teaching of the word of God, as to the duty of ministers. They further show that it is not without warrant from Holy Scripture, that, in that noble exhortation which precedes this and the other questions in the ordination service, and which it is difficult for a conscientious priest ever to read without emotion, that it is not without warrant, that the Church insists upon the performance of duty in relation to each particular person: making use of even this awful language to him:—"And if it shall happen that

the same Church or any member thereof, do take any hurt or hindrance by reason of your negligence, you know the greatness of the fault, and also the horrible punishment that will ensue."

A variety of reasons has now been stated, and enlarged upon, in favor of diligence in the practice of Pastoral visiting. It has been shown to be highly useful to the Pastor himself, both as a man and a minister, giving him such a knowledge of his people as is necessary to the efficient discharge of his pulpit duties among them, and having a tendency to make him more meek, humble, condescending, compassionate, thankful, and in other respects better. It has been further shown to be useful in gaining for him the affections of his people, and thus in increasing his power over them for good, and it has been made to appear to be a useful and even an indispensable means of extending and building up the Church. The great amount of direct good that might be done by means of it to the souls of men, has been exhibited, and finally, the imperative obligation of it also, from the example and precepts of the Apostles, and the representations which they give, of ministerial fidelity, and of the duties imposed upon the sacred office. In addition to all this, we beg to offer some remarks on one or two other points connected with this interesting subject. And one is, the importance, whenever there is a suitable opportunity in Pastoral visitations, of introducing the subject of practical personal religion.

The great object of Pastoral visiting is, as is well known, and, as might be inferred from what has just been submitted, to do good *directly* as well as indirectly to the souls of men, directly, to seek to promote the conversion of sinners, and the spiritual advancement and edification of believers. But if the minister of God, instead of laboring to promote these great objects, instead of following the example of the glorious Apostle in warning every man, and teaching every man "publicly, and from house to house," allows himself to go in and out among his people without ever making any allusion even to the subject of religion, he most manifestly fails in his duty, and his visits even cease to deserve the *name* of Pastoral visits. Pastoral visits, properly speaking, are such as are paid not merely by one who is or ought to be a Pastor, but with special reference also to the performance of Pastoral duties. They are visits similar to those of the Shepherd, when he goes among his flock to note the condition and wants of his sheep, and to do for each whatever it may need. They are visits in which the servant of God goes prepared to reprove, rebuke, exhort,

warn, entreat, comfort or instruct, according as the case may require, and he may have opportunity. The visits therefore of him who, though bearing the name and invested with the office of a spiritual Shepherd, never endeavors to perform any of its duties; and who, perhaps through fear or shame, never even alludes to the subject immediately connected with his sacred office, and can, it may be, on the other hand, with a view of rendering himself agreeable, pass hours in conversation on the most common and trivial topics of the day, and in the most frivolous manner too; the visits of such an one are anything but Pastoral visits. And furthermore, instead of doing any good, at least *direct* good, to the persons or families visited, such visits not seldom do positive harm. Beside the waste both of his and their time, occasioned by them, they are apt to give to persons such impressions of the clergyman's own sense of the unimportance of religion, as operates most injuriously, and such as cannot be removed or countervailed even by the most faithful and eloquent discourses from the pulpit. They have sometimes, doubtless, had a tendency even to make men *skeptical* as to the whole subject of the Gospel, or at least to doubt whether the Pastor *himself* really believed in it, and whether he was not only a mere "hireling," instead of a Shepherd, a Priest who taught "for a reward" only, a Pastor who fed himself, but not the flock. In respect to anything unbecoming in his sentiments or conduct, in connection with his uniform silence on religious subjects, these are sure to be the effect. How important then that he should, during every visitation, endeavor to say something which will show that he is really *himself* a believer in the truths which he preaches, and that he actually considers it to be of the utmost importance, that sinful men should repent and become obedient to the Gospel, and that believing men should "give diligence to make their calling and election sure!" How important indeed, that he should endeavor to be always ready to say *anything*, even in the way of exhortation or reproof, which it may appear necessary or proper for him to say; of course, in whatever he says or does, being guided by the dictates of prudence and discretion! How important that, among other things, he should guard against even so apparently trivial a fault as gayety, or excess of mirth! If not "sad," which Herbert makes his country Parsons generally to be, "as knowing nothing but the cross of Christ," or as meeting whenever he had leisure to look off from thence, those two sad spectacles of "sin and misery," "God dishonored every day and man afflicted;" if not sad, he ought at

least to be *serious*. They are two essential qualifications for the holy office, prescribed by St. Paul, that men should be "grave" and "sober:" and the *want* of them is so obvious an inconsistency in one who is the ambassador from God to man, in reference to such solemn subjects as Heaven, and Hell, and eternity, and whose business it is to "teach and premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family, and to do his utmost that they may be saved through Christ forever," that it is scarcely ever without unhappy consequences. It may indeed contribute to make Pastoral visits more acceptable to some, and to enhance one's reputation as an agreeable person, and a gentleman; but even with those who are apparently pleased with such unfaithfulness, it may well be doubted whether a respect for the Pastoral office is increased, and certain it is, that it may be at the cost of the blood of souls. A sick man at death's door, thinks more of the skill and faithfulness of his physician, than of the cut of his coat, or the sparkling wit of his repartee. On this point, the sentiments of one of the most estimable of spiritual fathers,* are so excellent, that we know not how better to conclude, than by a brief quotation. "In his (the clergyman's) intercourse with society, even in the best state in which we can expect to find it, he has need of constant exertion, to preserve the tone of his feelings, and to exhibit that seriousness of mind, that dignity of deportment, and gravity of demeanor, without which all his other qualifications for usefulness will be of little avail, and will produce but a slight impression. In the ordinary mingling of the world, there prevails a species of levity, which in others may perhaps be deemed harmless trifling, but which, in the Christian minister, must be regarded as a serious dereliction from duty; forgetfulness of his high and holy calling, and virtual abandonment of the solemn obligations of his office. Let me not be understood, however, my brethren, as inculcating an austerity of manners amounting to a repulsive severity; this perhaps is equally injurious with levity. A happy mean between the two, issuing in the exhibition of that cheerfulness which indicates a contented and thankful heart and a conscience at peace, is, I conceive, the reasonable object of desire, and of possible attainment in this case."

* Bishop Otey.

JOHN FOSTER ON FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

ART. IV.—*A Letter of the celebrated JOHN FOSTER, to a young Minister, on the Duration of Future Punishment: with an Introduction and Notes, consisting chiefly of extracts from orthodox writers, &c.* Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Company, 1849.

THIS is an insidious attempt to enlist the influence of great names on the side of error—a favorite art of heresy, and one not altogether unsuccessful; for multitudes believe as well as live chiefly by precedent; and with such, the quotation of names is a more cogent reason than the fullest proofs or the most forcible arguments. In the case of Mr. Foster, however, we are sorry to acknowledge that the attempt is neither unwarrantable nor fruitless. He is a lawful prey. He exhibits himself, in the letter before us, very unequivocally, as an unbeliever in the perpetuity of future punishment. He ceased to believe in this article of the Christian faith, when he was twenty-five years old. He wrote the letter under consideration at the age of seventy-one, three years before his death. For nearly a half century then, he persevered in the error of his early days, and died, we have no reason to doubt, firm in its maintenance. Universalism is fairly entitled to him, and to the weight of his name, in its favor. Universalism, we say; for though his was not that bald confusion of all spiritual differences which commonly passes under that name, it was the entering wedge that opens a passage for it; and we have no belief that when human opinion has once begun to move in that direction, it can often be arrested at any such middle point, or stop short of the natural and appropriate end of its journey.

And John Foster's is undoubtedly a great name. He was, beyond a question, a man of uncommon mental power, a profound, original, independent thinker, a writer of rare pertness, vigor, and felicity; and his productions will long continue to be read with pleasure and advantage by men of intellect and reflection. Mr. Foster's name is not to be mentioned without respect. We will not be so unjust as to decry the man, while we deplore and expose his errors; and if we felt tempted to such injustice, we should be restrained by the conviction that his fame is too firmly established to be shaken or tarnished by

any endeavors of ours. John Foster's name is quite independent of our praise or censure. With or without our suffrage, it will live and be remembered, for much good,—we regret to add, for something of evil,—“a dead fly in the ointment of the apothecary.”

John Foster was an *orthodox* Baptist minister, and for many years a pastor among the English Baptists. Not indeed that he ever went through any ceremony purporting to be ordination. In one of his letters, he employs in reference to this subject the following striking, characteristic—it seems to us—truthful language: “I have been, I may say almost all my life, and still more in the latter part of it, in the uniform habit of ridiculing our dissenting ordinations, as a relic of hierarchy: which I have always intensely hated, as a poor aping among us, who have no ecclesiastical institutions, of a ceremony which has all manner of propriety (as consistent with the pretension) in an established ecclesiastical order. It carries an appearance, and (though this be somewhat reservedly avowed) it makes, and is understood to make, a sort of pretension of conferring some sort of speciality of fitness, qualification, and authorization to perform the duties of a Christian minister.” “Now my wish would be that every notion and practice of this kind, in short, *every thing sacerdotal and ceremonial, were cleared out of our religious economy.*” That is frank and consistent. We wish that all who are like minded with Mr. Foster would imitate his example. But we wonder how the “economy” would endure under such a stripping off of its borrowed feathers. It is by semblance that it keeps its hold on men. Let it *seem* to be, what it *is*, a system that scouts “authorization,” and denies the “sacerdotal,” and its power over human minds would vanish. Fortunately for *it*, unfortunately for the cause of truth, we think its management is ordinarily in the hands of men, who are either more candid or less politic than Mr. Foster, or who are themselves the dupes of a tradition consecrated by the usage of the sect, venerable by a brief antiquity, transmitted to them for transmission to others; and who thus honestly suppose that when they were *seemingly* ordained, they *were* ordained. Robert Hall and William Jay, the highest names in the ranks of modern English dissent, maintained the same opinion and pursued the same course with Foster. One or two Doctors in Divinity in this country, have been so bold as to pronounce ordinations but a decent and comely solemnity, which conveys no more real authority than the inauguration of the president of a College, perfectly immaterial as to the lawful possession

and exercise of power. But how many Congregationalists, or members of Congregationally constituted sects, suppose that they are living under such a system of shams? or if they did, would continue in its pale? John Foster was at once too clear-sighted, and too honest a man, to experience the illusion or to aid it. But this is a digression.

Mr. Foster was "*orthodox*." So orthodox men tell us, and surely they ought to know. So he was rated in life; so he is honored in death. Still, Mr. Foster did not believe in the everlasting punishment of the wicked. Well then, that article of the Christian faith is not a necessary part of dissenting orthodoxy, orthodox dissenters themselves being judges. "Eternal judgment," though it is one of St. Paul's six "principles of the doctrine of Christ," may be denied, and its denier be orthodox still. So, it seems to have been adjudged recently in Connecticut, that the Trinity and the Atonement are not essential to orthodoxy. At any rate, we have among us an orthodox man, or one who passes current and unrebuked in orthodox company, and yet speaks and writes his "great swelling words of vanity" with an orthodox imprimatur, who, if we can understand him, actually makes sport of them both. Will any one tell us, what orthodoxy out of the Church, nowadays, is? what it includes? what it refuses? The term was *once* the symbol of a real and most serious distinction among dissenters. The word *had* a meaning. But as the distinction has every day been growing more shadowy, the word has with equal pace been losing its sense; certainly, it is terribly uncertain and attenuated now. The fate of the word however would be a small matter, if it were not but too accurate an index of the condition of the thing which it stands for; if it did not indicate, but too faithfully, a correspondent, awfully growing, and prevalent indifference to truth. The course of that portion of the old orthodox party which has not avowed, and probably is not distinctly conscious of, a departure from the old tenets of their religious profession, proves but too plainly, that the idea of a fixed objective truth has become dreadfully dim and enfeebled among them; that it is not sufficiently distinct and energetic to detect and expel falsehood; that faith is fast being merged in a vague sentimentality, or an all-embracing liberalism. When certain remarkable productions of "a prophet of their own" lately made their appearance, we thought it would be a test of the vitality of orthodoxy, and prove, whether there were yet in it life enough to disarm and repudiate the corruptions that had been engendered in its own bosom. The trial certainly

seems to be terminating unfavorably. Providence seems to us to be permitting them to give the world a demonstration of the utter inadequacy of any substitute of man's devising, to fulfil the office of the Church, to do that which God has assigned to her as her duty and her privilege, and to her alone, namely, to keep and transmit pure and undefiled "the faith once delivered to the saints." The Church is thus, in our day, receiving the indirect, undesigned testimony of those who have wandered from her pale, the more effectual because unintentional, that she, and she alone, is that which Heaven appointed her to be, "the pillar and ground of the truth," the sole conservator and guardian of a definite and stable theology; while around her, on every side, is seen the melancholy spectacle of minds heady and presumptuous in the confidence of their own sufficiency, "intruding into things which they have not seen,"—bewildered in the vain attempt to discover for themselves that which God teaches easily and successfully to all humble and docile minds by an instrumentality of His own, "ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth."

There are, however, in this publication other names associated with that of Foster, which hold their place in it far less legitimately—names most dishonorably pressed into the support of doctrines, which the lives of those who bore them were spent in opposing, and of which their surviving works are the best exposure and refutation. It was to this fact that we chiefly referred, in the use of the word insidious. We know of nothing, indeed, more thoroughly dishonest and deceptive. The trick is by no means new. The very Word of God itself has been often subjected to such deceitful handling; and its statements, in certain places, been used to infer its denial of truth, which elsewhere it asserts with explicitness and freedom. The list which this publication contains might have been enlarged indefinitely. There is no end to the number *such* witnesses for Universalism. For there are few names embalmed in Christian hearts, whether of Churchmen or others, that might not be added to it. The insinuations we take to be, that these authors unconsciously sympathized with the views of Mr. Foster; that they felt his difficulty; that as they agreed with him thus far, they ought to have agreed with him entirely, and virtually did; that they had misgivings about the opposite doctrine which they labored to defend; and would have rested in the same conclusion and confession with him, if they had not lacked either his perspicacity or his candor. Mr. Foster argued that the eternal damnation of sinners is not true,

because it is very terrible ; and thus, all they who feel it to be very terrible, with him are exhibited as at least half believers with him, that it is not true. Most extraordinary logic surely ! The more deeply a man feels the awfulness of the wrath to come, the less reason is there to believe, that there is any such wrath to come. Just how *much* terribleness is requisite to make a thing untrue ? Will Mr. Foster tell us ? or some one for him ? Is it only when the terrible thing is endless ? Perhaps, the incredibility and untruth may commence at some lower mark. At least, we strongly suspect sinners, if the validity of such reasoning is admitted, will think so ; and in the end all punishment, for all punishment is terrible, disappear as unworthy and incredible of the God of Love. And yet some consequences of sin, in *this* world, are terrible enough to be questioned on such principles, if they were not too palpably certain and real, to warn men of the probable fallacy of the argument. At any rate, we cannot too strongly censure the attempt to make authors speak sentiments utterly foreign to their minds, by coupling them with another, who thought he might draw from premises, which they held in common with him, inferences which they did not discover or hold legitimate. For ourselves at least, we say, that while we feel the terribleness of the divine threatenings, as deeply as Mr. Foster, or any one, we shall never dream of counting them on that account the less likely to be realized in their full severity, by those who brave their execution, unless such an insight into the Divine nature is vouchsafed us, that we can feel ourselves far more competent than we do at present, to adjust the precise limits of "the goodness and severity of God," and mark out with certainty the bounds of their compatibility.

We must not omit pointing out the thoroughly rationalistic character of Mr. Foster's reasoning. He does not base himself upon Scripture at all. Nay, he even frankly admits that Scripture makes strongly against him, and it is only in view of what he deems the pressing urgency of the moral argument in another direction, that he feels himself impelled to put upon Scripture, a sense not contradictory to its dictates. A foregone conclusion induces him to find in Scripture a meaning different from that which it apparently bears, and which but for this he would never have doubted to be its true sense. He has such an intimate knowledge of God, and such a distinct perception of what the goodness of God ought to impel Him to do in governing His creatures, that He feels competent to correct the language in which He expresses His determination respecting it, and modify it into a nearer conformity to the

truth which it clumsily obscures. He confesses, that the sense he attaches to Scripture, is a non-natural sense, one which he arrives at only by an insight into the Divine thoughts which carries him behind the Word, and renders him independent of it. What is this but saying, that God has expressed His mind to man on a point which most nearly concerns his safety and happiness, in a way that cannot fail to deceive all, but a few penetrating and philosophic minds like Mr. Foster's? But what becomes of the idea of a revelation, nay, we may add, of a God, in this process of reasoning? In *our* view, it vanishes. That is not a revelation, which teaches us nothing that we do not know better, independently of it; and that is to be set aside, or twisted into conformity, the moment it contravenes our judgment or our feelings. And the idea of a high intelligence and will, not to be fathomed or measured by finite minds, disappears in like manner. God, has none but a figurative, ideal, impersonal being—is but a convenient word, a personification of that which lives, and acts, and feels, and thinks, and *is*, in greater or less measure, wherever these functions are. This is pantheism; and all rationalism tends to it, and ends in it. It is but self-deification; the fruit of human pride; which contradicts God, and virtually supersedes Him, whenever His mind contradicts the wisdom or the will of the creature. A Supreme Intelligence and Sovereign Will, such as the Bible teaches us to stand in awe of, out of and above ourselves, is gone; and we use the term that denotes Him, to indicate what is godlike in ourselves and others, to cheat ourselves and others into a belief that we are not atheists. We do not say that Mr. Foster was a pantheist; but we do say that such reasoning as his, consistently carried through, would have made him one. It is curious and instructive to see how error, starting from whatever point in the wide circle of unbelief, runs to this at last, as the common centre. For what is the God of a rationalist at last, but action, thought, volition, as seen in himself, and in others in their measure, in the universe of life? Says Mr. Foster in his letter, "The language of Scripture," that is in favor of the doctrine of eternal punishment, "is formidably strong, so strong, that it must be an argument of extreme cogency that would authorize a limited interpretation." Now for the argument, so overwhelming. "Since there is in the present instance to be pleaded for admitting a limited interpretation, a reason in the moral estimate of things, of stupendous, of infinite urgency, involving our conceptions of the Divine goodness and equity, and leaving those conceptions overwhelmed in darkness and horror if it

be rejected, I therefore conclude that a limited interpretation is authorized." Now, there never was a misbeliever that could not work his doctrine into the Bible by such a process, and under as specious a show of piety and philanthropy. It were far wiser, as well as more suitable to the modesty and humility which befit a creature, to trust God with the vindication of His own character in the fulfilment of His own word; and to believe that, since, in language "formidably strong," He threatens to punish sin with eternal suffering, He will execute His threatening, in some way, not necessarily impossible because undiscoverable by us, compatible with His moral perfection, such as shall draw forth from all His creatures the meed of acquiescence and praise. The whole argument, clothed in whatever guise of reverence and benevolence, seems to us, not only perfectly fallacious, but chargeable with the grossest arrogance and presumption, resulting, if fairly carried through, in a virtual dethronement of God, and deification of man.

Of one consideration, however, we think it just to allow Mr. Foster the benefit. Mr. Foster was a Calvinist, a very thorough and consistent Calvinist. If we had looked at this question from his point of view, we might have found it difficult to resist the temptation to rest in his conclusion. If we had thought with him, that the "special grace," without which "men must go wrong and be miserable," "is the privilege of only a small proportion of them," we should have doubtless felt a much stronger inclination to doubt the literal interpretation of God's threatenings, in order to the vindication of His holiness. To represent God, as bringing creatures into being under a fatal necessity of sinning, as withholding from them that grace by which alone they can be brought to repentance, and then punishing them eternally for sinning and not repenting of sin, is indeed to paint the Divine Being in the colours of a fiend. Universalism is the legitimate offspring of Calvinism; and we are never surprised to see the one following the other, as its shadow. It was by this road that Mr. Foster travelled; and multitudes have followed the same path. But knowing, as we think we do, that the one as little as the other is any part of "the glorious gospel of the blessed God," we find ourselves exposed to no such temptations. That Gospel teaches us, that if we continue in sin, it is only because we do "despite to the Spirit of grace." No decree shuts any man out from his gracious influence. If any are elect, it is only to a fuller assurance and a larger enjoyment of this, in the Church of God, of which Baptism is at once the sign and the convey-

ance. And therefore we doubt not, that God shall be "justified in His saying, and clear when He judgeth," though at the last He "shall be revealed from Heaven in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of His power." We only wonder why any should rest in such a half-way Universalism as Mr. Foster's. For, as it seems to us, that all punishment is as incompatible with the Divine justice on this theory, as eternal punishment, we think we should go the whole length at once, and neutralize our Calvinism thoroughly, by adjudging that if there be *any* absolute and irresistible decree concerning the fate of mortals, it must be a decree of common, indiscriminate, universal, complete salvation,—“formidably strong” sayings of Scripture to the contrary, notwithstanding.

And now to look a little at this argument of the incredibility of eternal punishment, its inconsistency with the Divine character, or rather, to speak more accurately, of our competency to judge at all in the question. There are some considerations, which those who speak on it so flippantly and confidently, seem strangely to overlook. They overlook the limited character of human faculties, and the unwieldy greatness of the subject with which they undertake to deal. But there are certain points, on the other hand, which seem to be sufficiently plain. We can only touch upon them.

It seems to us, then, at least highly probable, that eternal considerations are alone fitted to control immortal beings. Inducements and dissuasives should have some proportion to the nature of beings; and as man is an immortal being, immortal motives, whether of good or ill, are needed to sway his resolves and actions. Accordingly, none doubt that man is lured to goodness by offers of everlasting bliss; why doubt that he is deterred from wickedness by menaces of endless misery? A thinking being is not to be influenced to a course which is to occupy his life-time, by the fear of a moment's pain or the offer of a moment's joy. But the longest limited period bears a far smaller proportion to eternity, than a moment to the most protracted life of man on earth. To threaten men with temporary penalties, is to bind Samson with green withs, to block his path with a hair, or bar it with a thread of gossamer, or a rampart of straw. Sin is the greatest of evils, and it is high benevolence to use all possible means to prevent men from its commission. Might we not then expect the benevolent God to use the strongest means in

His power to keep men from plunging themselves into its miseries? the only means suitable to the enduring nature He has endowed them with?

Again, we suppose that it is manifestly just to punish a sinner as long as he sins; and so, if he sins forever, to punish him forever. Now life is the period during which men may cease to sin, if they will, and in that case, by the remedial operations of the Gospel, avert the consequences of past sins. But if he sins till death, is there any provision to reclaim him from sinning subsequently? And if there is not, what can he do but go on to sin, so long as his existence is prolonged, even eternally, and so continually subject himself to a renewal of his punishment, though it were in its nature limited and temporary; for an infinite series of finite punishments is infinite punishment, and thus sin, like the liver of Prometheus ever reproducing itself, becomes the inexhaustible food of the vulture that forever gnaws it. And what is the probability on this point antecedently to testimony? Is there aught in death to change man's moral state? Who can show that there is? What is there to make a sinful soul before death anything else but a sinful soul after death, and thus a meet subject of perpetual suffering? Unless there is some promise of grace beyond the grave, certainly not taught by nature, and needing better proof than surmise, we see not what better prospect is opened to the sinner, than that of sinning on as long as he exists, and so of being eternally a meet subject for a perpetual repetition of punishments.

And then if it be true, that, under the Gospel, grace is bestowed on all men in sufficient measure to enable them to work out their salvation, and we know of no truth of the Gospel at once more certain and more precious, the lost are the authors of their own doom; and though it be unspeakably awful, must not complain of its dreadfulness and severity. The destruction of sinful men is perfectly suicidal. A severe penalty, which is intended not to destroy, but to deter, enacted not in cruelty, but in compassion, the meaning of which is simply, "Oh! do not this abominable thing which I hate," to be an index of the enormity and destructiveness of the evil which it threatens to punish, is not a proper subject of objection and complaint. The suffering, if it comes at last, is not of the Ruler but of the criminal. If the purposes of God's mercy were accomplished, the penalty of eternal death would never be anything more than theoretical. The weakness, not the benevolence, of a government is seen in affixing to crimes, penalties insufficient to restrain wickedness and preserve the

order of society. There is all the difference in the world between a feeble, good nature ; and a high-principled, resolute benevolence. Perhaps if we could look into the economy of the Divine government, we should see that nowhere is the goodness of God more signally evinced, than in the awful sentence of His justice.

But all these considerations are but suggestions of the possible and the probable. We feel our utter incompetency to say anything on this subject dogmatically, to do anything, indeed, but listen to the testimony of God's word with unquestioning awe and submission. "Vain man would be wise, though he be born like a wild asses colt." That is the whole difficulty. We are fain, with our very limited powers, to "find out the Almighty to perfection ;" and we succeed only in displaying our own boldness and ambition.

Let us see, then, what some of those things are, which they, who pronounce so confidently on the incompatibility of eternal punishments with the Divine character, undertake to know. They evidently think they know just how much suffering a good Being may inflict, without impeachment of His goodness. Certainly *some* suffering He may inflict, nay, great suffering. The sad experience of mankind renders this but too evident. We are living under the rebuke of our Maker, and therefore we are "of few days and full of trouble." Now, if the naked question, antecedent to this experience, were before us, whether a God of perfect goodness could inflict suffering on His creatures? very possibly we might answer it in the negative, as promptly and as positively as some reply thus to the question of eternal punishment. Well, then, punishment, severe and protracted, is consistent with God's goodness. Only there are men who think themselves so wise that they are qualified to affirm, that when it passes a certain limit, it is no longer thus consistent. How do they know that? To us it seems mere presumption. We lift our eyes to heaven from the miserable scenes around us, and exclaim, with serene and unshaken confidence, "God is love." And if all that God's Word threatens, prove true at the last, doubtless we shall find it equally easy to retain that confidence entire and steadfast.

Another piece of knowledge which this argument assumes, is that of the demerit of sin. The reasoning reposes all its strength on the supposition, that man cannot and does not merit eternal misery. Why? Because he is of feeble powers and short duration? It seems to us that there are other considerations, of far greater force, in determining his guilt—the motives that go before, the mischiefs that follow. But neither

the one nor the other of these can be very accurately measured by man. We know indeed the quality of those motives ; but how they look in the eyes of perfect holiness, we cannot so well determine ; for we are wont to look at them through the misleading medium of self-interest and corruption. It is not to us an indifferent question ; and we cannot look at it dispassionately and impartially. And then, alas ! sin stains our moral vision, so that we cannot look at it with the discerning eyes of holiness. The mischiefs of sin we are still less able to compute ; for we cannot trace, or count, or measure them. What is obvious may not be the whole ; and what seems the greatest may be the smallest part. The experience of this world by no means favors the opinion, that sins that seem small, may not bring very awful and lasting distresses. A single misstep often darkens and embitters a long life. The faults of childhood sometimes blast the whole remainder of an earthly course. A single evil deed not uncommonly inflicts a wound on the character which no repentance will cure. And the exemplariness of years may fail to obliterate the stain a moment may communicate. All life is full of warning against trifling with sin. All goes to suggest a suspicion, that there may be in it a malignity and a destructiveness, which we cannot understand on earth.

We have dwelt thus long on the pamphlet before us, because we felt the extent of mischief the quotation of such a name as Mr. Foster's in favor of a very alluring and pernicious error, was fitted to produce. We have sought to provide an antidote to the poison, and in this way, within the sphere of our influence, we may hope we have done some good.

PURITANISM.

- ART. V.—1. *The History of the Puritans.* By DANIEL NEAL, M. A. London, Feb. 1, 1731–32.
2. *New England's Memorial.* By NATHANIEL MORTON, Secretary to the Court for the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth. March 26, 1669.
3. *Copy of an Original unpublished Letter* of Brother JOHN UNDERHILL, preserved in one of the ancient families of English Puritans, dated Boston, 28 fourth month, 1638.
4. *The English Puritans, as they were, and their New England Descendants, as they are.* 1849.

No doubt the English Puritans were men, in some sense, useful in their day and generation. That is doubtless true to some extent, of all men, as even tornadoes and earthquakes are not without their service. But that they were such a peculiar race of men as their admirers and worshipers would fain have us believe, we could never at all comprehend. A flourish of rhetoric, a hyperbole, in speaking of one's own party, and even a caricature of those who differ from us, is all well enough in its way. We do not at all grudge any one the little consolation they can thus obtain. Such things, generally speaking, work their own cure. But when men have heralded their own praises so long, that they begin to esteem simple silence as abuse, it is time to demand the proofs, and to look into the title-deeds. We would not, if we could, pluck one star from their crown. But we do not choose to have men in full life, with all their sins upon them full blown and flush as May, arrogate to themselves the right to wear a crown of martyrdom, and at the hands of the Church, too, which they most vilely impugned and scandalized so long as they remained within her communion, and which derived the most grateful boon at their hands, when they finally consented to leave her fold and set up a Church of their own. We know, indeed, that this same Puritanism is a name of great significance, and we do not intend to mar its escutcheon or deface one laurel in its crown. It is indeed a power of vast energy for evil, and in some sense for good, perhaps. Its deeds of daring, its works of wisdom, and its projects for advancement, are freely ad-

nitted. It has something to do, though not to the extent claimed, with the main-spring of enterprise and the vast motive-power of this nineteenth century. But nevertheless it is essentially a worldly spirit, an arm of flesh, and not unlike that sentiment which warms the breast and nerves the arm of the successful military chief. Its impulses are magnanimity, glory, renown, pride, and unhallowed ambition; while, like the philosophy of the Greeks and Romans, it spurns humility, lowliness of spirit, patient submission to insult and injury. It prates largely of the dignity of human nature; of the nerve and warlike energy of the Anglo-Saxon race; but despises in principle, and in practice spurns from its communion, the vile, the base and the abandoned, the houseless and the erring. It seeks companionship with the well-fed, the refined, and the respectable; at least such are its present aspirations and pretensions. But in truth, the early Puritans were a rude, hard-featured, and unscrupulous race of men—men with little veneration for anything, human or divine. They were men of the most reckless, radical, and self-satisfied character. Men who affected to despise all the possessions of kings and prelates, as they did in fact all the forms and all the authority both of the Church and the State. But this they lightly esteemed only so long as it remained in other hands, and, in short, because it was in other hands.

The Church is essentially the great conservative power of this age, as indeed she has always been in all ages.

Puritanism is, and always has been, her great antagonism. The truth is, the English Puritans are but the exponents, the *idem redivivus*, of a numerous class of men, which the Church always has had around her borders, daily and hourly besetting her fortresses, attempting to carry her defenses and her strongholds one after another, and which she always expects to have, and always will have. From the earliest ages of the Christian Church, these men have existed without the Church, in her outer porch, refusing to enter her hallowed shrines and consecrated temples, because they were impure! because they had become in some way defiled by the unhallowed touch of worldly-minded men! Even the name of Puritan, as applied to a professedly Christian sect, is not of modern origin. The name Puritan, after the Cathari, or Puritani of the third century, as applied to the English non-conformists, was originally intended as a term of reproach, says Neal, in the preface to his History, "but well enough expresses their desire for a more pure form of worship and discipline in the Church." Yea, more pure, because in their own power!

Great pains is taking, and has long been taken, to impress upon the public mind the belief, that the English Puritans were a peculiar race of men, such as the world had never before known! That they were in fact the express ministers of the Almighty! commissioned for the great work of reforming the English Church! That they were men of more purity, energy, and disinterestedness, than all other men! That they were, in fact, oppressed men—men of great self-sacrifice, and patient endurance of wrong and outrage! and that they finally came to America for the mere purpose of enjoying and establishing liberty of conscience, freedom of thought and action! But all this is mere pretension; put forth originally to cover the retreat consequent upon an inglorious defeat, and since kept up in school-books, Fourth of July orations, lyceum-lectures, &c. &c., in order to keep alive that spirit of bitterness which was engendered by the conflict, and which they deemed it wise, no doubt, not to let die, in order to prevent the relapse of their descendants into idolatry!

That the Puritans were a strong-minded, sound-headed, self-conceited, bigoted, and self-willed people, no one doubts. No man could live long in New England as a Churchman, and not feel this. That they are, in the main, sincere and earnest-minded men, we do not question. But that these qualities are, on the whole, anything more than physical peculiarities, we do not comprehend. That it has any more connection with a divine mission, than the color of the skin, or the curl of the lip or of the hair, it is simple jugglery and the vain pretense of a mountebank to claim. Such things are said merely for effect.

The character or position of the English Puritans, or their history, has in it nothing peculiar, unless it be a larger share of obstinacy, and more success in consequence of more indomitable energy of character and perseverance of self-will, than other men. And these latter characteristics no more bespeak a divine commission, than is to be found in the history of Alexander, or Julius Cæsar, or Napoleon. The ministry of all such men, and of all such races of men, is in some sense a divine appointment, permitted, doubtless, on account of the faithlessness of the Church. Yet they cannot expect to stand wholly acquitted because they meant it for good, or because, as in the case of Joseph, God overrules it for good both to the Church and her enemies. And if these men rely upon their success as evidence of their divine calling, which is a favorite boast among them, they should also look at the history of the followers of Loyola, whose missionaries are in

every zone, laboring with the same burning zeal upon polar snows and under the scorching skies of the equator, and with most eminent success. And even the false prophet of Mecca, if his truth and zeal were to be measured by his success, would not shrink from comparison with the most heaven-daring schism the Church has ever known. And who shall now assume to affirm that even the Latter-Day-Saints shall not, ere long, outnumber the heterogenous, vaunted, multitudinous array of these Puritans? Before worldly-minded and vain-glorious men, upon the score of their success merely, affirm too confidently that they themselves are in very truth, the special favorites of Heaven, they should remember, that Almighty God, for wise purposes no doubt, causes His sun to shine upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain upon the just and the unjust.

But not to dwell too much in mere abstractions, which is the favorite armor of New England Puritanism, let us inquire into the proofs, that the English Puritans, who have dignified themselves with the taking the pitiful sobriquet of Pilgrim Fathers, came to America as exiles. We do not find that they made any complaint of the English Church or of the English crown, unless it were in not making a farther reform in the Church. The Puritans did not wish to remain in the Church, except for the avowed purpose of giving the ascendancy to their own doctrines. If prohibited from pursuing that end, they did not desire to remain. And the idea of quiet toleration to those without the national Church, to build for themselves, had not much occurred to any one, nor did the Puritans, in fact, desire any such toleration, as is evident from their so soon leaving Holland, where they did not complain that they were not left wholly unmolested. The truth is, the English Puritans aspired to something more than mere toleration. They harbored a spirit of great enterprise and aspiration: of building a commonwealth, and a Church for themselves. This is all very fully and distinctly avowed by the author of the book at the head of our article, "New England's Memorial," himself one of their own number, and one of the earliest of their apologists. We shall quote the reasons he assigns for their leaving Leyden at large, the italics and capitals only being added, to save extended comment.

"But notwithstanding their amiable and comfortable carrying, (as hath been said,) although the Church of Christ in Holy Writ, on Earth, is sometimes called Heaven, yet there is always in their most perfect state here in this lower world, very much wanting as to absolute and perfect happiness, which is only reserved for the time and place of the full enjoyment of celestial glory; for *although this Church was at peace and in rest at this time*, yet they took up thoughts of remov-

ing themselves into America with common consent ; the proposition for removing thither being set on foot and prosecuted by the elders upon just and weighty ground ; for although they did *quietly and sweetly enjoy their Church liberties under the States, yet they foresaw that Holland would be no place for their Church and posterity to continue in comfortably*, at least in that measure *that they hoped to find abroad*, and for these reasons *following, which I shall write AS RECEIVED FROM THEMSELVES.*

“ First, because themselves were of a different language from the Dutch, where they lived and were settled in their way ; insomuch that in ten years’ time, whilst their Church sojourned among them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of observation of the Lord’s day *as a Sabbath, or any other thing amiss among them.*”

Here it is evident the Puritans were not content to remain merely passive. They must set up their own system, a leading point in which was, converting one of the festivals of the Church, the Lord’s day, into a most solemn fast, a veritable Jewish Sabbath. This was one of the prominent difficulties which they always had in England, and have still. It is the very Shibboleth of Puritanism. Neal says, Vol. I, p. 208:—

“ Hitherto the controversy between the Church and Puritans had been chiefly about habits and ceremony, [a most glorious ground of so bitter a controversy !] but now it began to open upon points of doctrine ; for this year Dr. Bounds published his treatise of the Sabbath, wherein he maintained the morality of a seventh part of the time for the worship of God ; that Christians are bound to *rest on the Lord’s day as much as the Jews on the Mosaical Sabbath.*

“ Archbishop Whitgift called in all the copies of Dr. Bounds’ book, and forbade it to be reprinted, and Lord Chief Justice Popham did the same ; both of them declaring that the Sabbath Doctrine agreed neither with the doctrine of our Church nor with the laws and orders of the kingdom.”

So that, most evidently, it was not simple *toleration* which the Puritans desired, even in England. They looked towards reformation in the Church. They greatly desired to have her, that they might sift her like wheat. And this Sabbatizing tendency was one of the points upon which they were most strenuous, and most impatient of control. One of the gravest charges which they have preferred against Queen Elizabeth, and against Laud, was suffering sports upon Sunday, after the Church service. And that, with his favoring Arminianism more than Calvinism, helped to cause Laud’s martyrdom, no doubt, at the hands of these same persecuted Puritans ; of which venerable prelate, Southey, in his *Book of the Church*, justly says, in connection with King Charles:—“ For never were two men more conscientiously attached to the Church of England, more devoutly convinced of its doctrines, more deeply sensible of its inestimable value to the nation, than this King and this Primate, who in their lives were the most steadfast of its defenders and the most munificent of its benefactors, and in their deaths the most illustrious of its martyrs.”

But we must hasten to conclude Mr. Secretary Morton’s

other reasons for the emigration to America, which we shall leave to our readers, without comment, as sufficiently showing that the Puritans did not claim to come hither by compulsion; that they were, in fact, no more exiles or pilgrims, than are the adventurers to California or the Arctic Seas.

"Secondly. Because their countrymen, who came over to join with them, by reason of the hardness of the country, soon spent their estates, and were then forced to return back to England or live very meanly.

"Thirdly. That many of their children, through the extreme necessity that was upon them, although of the best dispositions, and graciously inclined, and willing to bear part of their parents' burdens, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, that although their spirits were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepid in their early youth, and the vigor of nature consumed in the very bud. And that which was very lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was, that many, by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of youth, in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil example into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins on their necks and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea and others even worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the destruction of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and the dishonor of God; and that the place being of great licentiousness and liberty to children, they could not educate them, nor could they give them due correction, without reproof or reproach from their neighbors.

"Fourthly. That their posterity would, in a few generations, become Dutch, and so lose their interest in the English nation, they being desirous rather to enlarge his majesty's dominions, and to live under their natural prince.

"Fifthly, and lastly, and which was not the least, a great hope and inward zeal that they had, of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancement of the Gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, although they should be but as stepping stones unto others for the performance of so great a work."

He subsequently adds:—

"They having employed sundry agents to treat with several merchants in England, who adventured some considerable sums in a way of valuation, to such as went personally on the voyage; the articles of agreement about the premises being fully concluded with the said merchants and sundry difficulties and obstructions removed, having also obtained letters patent for the northern parts of Virginia of King James of famous memory, &c., they came from Holland to America."

If, after all this, any one will pretend that these men were anything more than adventurers, coming out under the patronage of the English government, with English capital, to find an open field where they could build up a Church and commonwealth according to their own conceits, then it is impossible to establish such a proposition by evidence. There is not the least evidence of constraint or compulsion in the matter, except that they could not get the control of the Church, which they most devoutly desired, and earnestly labored to obtain for many centuries; and the hope is not yet quite abandoned by some of the pious Puritans there, unless the late secession of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel is to be understood as a giving up in despair. If the English Church

could now get rid of a score of such men, in the same quiet way, she might remain at peace for centuries.

We do not affect, however, to disguise the fact, that Puritanism and the Church cannot exist in harmony together. It is not wonderful that the Puritans should conclude there is no religion in the Church, since they esteem piety and Puritanism as identical. We sometimes almost come to the belief that they are serious in these pretensions, since they put them forth with such an air of *sang froid*. With men who have no sins of their own to confess and repent of, perhaps the most rational employment is the studying out, and setting in array the sins of others! And this is an employment in which the English Puritans have been long engaged, and for which they possess eminent gifts. If they are peculiar in anything, it is in this, in having no faults or defects, either of reason, or emotion, or understanding; of act, or purpose! But we have said, and we repeat, that the controversy between the English Church and the Puritans, was of necessity a struggle for existence. There could be no agreement. One party must of necessity predominate. The Church, if possessed by the Puritans, would cease to be a Church. Its secular establishment, its venerable ritual, its solemn assemblies, its glorious chaunts and sublime hymns, its priesthood, its hierarchy, its order, and its discipline, must all give place to bare benches, doggerel rhymes, conventicle psalm singing, groanings of the inner man, special gifts, *prophesyings*, and *exercises*;* and these, in turn, to the adoption of a system of measures, which have been practised, renounced, denounced, and taken up again, twenty times over, in New England in the last twenty years.

English Puritanism, in its position and pretensions, is no new thing. All new sects in the Church, all reformers everywhere—and their number is infinite, and their devices numberless—spring from the supposed or pretended promulgation of some new and better way, each claiming to be the quint-

* The Puritan prophesyings, according to Neal, seem to have been a kind of convocation of the Puritan portion of the Clergy or evangelical society. They seem to have been put under *voluntary canons* of great stringency, one of which was, "If any break orders, the president shall command him, in the name of the Eternal God, to be silent, and after the *exercise* he shall be reprimanded!" As if such an *imprecation* were not sufficient reprimand for any but a Puritan! And as to the word *exercise*, it seems in some sense, a metonymy, or adoption of the phraseology of the military drill of the soldier into the phraseology of the Church militant. We have heard such meetings called, by way of banter, *drills*, but it had not before occurred to us that that form of speech was really justified by most approved Puritan precedent.—Neal, Vol. I, p. 147.

essence, or perfection itself, until some new operator appears upon the stage. The early sects in the Church were, in these respects, not different from the English Puritans. And the first four centuries of the Church, while its discipline was mild, more so than ever since perhaps, were prolific of sects and schisms. During this period, they multiplied almost beyond conception. More than thirty have been enumerated, and their history has come down to us. Of how many the very names have utterly perished, we know not. Of these primitive sects, each one had many subdivisions and off-shoots, and of the Gnostics alone, it is said, upon the authority of Eusebius, Iræneus, and Sozomen, they were divided into more than fifty sects, the most considerable of which were the Marcionites and Manichæans. Each of these fifty sects could boast of its Bishops and congregations, of its doctors and martyrs, at the hands of pagan emperors and governors. For in these early ages in the history of the Church, neither her children, or those who departed from her fold, either as mere schismatics, or even as heretics, suffered martyrdom at the hands of each other. These Gnostics extended themselves into almost every remote province of the Roman Empire, and finally established themselves in the very heart of the mistress of cities, the metropolis and emporium of the world. Their number alone must have almost equalled that of the whole Catholic* or orthodox Church of that day, and they continued flourishing through more than two centuries.

* In the 10th book and 5th chapter of Eusebius' History, we have copies of the imperial and proconsular decrees for restoring "to the Catholic Church of the Christians," property taken from them during the former persecutions. From the use of the word here, it appears that the term *Catholic Church* included all that portion of the Christians which professed to adhere to the original organization, and were consequently at unity among themselves. But those who seceded from the original organization, on account of their alledged departure from the true faith, were denominated *schisms* at least. If they erred in doctrine, *heresies*; and when they professed to follow *some one name* in opposition to the Church, they were denominated *sects*. In the Emperor Constantine's ordinance referring the controversy as to Cæcilianus the Bishop of Carthage, to the Bishop of Rome and certain coadjutors, and in his Epistle calling the council of Arles, in regard to the same controversy, which finally resulted in the schism of the Donatists, the word Catholic is used in the same sense.

In Constantine's letter to the Bishop of Carthage, granting money to the African Churches, the objects of the gratuity are denominated. "the ministers of the legitimate and most holy Catholic religion." In the same epistle, the proconsul is especially cautioned to guard against the influence of certain African Puritans, who are described as "men of no settled mind, [who] wish to divert the people from the most holy Catholic Church, by a certain pernicious adulteration." Eusebius speaks, too, of the Catholic Clergy, and of the Catholic writings, meaning canonical Scriptures, as we use that expression. The Epistles of St. James, St. Peter, and St. John, in the original Greek, are called *Catholic* Epistles. So that the word Catholic signifies *canonical, orthodox, and universal or primitive, as opposed to irregular, heretical, partial, and modern or new light*.

Now when it is remembered that each of these sects, schisms, or heresies, claimed to be wiser, and purer, and better than the Church; that each one in turn, which departed from these primitive sects, claimed to be wiser, and purer, and better than its predecessor, it is not strange that we should find among them all, in principle, and often in terms, the exact counterpart of the English Puritans. To such an extent is this true, that we have but to change the name, *et de te fabula narratur*; and in one case, even the *name* is identical. We may be allowed to describe some few, whose characteristics are most decidedly Puritan.

The Priscillianists of the fourth century, who seem to have been a kind of Unitarian Gnostics, practised great severity and austerities upon themselves, and pretended to great light and purity. Their founder, according to Dr. Gregory's Church History, Vol. I, p. 210, "whatever might be the professed purity of his faith, was deficient in every amiable quality of the human heart." In that respect, certainly, if in no other, he resembled Cromwell, Pym, Praise-god-Barebones, and many other of the English Puritans.

Audæus, too, in the fourth century, a kind of semi-Arian, who united with Aetius and Jovinian, seems to have been, in many respects, a Puritan. He manifested great abhorrence of Clerical depravity; held there was no distinction between Bishops and Presbyters; and condemned, with severity, not only prayers for the dead, and the celibacy of the Clergy, but many of the established rites of the Church. Whether he was himself either a Bishop or Priest, does not distinctly appear; or whether his own chastity was preëminent, or the contrary, is not written. And how far his abhorrence for prayers for the dead, might result from the love of contradiction, or of vain glory, in an assumed improvement of the doctrines of the Church; or how far his disgust at the established formularies of the Catholic Church, was the offspring of his own eminent gifts, is not told us. We cannot, therefore, affirm with the fullest confidence, how far the parallel holds between his followers and the English Puritans. Enough, however, appears to justify the belief, that the similarity approached very nearly to identity.

The Arians, during this century, almost literally overran the Church, especially in the East, and numbered among their adherents many of the Emperors. Their own divisions and subdivisions became almost innumerable, and they continued to flourish for many centuries, and are perhaps not wholly extinct at the present day, among the descendants of the

Puritans, either in Great Britain or America. But in comparison with their former state, they are as the small dust of the balance, or the drop of the bucket to the ocean. It is said at one time, that St. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, was the only Bishop in the Eastern Church, not tintured with some shade of Arianism in doctrine. And each one of those Arian divines professed a purer faith than Athanasius ; but that faith is now scattered to the winds of heaven, and the creed of Athanasius is the acknowledged creed of the Catholic Church, both in the East and the West.

Many of the eccentricities and excesses of the ancient Mystics, will be found among the early Puritans. The doctrines of this sect were, briefly, the assuming a degree of sanctity and perfection above the range of vulgar minds, and an affectation of peculiar elevation of the soul, by rejecting the innocent gratifications of sense. They practised great austerities, and professed great purity. It is questioned by many historians, whether their professions were anything more than mere pretension. Indeed, all experience shows, that those sects which have professed to elevate their moral purity above the common standard of daily devout life, and who have practised in public the most severe and often disgusting austerities, have in the confidence of their own intimate communion, and among the initiated, in just about the same proportion as in public they affected greater sanctity and purity, given the loose rein to the most abandoned passion and licentiousness. It seems to be a trait in humanity, that in proportion as men practise such an uncalled for austerity at one time, they seem to themselves, by a kind of work of supererogation, to purchase the right to future indulgence.

The excesses of the English Puritans in this direction, are too well known to require recapitulation. They carried extremes so far, that it is impossible to believe it was anything more than affectation. Says Southey, in his Book of the Church, "Instances occurred, where they were strong enough, of their thrusting the Clergy out of their own Churches, *if they wore the surplice*, and taking away the bread from the Communion table, *because it was in the wafer form !* Some fanatics spit in the face of their old acquaintance, to testify their utter abhorrence of conformity. There were refractory Clergy, who refused to baptize by any names which were not to be found in Scripture ; and as one folly leads to another, the Scripture names were laid aside, for such significant appellations as Deliverance, Discipline, From-above, More-trial, More-fruit, Joy-again, Earth, Dust, Ashes, Kill-sin, and Fight-

the-good-fight-of-faith!" It will be difficult to convince sober, sound minded and disinterested men, that all this, and much more of the same sort, did not proceed from mere affectation and obstinacy. In these respects, they closely resembled many of the sects of the ancient Mystics.

The followers of Novatus, a presbyter of Carthage, and who, according to Eusebius, secretly and surreptitiously obtained consecration to the Episcopate, at the hand of the most ignorant of the remote country Bishops, were not only Puritans by profession, but in name also. This Novatus put forth the most outrageous pretensions to purity in the outset, one of his cardinal doctrines being, that all sin after baptism was the sin against the Holy Spirit, which hath forgiveness, neither in this life, or in that which is to come. From this we may infer the general scope of his own pretensions, and those of his followers. For one sin man was eternally lost. The man who promulgates such a creed, must of course expect it will be inferred that he lives without sin. And yet this claim to supereminent piety, was substantially the profession of the English Puritans, as it is of their modern representatives. The declaration of Baptist W. Noel, that the great body of the English Clergy are unconverted men, *i. e.* all who are not of his own calibre, is not unlike the spirit of Novatus. And yet this Novatus, having first disclaimed with an oath, any desire for the Episcopate, surreptitiously obtained consecration at the hands of three Bishops in Italy. "In the smallest part of Italy, by some fictitious plea, to impose upon these Bishops, men altogether ignorant and simple, in discussing the artifices and villainy of the wicked, at the tenth hour, when heated with wine and surfeiting, they forced them to confer the Episcopate upon him."* His followers from being above sin, fell into a degree of licentiousness too horrid to name.

The Donatists we might refer to, in illustration of the same general fact, that all the ancient sectaries were essentially in principle and practice, Puritans, if it were not that the Donatists were, in every respect, so infinitely superior to the English Puritans. They were in fact mere schismatics, and, in many respects, the most remarkable, which the history of the Church affords. They were the great majority of the African Church, purely sound in doctrine, and followed, in all respects, the order of the Catholic Church. The schism arose from the fact of the consecration of Cæcilianus, Bishop of Carthage, without consulting the Bishops of Numidia, who,

* Eusebius, Book 6, Chapter 43, page 264, American Edition. 1842.

being of the same province, were entitled to be consulted, by courtesy, if nothing more. These Bishops cited Cæcilianus before a Council of seventy Bishops, where he was formally deposed, and his own deacon promoted to his See. Notwithstanding this, the Emperor appointed this controversy to be heard by the Bishop of Rome and three others, whose decision was favorable to the deposed Bishop, and he was reinstated. But the disaffected Bishops, headed by Donatus, still resisted, which led to the Council of Arles, at which two hundred Bishops attended, and the Bishop of London among the number, which shows the respect paid the English Church, at this early day, and the perfection of their organization, long before the irruption of the alledged errors of the Church of Rome. The Donatists were again condemned, but still resisted. Constantine and his successors endeavored to exterminate them by severity, and to reclaim them by clemency, but in vain, for many centuries. They continued numerous, but confined to Africa, retaining in substance the order and doctrine of the Catholic Church, but finally split into sects, each new sect making clamorous pretensions to have within its own borders, "the ONLY TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST," and thus miserably perished. In these latter incidents, it is perhaps not difficult to perceive some similarity to the present and prospective history of New England Puritanism.

And why indeed it is, that with such unanswerable refutation of its truth on almost every page of the early history of the Church, it should be continued to be thus perseveringly and obstinately affirmed, that the English Puritans were, that their descendants are, a peculiar race of men, we confess ourselves at a loss to comprehend. And why, when we reflect upon their origin and past history, no less than upon their present condition, they should hope to escape the fate of all those who, like Theudas, have in the Church, or out of it, boasted themselves to be somebody, but finally their followers, have been scattered and brought to naught, is, in our apprehension, the extreme of hardihood and presumption.

It may be that they have so long been accustomed to hear their own praises sung, and their own sufferings commiserated, that they believe themselves to be what they have so long represented, in periodical publications, on Fourth of July Meetings, and at other gatherings. But it ought to be known and remembered that the Puritans were begotten in rebellion, and that the Puritans of New England were nursed in sturdy resistance to all

lawful authority. There may be some hope that the Methodists, whose doctrines and polity are essentially orthodox, will return into the Church, as year by year great numbers of them do. But we dare not anticipate this from the Puritans. Before that last prayer of the Saviour shall be fulfilled, 'That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me and I in thee, that they also may be one in us, that the world may believe that thou hast sent me;' before this great consummation of the perfect unity of the disciples of Immanuel, we fear that these moderns must suffer the fate of their numerous prototypes. We have little hope of reclaiming them as a body. Solitary instances occur, like angels visits, of the more cultivated, gentle and yielding, among them, returning into the Church. After the fullest conviction of the utter futility of attempting to reconcile either their doctrine or order, such as it is, with Scripture, reason or history, they have as consistent, truth-abiding men, sought rest in the Church. It has been only by excluding (*de industria*) every vestige of early Church history from their schools, from the highest to the lowest, that they have continued to maintain their ground. Half their College graduates, and many of their educated ministers, know nothing of Eusebius, the only authentic record of the history of the Church for more than two centuries, next following the Acts of the Apostles, except what they have seen in Paley's Evidences. And those who desire to look farther, only learn, by an epitome of the Fathers, made to hand by some modern D. D., wherein the truth is glossed over or excluded, that there is no importance in, and no reliance upon, the history of the Church in primitive times. They are told substantially, that the true Church was discovered or established at the Reformation, by Luther and Calvin, and still further purified and perfected by John Knox and the English Puritans!

Yet what should we think of that lawyer who should profess himself seriously anxious to acquire a thorough and intimate knowledge of the entire polity of the Roman state, and who should at the same time confine his study to the twelve tables, or to the Institutes and novels of Justinian, utterly rejecting all history of the contemporaneous and subsequent exposition of the twelve tables, as well as the Code and the pandects, and all commentary upon them, under the apprehension that he might forsooth be imposed upon by something spurious. He might justly urge, no doubt, that some portion of the ancient writings, both sacred and profane, which have come down to our day, are open to great suspicion, as to their perfect genuine-

ness. Would it therefore be wise to refuse to read Cicero, and Livy, and Tacitus, Sallust and Theodosius, and Tribonian and his associates, or the annual or perpetual edicts of the Prætors, or the rescripts of the Emperors, and the scores of commentators in later days, upon the *corpus juris civilis*? These men do not apply such absurd reasoning to any other subject but theology. A Puritan lawyer is told in the outset, that he must become familiar with all contemporaneous exposition, if he would obtain certain and reliable information in regard to the object and intention of ancient statutes, or customary laws; and that, for this purpose, the mere verbal knowledge of the text of ancient laws is wholly inadequate. He is told that in the exposition of all civil statutes, TRADITION is first, midst, and last, the alpha and omega. And after thus getting some insight into the intricacies and labyrinths of the common and civil law, it is not singular that, applying the same method of reasoning to Ecclesiastical polity, a large portion of those Puritans, who, year by year, conform to the Church, are members of the legal profession. And of those who are not lawyers, the far larger portion are sober, devout, well-informed and unambitious men and women, such as are more careful to be devout and humble followers of Christ, than to display their own special gifts, or to figure as committee men and women of visible societies. For, be it remembered, if the Church is *invisible*, they take good care that these societies shall be *visible*, and *audible*, and *potential*.

Hence the great effort among these men to impress upon all their congregations, two prominent ideas in regard to the Church. 1st. That there is no necessity, no certainty, and no safety in going back beyond the time of Luther. 2d. That there is not, and cannot exist, any deep, thorough and earnest spirit of devotion without the limits of their own charmed circle, and that especially is this true of the Church.

In regard to the first of these propositions, little more need be said. We could not here, of course, go into any extended vindication of the Catholic traditions of the Church; with discontented men they require none, and with mere partisans none could be satisfactory. Although one arose from the dead, it would not convince the unwilling and the obstinate. It may be permitted to us to say, that aside from the claim of direct inspiration, which the Puritans in terms disclaim, it seems a strange proposition, that Luther, and Calvin, and John Knox, should be able to give us a more reliable exposition of the just interpretation of Scripture, in regard both to the doc-

trine and polity of the Church, than the earliest of the Christian Fathers, men who almost literally walked and conversed with God manifest in the flesh, and who did in very truth, day by day, learn of St. John and St. Paul, and the other Apostles, the things which pertain to the kingdom of Heaven.

It will not be denied, we suppose, that Linus and Clement are mentioned in Scripture, as the associates and fellow-laborers of St. Paul. It will not therefore be denied that such men did exist. But it rests upon substantially the same authority, that both these men were Bishops of the Church of Rome, and that the former must have been consecrated to that holy office by the Apostles themselves. This is distinctly recognized by Eusebius, who is preëminently the father of ecclesiastical history, who wrote within two hundred years of the death of St. John, and who must himself have conversed with many who had themselves had personal knowledge of Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, and with others who had been personally known to the Apostles themselves. This writer is the only historian of the Church, after the Acts of the Apostles, until the council of Nice, A. D. 325. In his history he collects and combines most of the historical writings of the Church then extant, and forms a connected history, until the year A. D. 324, which has come down to our own time, in such a form as to leave not the shadow of a doubt of its perfect genuineness. From this source we derive the most complete refutation of the entire system of the Puritans, in so unanswerable a shape, that sensible men among them do not attempt to evade the force of the argument, except by denying the authenticity of all those portions of the early Christian Fathers; wherein their own system is shown to have had no existence whatever in the primitive ages of the Church; and the entire order and polity of the Church as she now is, to have existed in perfection, before the death of the Apostles. This is no doubt a very convenient mode of disposing of invincible obstacles. But the misfortune is, that if this general impeachment of the Fathers is admitted, it sweeps away the Christian Scriptures also. For the deist may use the same argument to countervail their authority. For if either through the uncertainty of the tradition, by or through which the writings of Eusebius have come down to us, or through the fraud of the Roman Church, they may have been forged, or interpolated, or mutilated, what shall we say of the Scriptures, which are of an earlier date, and which were intermingled with hundreds of other subsequent and similar writings; and as to which we have no means of determining

either their authenticity or their claim to inspiration, except by the testimony of this same Eusebius, coming to us through this same Roman Church? Verily, these men must be absurdly stupid or strangely self-willed, not to comprehend the wisdom of burning down their own house, in order to involve others in a common ruin. In regard to the other charge, the want of a spirit of devotion in the Church, it is not a subject upon which we care to dwell. That is an accusation, essentially Puritan and Pharisaical in its character. Those who have least of it, from the very levity which the want of it produces, have the more freedom in uttering and reiterating the loudest pretensions to its profession and exercise. There is doubtless need enough of an increase of piety in the Church. But according to Rowland Hill, of eccentric memory, the English Dissenters have been the occasion of more piety, in the Church, than among themselves. Nor can it have escaped our readers, how little of this spirit of railing has existed in the Church. It is now as in the days of Christ upon the earth. It is the sick who need the physician, and who alone will submit to his prescriptions. Obedience, humility, and a teachable temper, are indispensable to the possession of Christian graces. He comes not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. It is only those who are painfully conscious of daily need of His powerful succor and support, who will apply the aids of the Holy Spirit. And yet how is all this wholly at variance with the practice of Puritanism, ancient and modern?

But to return from this digression. The Puritans, as we have before said, upon all other subjects can well enough comprehend the force of contemporary exposition and tradition, and indeed upon this subject, if it does not afford evidence against themselves. They are ever found ready to quote Josephus, Tacitus, and Pliny, in confirmation of the history contained in the New Testament. And in these quotations, we hear no doubts intimated of any interpolations of these authorities. But it is known to every one, that these very passages are open to far more suspicion of their perfect genuineness, than are the early Christian Fathers. Indeed, no one doubts the entire genuineness of Eusebius' history, more than of every portion of the New Testament. And the Puritans are ready enough to quote the Fathers, in favor of infant baptism and the due observance of the Lord's day, and many cardinal points of the Christian faith, not formally and technically announced in Scripture. In this respect their glaring inconsistency hardly needs comment.

As to the doctrinal teaching of Puritanism, their system is based more upon philosophy, than anything else. Their religion is intellectual, rather than moral, one of speculation more than habit, in the head rather than the heart, exhibited more in the nice refinements of their creed, than in the daily ministry of a devout life. "A Puritan, therefore," says Neal, in his preface, "was a man of severe morals, a Calvinist in doctrine, and a non-conformist." The Puritans indeed boast of having maintained inviolate the doctrines of the bold reformer of Geneva. And this is but another name for fatalism. It is but the revivification of the Stoic philosophy of the Greeks. "The first reformers in England, as in other European countries," says Hume, "had embraced the most rigid tenets of predestination and absolute decrees, and had composed upon that system all the articles of their religious creed."*

We are speaking of course of Calvinism, not in its present modified form, which is no Calvinism at all, but as taught by its great expounder. It requires but a slight analysis of the philosophy of Zeno, to comprehend the identity between the main doctrines of that philosopher, and him of Geneva, the author of the Institutes. The system of both is rather a system of philosophy, than of morals or religion. The doctrines of Calvin are so familiar to all our readers, as scarcely to require to be named; but a brief enumeration may be useful in order to place them in juxtaposition with those of the Stoics. The early English Puritans enumerated among the abominations of the doctrines of the Church, according to their own historian and apologist, Neal, "man's merits, FREE WILL, justification by works," [through faith.] Indeed, the utter want of *free will* is a cardinal doctrine, in the theory of Calvinism. The famous treatise of Edwards upon the Will, which is esteemed a text-book, and almost a creed, among all thorough Calvinists, is a labored and ingenious, perhaps a plausible argument, as far as any argument can be said to be plausible to prove an absurdity, to establish the doctrine of the *entire subjection of the will to extraneous influences*. And the Institutes of Calvin contain many most absurd and shocking

* "According to the Stoics," says Dr. Tytler in his *Universal History*, "the whole universe and God himself, the soul of that universe, are regulated by certain laws, which are immutable and resulting from necessity." "The will of man, like the divine will, is subject to unalterable laws." "The virtue of the Stoics was not a principle of tranquil and passive acquiescence, it was a state of continual, active, and vigorous exertions."—Vol. 1, pp. 278-9.

The account of Dr. Gillies is somewhat more extended, and seems more fully to exhibit the general similarity of the two systems.—Gillies' *Greece*, pp. 470 et seq.

inferences from the same general proposition, which he indeed professes to be a necessary deduction from the known and acknowledged attributes of the Almighty. Calvin positively asserts that the conversion of the sinner, and the impenitence of those who finally persevere in sin, are equally matters of necessity, wholly aside of, and beyond the power of the subject of those exercises,—thus making sin and salvation depend upon some objective necessity, and not mere subjective qualities, or acts of the creature, as the Church professes and believes. Of the doctrines of the Stoics, a pervading article was this same abiding spirit of necessity, of heartless, bald fatalism.

It ought not then perhaps to be an occasion of wonder, that the Puritans, having embraced such a philosophy, should depart very essentially from the usages of the Church. If a sect begins in mere philosophy, it is likely to end in confusion. The intention of the Saviour and his Apostles appears, very clearly, to have been to decry all refinements in mere philosophy and doctrine, knowing that its end must be in schism and utter confusion. And the history of the Church shows, that all sects have sprung from some vain speculation in doctrine. The Church disavows all such speculations. She requires but few articles of faith to be adopted by the laity, and those expressed in such general propositions, as to allow reasonable latitude for the necessary differences in the constitution of the minds of man, and in education. Hence Calvinism, beginning in *doctrine*, has continued to *philosophize*, until the home of its founder is now overrun with every shade of rationalism ; and it is little better, wherever the heresy of this false philosophy has extended. What is the doctrine of Calvinism in New England ? Is it to be found at New Haven, or at East-Windsor, or at Cambridge ? Is it Taylorism, or Tylerism, or Bushnellism, or Nortonism, or Parkerism, or Burchardism ? Who shall decide, when doctors disagree ? One thing is certain, that primitive, undiluted, unadulterated Calvinism, does not now exist in New England. It cannot be found short of the walls of Nassau Hall.

North and east of that ancient strong hold of Calvinism, the doctrine of a partial atonement cannot be found, distinctly put forth, and dogmatically taught. Notwithstanding, this was the fundamental doctrine of the Genevan democracy, as it was also of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. It was this feature in doctrine, which justified to their own minds the express declaration of these Theocracies, in

recorded votes: 1st. 'That the earth is the Lord's, and belongs to His saints; 2d. That we are THE SAINTS.'

Such a presentation of the character of God has done more, in its inevitable and fearful reaction, to make Socinians, and Arians, and Unitarians, and Universalists, and Deists, and even Atheists, than all other causes combined. And so conscious are their teachers of this result, that you shall now seldom or never, among the better informed of their ministers, hear a purely doctrinal sermon, never one vindicating in any degree the most objectional features of their favorite theology. In giving up this system without any common ground to fall back upon, they have sadly departed from their old standards, both of doctrine and practice. The people were once a sober, Church-going, or meeting-going people, but with the multiplication of the sects, the number of worshipers is constantly decreasing, so that now in many towns, (and the one where we write, may serve as an illustration, *ex uno disce omnia*.) with seven places of constant public worship, the number of worshipers is absolutely less than it was forty years ago, when they had but one place of worship, and in the mean time the population has nearly doubled, and business in many respects quadrupled. The Church had then not a single communicant, and now she has one of the largest congregations in town. The old Puritan preacher, a venerable, godly man, in his way, has long since rested from his labors, and his only educated son is now a steady and consistent presbyter in the Church, and other ministers have gone forth from the same fold, to proclaim her Catholic doctrines. While the old orthodox, as she calls herself in New England, in the last ten years has had almost half as many ministers, and has already been compelled to colonize, more from dissension than excess of members.

Having, as we think, made it evident that Calvinism, in its original, undisguised form, was the offspring of the Stoic philosophy, we observe of it, that in its discipline it led to positive tyranny. This was largely exhibited in the early developments of the system, in New England, in a degree of tyrannical oppression, and murderous, relentless persecution, infinitely beyond what the most rabid among them ever had the hardihood to charge upon the English Church; and in a kind of inquisitorial intermeddling with the professed regulation of even the most secret thoughts of the heart, by means of exterior discipline in the Church, which is truly ludicrous. The letter named at the head of our article is still extant, with the dust and the rust of two centuries thick upon it, to attest its genuineness, if its

own internal features did not do that, more effectually than any degree of external evidence could do. And a curious development it affords, of the practical working of this system. The inquiry of the Irish juggler, who was brought before a Greenwoods justice, for exhibiting, contrary to law, feats of sleight of hand, after giving most worshipful heed to some proceedings, which seemed to him far more extraordinary than his own pretensions, when addressing himself with great solemnity to his honor, he begged to be informed "whether this was a *raal court*, or only a *temporary farcical scene*," would certainly not have been inapplicable to the case of brother John Underhill. We shall not do better than give it to our readers entire.

"Brother and Beloved, Remembering my kind love to Mr. Hilton, I now send you some note of my trials at Boston. Oh! that I may come out of this, and all the like trials, like gold seven times purified in the furnace.

After the rulers at Boston had failed to fasten what Roger Hortakinden was pleased to call the damning errors of Anne Hutchinson upon me, I looked to be sent away in peace, but Governor Winthrop said I must abide the examining of the Church. Accordingly the third day of the week, I was convened before them. Sir Harry Vane, the Governors Dudley, Haynes, with masters Colton, [Cotton?] Shepard, and Hugh Peters, were present with others. They propounded that I was to be examined touching a certain act of adultery, I had committed with one Mistress Miriam Wilbur, wife of Samuel Wilbur, for carnally looking to lust after her, at the lecture in Boston, when Master Shepard expounded.

This Mistress Miriam hath since been dealt with for coming to that lecture with a pair of wanton, open-worked gloves, slit at the fingers and thumbs, for the purpose of taking snuff; for as Master Colton observed, for what end should those vain openings be, but for the intent of taking filthy snuff—and he quoted Gregory Nazianzen upon good works. Master Peters said that these openings were Satan's port holes of fiery temptation. Mistress Miriam offered in excuse of her vain attire, that she was newly married and appeared in her bridal array. Master Peters said that marriage was the occasion that the devil took to cast his fiery darts, and lay his pitfalls of temptation to catch frail flesh and blood. She is to be farther dealt with for taking snuff. How the use of the good creature tobacco can be an offence I cannot see. Oh my beloved, how the proud Pharisees labor about the mint and cummin. Gov. Winthrop inquired of me if 'I had confessed the matter.' 'I said I wished a copy of their charge.' Sir Harry Vane said 'there was no need of any copy, seeing I knew I was guilty, charges being made out where there was an uncertainty, whether the accused was guilty or not; and to lighten the accused into the nature of his crime, here was no need.' Master Colton said, 'did you not look upon Mistress Wilbur?' I confessed that I did. 'Then you are verily guilty, brother Underhill.' 'I said nay I did not look at the woman unlawfully.' Master Peters said, 'Why did you not look at Sister Newell, or Sister Upham?' 'I said, verily they are not desirable women, as to temporal graces.' Then Hugh Peters and all cried 'it is enough, he hath confessed,' and passed to excommunication.

I said where is the law by which you condemn me? Winthrop said 'there is a committee to draft laws. Brother Peters, are you not on that committee? I am sure you have made a law against this crying sin.' Hugh Peters said 'he had such a law in his mind, but had not written it down.' Sir Harry Vane said 'it is sufficient.' Haynes said 'aye law enough for antinomians.' Master Colton took a Bible from his coat pocket and read 'whosoever looketh on a woman,' &c.

William Blackstone hath been with me privily. He weeps over the crying sins of the time, and expects soon to go out of the jurisdiction. 'I came from

England, said he, because I did not like the Lords Bishops, but I have to pray to be delivered from the Lords brethren.' Salute brother Fisk and others, who having been disappointed of liberty in this wilderness, are looking for a better country.

Your fellow traveller in this vale of tears,

JOHN UNDERHILL."

"Boston, 28 fourth month, 1638."

After what we have seen, no one should be surprised at their driving Roger Williams into exile, or at their hanging the refractory Quakers, or at their ludicrous absurdities in attempting to punish men for the sins of the heart merely, when as yet they had been expressed by no act beyond that of a suspicious look. But we have far exceeded our limits. It is no pleasant task thus to dissect the faults of our neighbors. But we feel, and feel deeply, that the opposition with which the Church has now to contend, cannot be understood without a historical retrospect, not always the most agreeable. If we have spoken plainly, we have spoken from compulsion. The issues and workings of the age are showing that the Church is essentially conservative in her constitution and teaching. Her reforms must be essentially slow, step by step, almost imperceptible, too tardy for mere human operators, keeping pace only with the slow progress of the race of man. Her cardinal teaching is obedience, in all the relations of life, in the Family and in the State, not less than in the Church. But Puritanism is in its very nature radical, restless, seeking good indeed, but not that good which comes in the slow march of ages; but the good of to-day, the good of an hour. It looks to itself for reforms, to the work of its own hands. It has no abiding, practical faith in the present, constant control of an all-wise Providence. Humanity is with them the only perfect system, and private judgment the only infallible guide. Experience they despise, tradition they affect to ridicule, at least in regard to the history of the Church, and history itself is equally set at naught, unless it subserve their own views.

Still you shall often hear them lamenting the loudest about the want of reverence in this age, when their whole system, from the first to the last, is a systematic inculcation of irreverence and disobedience. It breathes nothing like that lesson of the Catechism, which is continually and publicly taught to the children in the Church. "It is my duty to honor and obey the civil authority, to submit myself to all my governors, teachers, spiritual pastors, and masters; to order myself lowly and reverently to all my betters,—not to covet or desire other men's goods, but to learn and labor truly, to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life, unto which it shall please God to call me."

AMERICAN HISTORY.

ART. VI.—*A History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent, to the organization of Government under the Federal Constitution.* By RICHARD HILDRETH. In three volumes. Vol. 1. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849.

WE still desiderate a History of the United States. In saying this, however, we do not mean to imply that a good deal has not been accomplished; especially in the way of collecting facts, and amassing details. In this department of historical labor, nearly all has been done, that need, or that probably can be. It now remains for some person,—who, we do not hesitate to say, has not yet appeared,—to take these raw materials, and, guided by high philosophical principles, to combine them in a narrative, which shall bring out the inward movement of the nation's life, as well as present the external changes of its varying fortunes. It is not indeed to be wondered at, that this great work has not yet been performed. There are both general and special reasons why it has not, at each of which, it will be well to glance.

It is obvious, that in regard to all History, it has always been requisite that time should elapse, even after all materials had been collected, before truly large and comprehensive views of it, deserving the appellation philosophical, could be taken. And it is also absolutely necessary that a truly Christian spirit should pervade its composition, before it can be written philosophically.

How little, for instance, of anything like a philosophical view of the periods on which they were engaged, is found in any of the old Historians of Greece or Rome? Even Tacitus and Thucydides, whose names in this respect certainly stand far in advance of all others, can hardly, in strictness of speech, be termed philosophical Historians. Profound reflections, correct deductions, full apprehensions of the immediate bearings of special events, and of the workings of human nature in them, all these we find; but we do not find that estimation of the whole period as part of a larger whole, which in its turn is part of the universal, which is of the essence of philosophical history. How should we indeed expect to find it, when they had not the key which explains and adjusts the great successions of

epochs, empires, and religion? In more modern times, Machiavelli leads off the list of philosophical Historians, yet with such great defects both in his intellectual conception of his work, and his moral estimation of it, as stamp his efforts with many marks of failure. Bossuet and Montesquieu make great advances certainly on him; and the magnificent *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* of the former, is really the first specimen of a wide view of History, begun and carried out on truly Christian grounds. And yet strong objections will always lie against its latter portions, because although the eloquent Bishop of Meaux was no Ultramontanist, yet even the modified Gallican theory of the Papacy interfered with the planning of his later periods, and disarranged their orderly adjustments. The last century made small advance in the philosophical writing of History. We do not indeed forget many passages in Gibbon, nor the Preface to Robertson's Charles V; but the difficulty all along lay in the fact, that writers did not proceed on that distinctively Christian ground which we have above alluded to, and which alone is safe and true. Gibbon and Robertson may here stand as the representatives of the two classes, the one of which openly rejected and disavowed, what the other was half ashamed to own. In the long run, the one class came out not vastly better than the other.

Burke, and it is far from being the least among the many services which he rendered to his race, laid the foundations of the true philosophical school in History, the most illustrious representatives of which in our own times, have been Guizot and Frederick Schlegel. The foundation principles of the school are these: that God reigns over History, and that the great purpose which directs and overrules all the events of History, is the restoration of humanity to the lost image of God. The first of these principles had been distinctly enunciated by Bossuet; the last, though it seems to have been not overlooked, was nevertheless not so distinctly present as the former, either to his mind or to that of Burke. It must here be stated, moreover, that qualifying remarks apply both to Guizot and to Schlegel, in relation to these very points. For while in the main, Schlegel is clear and admirable upon them, yet his religious change,—which we can hardly wonder at when the alternatives were German Rationalism and the Roman Church,—did influence his application of the second principle named above, to the general course of History. While of Guizot we are compelled to feel, that he is too much

inclined to pervert both principles into a presence of God in History, and an unreal view of progress.

This rapid *resumé* of some of the important points in the progress of philosophical History, illustrates, we think, the positions that time is needed, after facts have been collected, before it can reasonably be looked for ; and that the Christian stand-point is essential to its truthfulness and reality. Moreover, it would seem that the Catholic Faith must be held in order to widenness as well as correctness of view. And it is easy to see how these general facts, which bear upon all Historical composition, bear also on that which relates to our own country, and go to explain the great want of a philosophical History of these United States.

Beside these general considerations, however, on which we have so hastily touched, there are special and peculiar ones, which may deserve at least a passing notice. The idea which one so often hears advanced, that the country and government of the United States sprang suddenly into being, like Minerva issuing from the head of Jove, has been a fruitful source of errors and misconceptions. This involves a condition of things, which is manifestly impossible. States and cities must be the slow and moderate growth of ages ; neither can be made, constructed, arranged before hand, and then cast into the "breathing world." And the supposition that this universal law was in our case reversed, or at the least suspended, has been the occasion of most false and unphilosophical views of our history ; has occasioned an almost total forgetfulness of that marvelously ordered training through which the nation passed before it became a nation, of all those wonderful vicissitudes, each leaving its deep and abiding impress, each adding its own great principle, which make up the eventful story of our nation's being.

Moreover, a most undue preponderance has hitherto been given to the part which New England has played in the civilization of the country. And this has arisen not only from that false view of its position in reference to civil and religious liberty, which, like many another vulgar error, has come to be believed because of its endless iteration, but also from the notion, that at some unknown period the principles of free government, as well as true religion, sunk into some subterranean channel in the eastern continent, and only welled up again to the light of day on Plymouth rock. With the former error, we are not here concerned, any farther than to say, that Mr. Hildreth's work is freer from it than any which we have as yet seen, and that it gives us the glimmer of a hope that the

light of truth may one day break through the mists of eulogies and orations, and even of school histories. But as to the latter, it does appear to us that it is high time a protest was entered against it. Every principle of American liberty is of Anglo-Saxon origin and growth, and could therefore be brought to the country no more by one part of the colonists than by another. While those peculiar external conditions and forms, and that peculiar confederated arrangement, under which these principles exist, were the natural and necessary results of the circumstances through which the country passed, and can no more be said to have been discovered by one of the colonies than by another. It is the commingling of the principles of the cavaliers of the Old Dominion, of the Dutch and English colonists of New York, and of the settlers of New England, ruled and regulated and modified by the providential necessities of the colonies at large, that has produced those peculiar forms and arrangements under which those old principles of liberty which have descended to us from our Anglo-Saxon ancestors have developed themselves, and in which the free life that has moved the Anglo-Saxon heart for centuries has wrought itself out. And the narrow view which confines all this great work to New England, has made our written history as unphilosophical and untrue as it is unjust and arrogant. We are glad to welcome the dawnings of a better appreciation of the truth. Mr. Hoffman's address before the New York Historical Society, has done the pioneer work, and it now remains to follow up the lead, until unfounded pretension, and unsupported as well as insupportable vanity, find their level and their place.

Having thus indicated what seem to us to be the main reasons for that deficiency in our historical literature, which cannot too deeply be regretted, we would venture to suggest certain views which bear upon the matter in hand, and that we humbly conceive strongly and directly. We are far from arrogating to ourselves the honor of having worked out the problem. But after no little reflection, a number of considerations have presented themselves, which seem to us not unimportant nor unsuggestive. If our readers think otherwise, we shall be sure that we have failed in doing them justice; but we shall not be shaken in our convictions of their truth.

The first, and, indeed, the chief point which presents itself to the consideration of the philosophical Historian, is the division and allotment of his periods; and for this, very much more is requisite than merely an acquaintance with chronology. For a division regulated by years and centuries alone, is so

obviously irrational, that there is no one principle on which it can be defended. The object in allotting historical periods, should be, to regulate their divisions by those great events or changes, actually bearing on and affecting the national life, which Providence himself has ordained to be the way-marks of history along the track of ages. For so it always chances that in the history of every nation, there are periods during which certain impulses govern; certain principles hold sway; certain issues are advancing; certain conditions of social and political life are developing themselves. And to separate and cut up these periods because they are divided by dynasties or centuries or mere external changes of any kind whatever, is much akin to those housewifely arrangements by which fires cease to burn in parlors on the first of May, and are rekindled on the first of November. If the historian fails in this point, he will, of necessity, fail in all; for he unhinges the whole work, and will be at cross purposes with himself and his subject, in all his steps and at every turn. And he need not fail in it if he shall have studied his subject well, and made himself master of its meaning; for as we have said, there must be such plain divisions and distinct periods, arranged and settled as it were by God himself. History would cease to be history without these. They are necessary and normal.

In our own history, they seem to be marked with peculiar distinctness; and their arrangement appears to us to suggest the whole idea of history-writing for ourselves. This we hope will become plain, as we advance.

The first period, then, of American History, according to these views, would embrace all facts, and we might almost add, all speculation as to facts, previous to the first permanent English settlement at Jamestown, in 1607. From no earlier settlement on the continent, of any kind whatever, did any influences proceed, which have at all affected the national progress of the United States. This, then, gives us at once our starting point, and everything previous to it will be but as an introduction or proem, touching upon things but slightly connected with the story of our civilization. The views, indeed, which it presents, as it lies before us with its few bright spots of certainty, amid its vast and wonderful wastes of dim obscurity, are far from being uninteresting; and the speculations connected with it, are far from being unimportant. The ethnologist, and the student of nature in all her various kingdoms—the lover of picturesque adventure, and heroic daring, and the rough poetry of savage life—the searcher into the laws of nations, as connected with, and influenced by, the once unquestioned

doctrine of the rights of first discoverers—these, and many others, whom time would fail us now to name, may find here “ample room and verge enough” for pleasant and useful study. But our present purpose forbids us to linger on it now, and we pass on to more stirring periods of life and action.

We find our second period, which we may denominate that of Colonial Settlement, to extend from the settlement at Jamestown in 1607, to 1689. And the reason why we would set our division at this point, is simply this:—All the Colonies with the exception of Georgia—whose settlement involved no new principles and developed no new elements of national life—had been commenced before 1689. While by the events of that and the previous year, in England, there had been brought about one especial and striking change in the condition of the Colonies. Up to that time, the wars of the Colonists had been entirely irregular, and in most cases unplanned contests with the native tribes. The very necessities of the case, and the universal character of savage warfare, brought this about. But when, by the accession of the Prince of Orange, the two powerful nations of France and England were pitted against each other in the fields of the Continent, then America also became the theatre of their wars, and a new element was gradually introduced into Colonial warfare. Its characteristics, indeed, remained as a savage warfare, but they were modified by the fact that civilized nations were now engaged in the strife, on either side. And although the warfare was still in the early stages of the contest, defensive on the part of the Colonists and the English troops, yet it was always a contest for dominion; and at last, before the close of the eventful and glorious struggle, it became offensive, and productive therefore of a new phase of national character. But more of this bye-and-bye. These two considerations seem to afford good and sufficient reasons for terminating the second period of our history, that, namely, of Colonial Settlement, with the commencement of King William’s war in 1689.

And this seems to be the proper place to introduce an observation as to the principle which should guide the philosophical historian in the selection of his materials. That principle, in its application to general history, is thus stated by Frederick Schlegel:—“The first fundamental rule of historical science and research, when by these is sought a knowledge of the general destinies of mankind, is to keep these, and every object connected with them, steadily in view, without losing ourselves in the details of special

inquiries and particular facts, for the multitude and variety of these subjects is boundless; and on the ocean of historical science, the main subject easily vanishes from the eye." At the same time, he does not deny the value of histories which are subordinated to certain ends and purposes; they have their place and their value, but above them all stands the Philosophical History. Now this principle, so simple when it is fairly stated, and yet so easily and constantly overlooked by writers of history, may be readily applied in national history, as well as in universal. For as there are few countries on the face of the earth, few men in any given era, that are really historical, so are there in any period few details which really deserve that name; because they have had probably, except in a very general way, next to nothing to do with the character, life, and truest being of the nation. How much of the detail, for instance, of battles, and treaties, and congresses, and conventions, must be rejected from that philosophical history which deals with great principles, and events of wide reach and living influence. Not that in those subordinate histories which precede the last and noblest form of history, all these may not properly find a place, and have a purpose; but that in *it* they are not needed. Rather that they encumber and overload that march and advance which is the great characteristic of Philosophical History.

This principle, then, we hold should be applied in the case now before us, and the details of each period should be regulated by it. In the present period, very much of usual minute detail as to the various Indian wars, and what may be termed private colonial history, will be omitted; and some of the great points which will be touched upon, as preparing us to estimate the social, moral, and national value of the period, will be as follows. The nations concerned in northern colonization, namely, the French, the English, the Dutch, and the Swedes. The progress of the Colonies, not only involving chronological details as to their successions, but also the motives of their founders, their various titles, the characters of the Colonists, their social and other arrangements, the issues of the nations, and the nature of the governments as chartered, royal, or proprietary. The confederation of New Haven and Connecticut Colonies in 1643, will be an event which may not be passed over, as showing how early the confederation idea was developed by the necessities of the Colonies, and proving that the Federal Government rests, in this respect, on a far deeper basis than fore-reasoned conclusions or logical deductions. King Philip's war will afford not only

an interesting view of Indian warfare in general, but will also give the opportunity to point out the peculiar training which the Colonists passed through, as preparatory to other and severer struggles. Here, too, as a subsidiary work, but rendered necessary by the mistakes and misstatements of more than a century, will be the proper place to indicate the precise character of those political and religious principles which were professed by the Puritans; to show how soon those who lived under them, became—to use Dr. Bushnell's strong word—barberized; and to point out precisely what modifications of old Anglo-Saxon principles of freedom they produced, and how much, therefore, of our present liberties is to be attributed to them. When this is done, a good deal of blustering and conceited pretension will be pretty thoroughly disposed of, and that *πρωτον ψευδος* which has disfigured the history of our country, will be permanently corrected. The progress of French settlements, the operations of the Jesuits, for which much valuable material must be found in the Collections of the State of New York, and the consideration of the Aborigines, and especially of the Five Nations, as connected with the development of Colonial life and character, will also belong to this period. And from their details, wrought out and set forth in subordination to the great principle laid down above, there will result, we believe, a very thorough and correct view of those original principles and elements, from which has grown up that wonderful national existence, which is rooted in the very soil of the land, and was developed under a series of providential dispensations; and has not been created by the fiat of an assembly, or disposed and settled in the brain of a politician. For as the process of examination and evolving advances, we shall be surprised to see how very much, which later days have indeed brought to a more perfect and established form, and arranged in orderly disposition, lies in at least a crude and unsettled state all around us; like those inner chambers and recesses of the earth, from whose chaotic and awful confusion there issue the glorious order and the heavenly beauty of all this upper world of multitudinous existence.

Nor let it be said, that this is only the modern theory of development applied in History. A few words will suffice to set this matter in its proper light. The precise difference between the Church of God, and human Governments, and States, consists in this:—That in the former case, God himself directly ordains and communicates, not principles alone, but *is* of organization also, which are unchangeable and con-

tinuous, and adapted to all time and every place. The application of these forms of organization may vary, provided always that the essential law of their constitution is not interfered with; but they themselves may not. Whereas, in regard to human governments and states, while the main principles are, or should be, everywhere essentially the same, not only the application of forms of organization, but even the forms themselves, may vary indefinitely. And while the principles lie deep down in a nation's life, and it may be, in many cases, only gradually work themselves out, yet the conditions of their forms are determined by the events of the Nation's history, the peculiarities of its position, and all the ten thousand elements that go to make up its progressive and changing life. Adapted, therefore, to all times and places, by that unerring and omniscient Wisdom which ordained her organization, and appointed her essential polity, the Church is everywhere—abating such ecclesiastical adaptations as do not nullify that ordinance of God*—to be the same; while Governments and States may, and must, vary indefinitely; and it argues great narrow-mindedness and isolation, to fancy that one form of government is, or can be, desirable for all civilized nations, differing as they must in their natural developments, their traditionary habits, their capacities for freedom, and, in a word, their national life. Development, then, while it may not be predicated of Religion and the Church, may, and should be, predicated of Government and the State. The only care must be, that it shall not be overlaid by a blind Conservatism, nor made frantic by a senseless Radicalism. And the very error of Papist and Puritan writers is, that they confound the State and the Church in reference to this important matter.

But to return. The third period of our history, beginning, as we have seen, in 1689, continues till the conquest of Canada, in 1760, or, if it be preferred to assume the date, till the peace of Paris, in 1763. We ourselves should prefer the former limit, inasmuch as it was a turning point with the Colonies. It may be called the period of struggle with France, and it afforded a great training school for the future necessities of the Colonies. Embracing four great and severe wars, which cover about thirty years out of its seventy, while the other forty were years of peace in name far more than in fact, it was a very different training for those coming struggles which achieved our national independence, from the street

* Which, be it observed, is done both by Popery and Parity.

brawls and butcherly assassinations of a Parisian mob. Instructed during the long period of Colonial settlement in the irregular warfare of the savages, it seemed as if the inhabitants of Northern America were now to be trained in an equally severe course of regular warfare, more or less indeed commingled with the former, and resulting in a peculiar military school, which could not be without its effects upon national character.

Apart from all these brilliant and interesting details, there is no lack of great points in this period, of that nature to which we have before alluded. The necessity of confederation, thus shaping the future form of national life, is continually made manifest. On either side, that of the French as well as that of the English, the idea is early, and it would seem almost instinctively seized, that there is for each, only one mode of successfully prosecuting their designs. The plan of operations on the part of the French, was to divide the strength and distract the attention of the Colonies, by simultaneous attacks on various posts, which would effectually prevent any concentration of strength at one given point. Thus, at the very opening of King William's war, in 1690, Frontenac dispatched three expeditions against the English settlements; nor was the policy ever changed on the part of the French authorities, until in some of the last campaigns of the seven years' war, the pressure upon them became so strong, that they were compelled to concentrate themselves in a defensive position, on the main route to the Canadas. The English plan, on the other hand, was developed almost as soon, and consisted in a combined attack on Canada, by an inland route, and by the passage of the St. Lawrence. Through the whole period this policy was steadily persevered in, and it resulted in the glories of Wolfe and the triumphs of Amherst.

While this great struggle, with all its deep lessons and hardly gained experience was advancing, the Colonists were also continually learning how little value was placed upon them, by the cabinets and Sovereigns, who swayed the destinies of the mother country. War after war was terminated, not only without advantage to themselves, but with the actual loss of many, and the most valuable of their hard-earned gains. Peace after peace was concluded, by the terms of which, they saw themselves deprived of important positions, captured at vast expense of life and treasure, and given up again with a carelessness or an ignorance that was shameful and contemptible. The treaties of Ryswick, Utrecht, and Aix la Chapelle, are monuments of the carelessness of the mother country for the

welfare of her Colonies. And the last one named is especially disgraceful, as proving that the Hanoverian Sovereign and his Whig oligarchy cared more for some petty roods of a Dutch cabbage-garden, than for the noble fortress of Louisburg, the key to the St. Lawrence and the Canadas. If the Colonists had their eyes open, the effect of this continuous and cruel carelessness could not have been small, in preparing for the future.

Self-dependence then, in the true sense of the word, learned in long wars in which the Colonists found themselves achieving what trained troops could not; nurtured in years of uneasy and troubled peace; roused by the culpable carelessness of their interests, evinced by the home government; coming out into shape and form in the plan of union of 1754; self-dependence especially in military matters, and connected with military skill, is the great result of this stirring and important period of our history.

And here we cannot but hazard a word or two—even at the risk of an unnecessary digression—as to one of the subdivisions of this third epoch. The seven years' war terminating with the conquest of the Canadas, is the most brilliant portion of the Colonial annals, and it deserves a far more extended and minute narration, than it has ever yet received. Everything conspires to invest it with interest, and to make it living with romance. The peculiar and mixed nature of its warfare, when under the lilies of St. Denis and the cross of St. George, and beside the white uniforms of France and the red coats of England, were ranged the two great races of North American Colonization, and that other race which they were destined to supplant; the magnificent scenery amongst which the great drama of strife was enacted, when immense bodies of troops buried themselves in the wide forest belt which spread itself between the settlements of France and England, and made its shades living with martial life and woke its stillness to the sounds of the music with which the old world had been long familiar; when the echoes of Lake George rung with the batteries of Montcalm, and the chimes of Ticonderoga bore burden to the soldiers' song, or were drowned in the rattle of musketry and the yell of battle; and when the roar of Niagara grew less in the "fearful strife of men;" the wonderful amount of personal heroism, recalling the old days and deeds which minstrels loved to celebrate; all these things demand to be narrated by the pen of genius, and to be illustrated by the pencil of the artist. Let us hope that ere long they will be.

On all these years of struggle, and trial, and severest training, there follows the fourth period, of rest and consolidation. This begins in 1760 and ends in 1775. It is a period on which should be bestowed more of painful research, and of laborious study, than on any preceding one. For here the History of the mother country and Colonies becomes so united, that no true estimation of the period can be attained, if they shall be considered apart. Hitherto they have only occasionally touched each other, when essential changes in the home policy produced essential changes in the condition of the Colonies; when that series of wars commenced by the third William, involved them in trials and miseries which were aggravated by the peculiar nature of the warfare; or when the miserable terms of the treaties which terminated their horrors, threw them back into the same condition in which they were before. But now, during all this period, the connection becomes so intimate, that the histories almost cease to be distinct. We are compelled to feel, that its importance has not been properly estimated, and that its history is yet to be written. It is of course impossible here to enter into anything approaching to a view of it. The immediate cause, however, of all the Parliamentary proceedings of the epoch, is to be found in the exhaustion of the Treasury by the expenses of the war, and the immense addition made to the national debt, which, coupled with the indifference felt toward the Colonies, suggested the idea of putting as much of the burden as might be, upon them; a policy which led on to such an infringement of the clearest rights of British Freemen, as compelled the Colonists, in order to maintain them, to cease to be British subjects; and so brought about the war of the Revolution. The matter was precisely parallel to that of the Magna Charta, in its principles, though of course it differed widely in its results. In either case undoubted rights, consecrated by long continuance and entering into each man's very life, were invaded. In the one case a reluctant admission of their force and justice, and a reluctant promise that they should be held inviolable, were wrung from a reluctant Sovereign. In the other case, the struggle for their retention issued in the formation—not in the creation—of a new and mighty nation. And yet all the Revolutions or Assemblies in the world, could not have formed a nation, had not the elements of national life been as old as the existence of the Colonies, and been developed out of the very soil of the land, and the hearts of the people. This period, then, is in one view the key to our History. It explains all previous colonial periods, and it explains the two

periods that follow : and he will deserve well of our nation, who shall from the mass of registers, journals, debates, speeches, and diplomatic correspondence, extract its principles, its meaning, and its bearings, and set them forth in living form before our eyes.

The period of the Revolution of course succeeds, of which we need here say nothing, and then follows on its brilliant scenes and glorious termination, the period of National Formation, from 1783 to 1789. Let us add here, that the remaining and seventh period, which is still in progress, that of National History, begins with its conclusion.

The great point of the sixth period, is of course the exposition of the principles on which the Federal Government rests. Is it to be explained as a well devised and ingenious plan of checks and balances? Or does it rest on deeper grounds and a surer basis, even the principles inherited by the Colonists from an immemorial antiquity, and a national life, trained and developed by that marvelously ordered History, over which we have now been rapidly glancing? Is it the legitimate ordinance of God for us, or is it merely the skillfully devised arrangement of man? Was it reasoned out by individual intelligences, brought to life by the decree of the Convention, and given to the nation from without by some external power, or was it the development of the national mind, springing up out of the nation's life, and the expressed will of the nation's self? Was it, in short, invented by the Federal Convention, or was their work the expression of previously-existing principles, of laws inherited from a long line of ancestral freemen, and of confederations which necessity had already begun, and which only needed consolidation and adjustment? These are the important questions on which the whole historical view of this period, if it be philosophical, must turn; and it is with reference to these, that all the previous suggestions on which we have ventured, have been made. For these are the great questions which involve the whole philosophy of our History.

This is not the place to enter into these matters *in extenso*. Our task has been a far humbler one; that of suggesting some considerations, which it seems to us must not be omitted, some hints which we trust are not without their value, in the philosophical study of the History of the United States. And if our rapid survey shall accomplish anything whatever, towards the advancement of that study, we shall be well content to have its meagreness filled out, and its defects supplied, by other and better-read students than ourselves.

In conclusion, we must say, that the History of the United States has always been placed on too low ground, and studied, as well as written, in a way not calculated to bring out its true import, or our true position among the nations. While some have gone to one extreme in considering its results, as a model for all other nations, forgetting that no nation can develop such a confederated republic as ours, without similar training, and a similar national life ; others have compared us with countries, between which and ourselves, from the very circumstances of the case, no comparison could lie, and putting us to the test of an impracticable rule, have come to the conclusion, that our government is worthless even to ourselves. We believe that the principles, the laws, and the truths to which we have endeavored to call attention, will correct both these errors. We believe too, that they are gaining ground with earnest minds, and that we may even now hail the commencement of a NEW SCHOOL, among the students of American History ; a school which, emancipated from the shackles of Puritan prejudice and partisan politics, is guided by Christian principles in reference to States and Nations ; which is conservative, without being wedded to mere outward forms, and admits of legitimately developed changes, without running into radicalism.

ART. VII.—THE CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND.

THE time is fast approaching when the Church is to link itself indissolubly with the religious history of New England. It has been regarded always with suspicion by the descendants of the Puritans, as an alien and an intruder, whose presence marred the beauty of that system which their fathers left to them as their most precious legacy.

But that system is fast crumbling into ruins, and the Church, which has borne a small part only in the work of demolition, will, as we believe, have very much to do in gathering the scattered fragments, and fitting them anew into the primitive or Apostolic form. The system is inherently defective. It has no historical connection with past ages. It has never been able to extend itself beyond New England, and now, throughout New England, symptoms of decay are seen, which half a century ago began to be so visible in Massachusetts.

Never was there a period of greater hope for the cause of "Evangelical truth and Apostolic order," than at present, and if we quit ourselves like men wisely and valiantly, the children of the Puritans may in time all learn to love that faith which their fathers, in honest but misguided zeal, sought vainly to destroy.

We assume that it is the duty of the Church ever to resist that form of error with which it comes in contact, and moreover that its main strength and influence upon the hearts of men, lie in its practical efficiency. The Church has ever had a Gospel, to proclaim, to defend against all adversaries, to preserve in its integrity, to rescue from corruptions; and its success in this great work has ever been the measure of its hold upon the popular mind. It is not the argument about an Apostolic Ministry in three orders, a primitive government of Bishops, or an uninterrupted succession in the Priesthood, which has brought men in great numbers into the Church. It is the practical working of its system. It is the office of Christ's ministers to come to men, asserting their authority indeed, but chiefly doing the great work of Him who sent them; and the good which they accomplish, binds men who have received the inestimable benefit, to their doctrine and fellowship. The argument about the Church, can never become strictly popular. A naked exhibition of the true notes of

that Society which our Lord established, useful as it always is and often necessary, will yet never reach beyond a chosen few. It is dry, historical, abstract. It requires subtle distinctions and minute details. It presupposes an amount of knowledge, and a habit of reflection, and an absence of prejudice, which never can be found in any great number of men. It puts them in a wrong position, as if they had not from infancy been trained up in a certain way, and were not bound by the best feelings of their nature—reverence for their ancestors, and gratitude for benefits received,—to maintain their traditional faith. But when the Church accomplishes its work, preaches the true Gospel, administers the true sacraments, enforces the true discipline; when it obviously meets certain evils which are beginning to be felt, though their origin may not be suspected,—it commends itself to all men, prejudice is disarmed, and the moral power of the Church compels men to respect its claims.

It was thus certainly that the Church grew in early times, and it was thus that the Church took strong hold in New England. In Connecticut this is especially the case. The growth of the Church here was remarkable, and while something is doubtless due to the character and talents of the men who planted it in this unkindly soil, yet no less certainly is it to be attributed to the times in which they lived. There were indeed giants in those days, and they moreover had sagacity to understand their age, to comprehend their true position, and to expend their strength most wisely and effectively.

In the days of Johnson, Cutler, Beach, and that class of early Churchmen, never to be mentioned without respect and gratitude, a distorted Gospel, long established and firmly rooted in the New England mind, had begun to bear abundant fruit after its own kind. It was their task to exhibit the doctrines of grace, so styled, (and they too used the current language of the day,) in their essential purity, rescuing them from the exaggerations and perversions which a long and uninterrupted course of Calvinistic teaching had produced. Their success was certain. The appeal was to the people. The argument was mainly popular, and the evils which had been gradually developed, and which then pressed hard on many, were traced up to their true source.

The practical good sense of the sons of the Puritans recognized the difference between the Gospel, as set forth in the Creeds, Articles and Liturgy of the Church of England, and as exhibited in the confessions of faith to which they had been accustomed, and many learned to love the Church which had

relieved them of their doubts, and removed the difficulties apparently insuperable, in the way either of their belief, or of their salvation.

Thus did the Church prosper here at first, through its temperate but firm opposition to prevailing errors, and so signal was the success, that hopes were entertained, which in our day seem quite extravagant, of its entire ascendancy over the prevailing system of Connecticut, if not of New England.

When Dr. McSparran, in 1753, speaking of Connecticut, says that "by present appearances one may foretell that the members of our Church will in a century more amount to a major part of the whole," he gives utterance to a very general expectation entertained by Churchmen of his day, and there is good proof that Dean Berkeley's Library found its way to Yale, instead of Harvard, through the influence of this impression.

And had the doctrines of the Puritans proved as unyielding as was their own character, and had not political considerations, leading at length to the war of the Revolution, overruled those of a religious nature, there is little doubt but that the anticipations of the early Churchmen of Connecticut would have been realized.

But in time, the stern features of that rigid system to which all had bowed the neck, began evidently to relax. There was a manifest yielding of one point after another. The more repulsive doctrines were first softened down; then explained away; then kept out of sight; and at last, when dragged forth from the darkness, openly denied; and in our day, the whole system is abandoned, avowedly by many, but virtually by nearly all the descendants of the men with whom it was essentially the Gospel or true Grace of God.

Now it is certain that this change, while it was in progress, and which was favorable to the cause of truth, as advocated by the Church, was in another way, and for a time, prejudicial to its interests.

It threw the Church into a wrong relative position. It weakened, every day, her testimony to the early faith. It mingled her, more and more, with the sects around her, and made it every day more difficult to distinguish her from others, except by a few external rites, which were by many regarded as unmeaning, and which all thought unimportant.

With the gradual softening of doctrine, there grew up a zeal for the extension of the Gospel, and a liberality, as it is called, of feeling, which indeed bordered often on indifference, but which in many cases was a real longing of good men for unity.

The Liturgy of the Church was praised, not unfrequently, in Puritan pulpits, as sound and moderate in doctrine, and evangelical in tone, while the great enterprises of benevolence were calling upon all who loved the cause of the Redeemer, to unite in publishing the Word of God, and sending His most precious Gospel to the heathen.

Christians were urged strongly to stand all together on the basis of our common faith, and to lay aside all minor differences. There was much in all this movement, with the feeling prompting to it, which was real; and the effect was, to place its advocates in, apparently at least, a Church position, as advocates for the essential faith, and the great antagonists of evil in the world.

Now, while the Church could not unite with those who, in fact, recognized no settled principles of union, the reason could not be made plain to those whose feelings had become enlisted in a cause, which, under wise direction and with right authority, had been most worthy of their highest zeal. As a necessary consequence, the Church was looked upon as narrow and sectarian. We were regarded as illiberal and exclusive, standing upon little points of order, and willing for the sake of minor matters of detail, to peril the whole interests of Christendom. It was said by the advocates of the more liberal policy, "We agree in fundamentals, why then shall we not act together? How foolish to dispute forever about forms and ceremonies!" It was in vain that we preached faithfully and earnestly the doctrines of the Church; we seemed to be preaching ourselves, and by the argument of Episcopacy, and the Succession, and Church authority, to be magnifying our own importance. Churchmen were, indeed, confirmed in the faith, which perhaps they had never doubted, and which, by the labors of our earlier Clergy, had been placed upon a firm foundation; but there was nothing in all this which appealed directly to the hearts and consciences of others. There was nothing which went out from us to lay hold either of the intellect or feelings of the mass. The Church could prove, indeed, its right to the direction of men's consciences and the mastery of their hearts, but she had no vantage ground from which she could enforce her claims. Nay, this vantage ground was most effectually occupied by the Congregationalists of New England. They claimed and exercised authority as sent of Christ. They took the lead in every active measure, but were willing to give us a share in the good work under their direction. They certified to the essential orthodoxy of the Church, and were even willing to indulge us in a few weaknesses,

to which they thought we clung with childish fondness. Nay, so changed was their voice and aspect, that we could not harbor any other than kind thoughts of those who spoke so well of us; and we were well pleased to find they did not think us heretics, even though we were Churchmen, and did cling to Primitive and Apostolic doctrine, and had no great confidence in the boasted spirit of the age.

Such was the position of the Church during the transition stage of New England theology. It was a weak position. There were no strong points of attack or of defense, by which the Church could make its influence felt upon society. We could not inspire respect, except among a few who had learned something of Church history and the principles of ecclesiastical polity, or had sagacity to foresee the issue of that state of liberalism so full of promise for the future.

But the issue is no longer doubtful. The tree which sprang up from the roots of the old Calvinistic stock, is reaching its maturity under a forced process, and is beginning to bear fruit after its own kind, whose flavor many find it very hard to relish. The negative transition state of New England theology is passing rapidly away, and the Church is falling naturally into its old and true position, as the witness and keeper of Holy Writ and the antagonist of error. There is no doubt that the whole of Congregational New England is tinctured largely with the spirit and the doctrine of a false and skeptical philosophy, which, if not firmly met, will end certainly in unbelief. It is the special calling of the Church to meet this form of error; to assert boldly the old faith as acknowledged by the early Fathers of New England, as well as by the Saints of God from the beginning; to present the fullness of an acknowledged faith, as it stands opposed to the meagre doctrines of a wavering and speculative philosophy.

And this task, if discharged rightly, in the true spirit of the Church, will not fail of its effect on those, now not a few, who are startled by the bold denial of God's truth on the part of some who should have been its earnest champions, and by the obvious weakness of the New England discipline in resisting any popular error.

Let us dwell a moment on the change which has passed over the New England mind. The early Puritans were strenuous advocates of a fixed faith. They looked upon the Bible as a revelation of great facts, which might and should be set forth by authority, as binding upon all men, and which were to be taught young children in the form of precise catechisms.

This was in their view the only basis of right thought, feeling, and conduct.

Facts, and we may add, the facts of the Apostles' Creed, formed the centre of their system, and every child baptized into the old Puritan faith, was really baptized, like the children of the Church, into the faith of the Apostles' Creed.

The name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in the formula of baptism, suggested to their minds essentially the primitive idea of the triune God. The peculiarities of Calvinism were indeed made prominent, and every Puritan was taught to look upon them as the necessary features of the Gospel, but the Trinity, the Incarnation, Death, Burial, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Blessed Lord, and the abiding presence of the Holy Ghost, as the living power of the Church acting in and upon its members according to their faith, in virtue of their covenant relation to the great Head of the Church, these were the great articles of faith held by the early Puritans, if not in entire consistency, yet with a steadiness which proved that they were not unmindful of the lessons taught them in their mother Church of England, and that spite of their obliquities, her deep Catholic Theology had made firm lodgment in their minds.

But in the progress of the metaphysical theology, to which the Puritans were everywhere attached, and chiefly, it is believed, through the influence of one man, never to be mentioned without respect—we mean the elder Edwards—the Apostles' Creed was gradually dislodged from its central position, and though not wholly cast aside, was no longer made the symbol towards which all eyes must be directed, as the expression of that faith by which we worship the true God.

Faith became in the hands of the new teachers, not a looking upward, but a looking inward; and instead of the preaching of the Gospel—Jesus and the Resurrection,—there arose a style of preaching hard, dry, analytical, which discriminated and defined each thought and feeling, until many men who, under better teaching, would have followed Christ with loving hearts, were made to doubt whether they were not infidels, and were driven either into the recklessness of unclean living, or a moody and half desperate dwelling on their states of mind, or frames of feeling, with the same unhealthy eagerness with which the dyspeptic watches the whole process of digestion. Religion being thus presented, separated from the facts which form its basis, became at length almost independent of them. The facts which were so little used, were thought no longer necessary, and religion became more and more sub-

active, as if it were a thing of feeling merely, or of conduct. All carefulness about right, and especially precise views of the Trinity, the Incarnation, and the union of the Divine and human natures, in the person of our Blessed Lord, and the personality of the Holy Ghost—all reverence for the great objects of faith, were fast disappearing amid the exciting scenes of the great awakening, and the fierce disputes and controversies about the nature, quality, and effects of faith, and what constitutes gracious feelings in the heart.

When these fires had mainly spent their force, there were other subjects claiming the attention of the New England theologians, and preventing all return to the old grounds of faith. The wrongs of the Colonies had been long calling for redress, and now matters were fast ripening for a revolution. In New England, where the dread of Bishops was an epidemic, the religious element mingled largely with the political, whereby the former was debased, while the latter received dignity and strength.

Christianity then became synonymous with civil and religious liberty; and by no very violent stretch of the imagination on the part of those who knew or remembered little about the revolution of 1688, the cause of the Colonies was thought to be almost identical with that of the Puritans, in their controversies with the house of Stuart. And when afterwards, in the descending scale of popular theology, religious liberty was understood to mean the largest toleration of opinion in the matter of religion, or the unrestrained exercise of private judgment, still there were not wanting those, who, trusting to the force of confident assertion, advocated this as the old doctrine of the New England Fathers.

And thus without suspicion, was an entire change of religious sentiment effected in the minds of those who still remembered gratefully their ancestors, as the founders not only of a nation, but of a religious sect. It could not be suspected by the people that their leaders, praising at every other breath the early Puritans, were spending their remaining strength in advocacy of a set of principles which every real Puritan would have regarded as far worse than Prelacy, because tending to the utter overthrow of faith. Nor has there ever been a period of rest for any calm review of principles, or a return to the doctrines of an earlier day. Everything has been in motion since the times of Whitefield, Davenport and Tennent; and now, missionary enterprises and benevolent associations, with intemperance, and war, and slavery, and other social evils, draw so heavily upon the resources of the clergy, and engage

so exclusively the time and thoughts of all, that the absence of theology in the current teaching of New England is scarcely felt, and it is noticed only by a few, how far humanity has trenched upon the sacred province of the science of Divine and Heavenly things.

There are three points deserving our attention, as giving special promise for the Church. The theology of the early Puritans is gone,—there is no fixed faith in their descendants to supply its place,—and, thirdly, there has arisen generally a love and a taste for the beautiful, which must influence the religious element in the New England character. The ground is thus prepared expressly for the Church, and we scarcely can conceive of a more favorable situation for its rapid growth.

We assert with confidence, in the first place, that the old Puritan theology is dead. Of what disease it died, no one can precisely tell. Dr. Bushnell says that "time killed it;" something in the same way, we suppose, that "the free air of New England" destroyed the great principles for which the non-conformist had so stoutly battled in the mother country, (Bacon's Historical Discourses, p. 14;) but it is admitted pretty generally that it lives now only in past history. Nay, the speculative spirit of New England has indulged itself in accounting for the existence of so strange a thing, and an apology has been offered, as a vindication of the wisdom of Almighty God in training us up gradually to our present state.

The skeptical philosophy of Cousin, Guizot, Schlegel, and other modern interpreters of history, has been closely studied here, and the theory which solves every difficulty, viz: that "whatever was, was right, right for its own time and place, and in the order of God's providence," has been rigorously applied to save the reputation of the Fathers, without disturbing in the least the conscious self-complacency of the children.

Thus it has been found by one, to have been a very beautiful design of the Almighty to carry the early Puritans through the hard discipline of Calvinism, in order to preserve them from utter imbecility of mind in their isolated state. "In the case of our Fathers," he says, "it seems probable that nothing but the strong pillars of high Calvinism held them up, or could have held them up, till the critical point of their history was past. . . . When their manners were grown wild, their sentiments coarse, and their ill-trained understandings generally incapable of nice speculations, still the tough questions of their theology kept them always in action; still they could

grasp hold of the great iron pillars of election, and reprobation, and decrees, and their clumsy-handed thoughts were able to feel them distinctly."

It is unfortunate for the ingenious author, that this theory is not original even in its application. The same theory is started by no less a man than Alexander Knox, to solve the mystery of Augustinianism in the Church. "I view with wonder," says this usually devout, but not always solid writer, "the metaphysical mind of St. Augustine unconsciously enclosing vital Christianity in a system of his own fabrication; which system, *by its appositeness to the first workings of intellect in its progress from barbarism to high improvement*, should by attracting and engaging a strong mental appetite, ensure the perpetuation and extended reception of the blessed nucleus within."

Now admitting, as we surely must admit, that under the over-ruling Providence of God, everything is right in its place, and its order, and its time, because He ever brings good out of evil; yet every thoughtful man must feel, that truth will live for ever, as it was in the beginning, and that there must be some radical defect in every system which cannot bear the test of time.

We allude to this theory, the rather that we may place in contrast with it, the far deeper view of Maurice, who, though not unfrequently obscure in style, if not in thought, has certainly the great merit of not shrinking from the greatest difficulties in his path, and of meeting fairly the popular delusions of the day. "A belief in the will of God," he says, "as the only spring of good, order, happiness, was the earnest, practical, life-giving principle in the minds of Calvin and his disciples. Whatever brave acts they had done—whatever good thoughts they had uttered—sprang from their conviction. Had they pushed it too far? Had their system riveted the notion of a ruling will in their minds, and so perpetuated it to an age, when, in the natural course of things, it ought to have been abandoned? We were led to adopt exactly the opposite opinion.

"Their system, by setting aside the doctrine of a human will, had left the doctrine of a Divine will barren and unmeaning. The idea of a Personal Ruler had disappeared, and those who had been most anxious to assert the government of the living God, had been the great instruments of propagating the notion of an Atheistical necessity."

Now it was on this ground, essentially, that the early Churchmen of New England based their opposition to the

Calvinistic faith. It was not that the time for it was past, but that it was not true, never had been true, and never would be. It was inconsistent with the Gospel; it denied the grace of God; and they exhibited this grace as set forth in His holy Church, in opposition to the stern and repulsive theory of the Puritans. It was on this ground, moreover, that the Calvinistic theory of grace, which at one time seemed likely to impress itself upon the English mind, was soon abandoned. The Church system was complete without it. So far as it was held, it obscured the express teaching of the Church. There are a few expressions in the Prayer Book, which will bear a Calvinistic sense; but this interpretation evidently isolates them. It destroys their connection. There is apparently no use for it, and the interpretation, therefore, could not stand. Every baptism testified against it. Every celebration of the Holy Eucharist denied its teaching. The Catechism knew nothing of it, and the daily service, preached a Gospel, morning and evening, which breathed the pure simplicity of earlier days.

The Liturgy and Offices of the Church of England, therefore, proved too strong for the Genevan faith. Modifying it even from the first, and preventing those excesses into which its advocates were led on the continent and on this side of the water, the Prayer Book at last prevailed, and its old Catholic theology sank deep into the hearts of Churchmen, as the true exhibition of that grace which alone can meet the wants of men who are conceived and born in sin.

And now time, in its slow but certain progress, has destroyed the Calvinistic faith in its first home at Geneva, and in the land of its adoption—the favorite retreat where its full powers were to be tested. The theology of the early Puritans is no longer, therefore, the theology of New England.

Nor is there any defined system to supply its place. Calvinism is indeed a system. It is coherent in its parts. It leaves a distinct impress on the mind, and moulds men into a certain type of character. It is a perfect system, which has wrought mightily in New England, and whose effects will last through many generations, giving to the children something of a likeness to their fathers; but its direct force is spent. It is gone, and it has no successor. There is no old hereditary faith upon which the sons of the Puritans can fall back, and no man has arisen with ability sufficient to construct another system.

When the Genevan theology died out in England, where it never had a vigorous and healthy life, it left the old Catholic

theology of the English Church untouched. The faith which, for a time, had been half hidden under the corruptions of Popery, and had at last thrown them off, suffered no essential injury from the dogmas of a foreign creed, but remained in the Church ritual, to lead men to repentance, to excite Christian hope and diffuse true charity, binding the affections of lost men to the Cross of Christ. The Church system, beginning with holy baptism, carried the members of Christ's Body all along from the cradle to the grave, and at last buried them in the Lord, and in the hope of a joyful resurrection to eternal life.

But Calvinism was *the system* of New England, and every blow that it received was in fact aimed at the New England life. The Puritan, whether separatist or non-conformist in the mother country, made thorough work so soon as he had the whole field to himself, and left few traces of his hereditary faith to attest the source from whence he sprang; and now the result is seen in the absence of any system of belief.

There have, indeed, been many writers in New England, of no mean reputation for their learning, piety, and talents, but they have left no strong and distinct impress on their age. They either grew up under the shadow of the great Reformer, and were at best but able exponents of his stern doctrine, while it retained its rigorous authority; or they spent their strength in struggling to escape from under the deep shadows into the sun-light of a more genial system. They serve rather as indices in the descending scale of popular theology.

There is no writer, for instance, that has, among the descendants of the Puritans, any thing of that authority which every Churchman freely and naturally yields to the judicious Hooker, the great opponent of Puritanism. Or, to bring the matter to a closer test, it would be impossible, apart from all prejudice against a form of prayer, to frame a Liturgy as minute and comprehensive as the Prayer Book, in which any considerable portion of Congregational New England could unite. The early Puritans, unfortunately for them and for their cause, thought meanly of a public ritual; but had they been so disposed, they could have framed a Liturgy under the authority of the great name of Calvin, which would have carried down his doctrines far beyond our generation. They were united, and had something like the Church's confidence of a certain faith. But now there is no system of theology, out of which to frame a Liturgy, which should extend beyond the most vague and meagre generalities.

A baptismal service would start difficulties at the outset.

The treatment of baptized children, and the question whether they are in fact members of the Church, would be found hard to settle.

It would not be easy to agree upon a Catechism, for we take for granted that the work of the Westminster Assembly would need thorough revision. The Communion Service involving weighty points of doctrine respecting the Divine presence in the Holy Eucharist, and the nature and effect of sacramental grace, would carry many a theologian of the present day, into a new and unexplored region.

The attempt to construct a Liturgy, would prove, beyond all doubt, that New England has no defined system of faith, except the Church system. Indeed, the fundamental question, in what way man is to be treated, whether as an isolated individual, or a part rather of an organic whole, could not easily be settled. It is not long, since a leading Doctor of Divinity announced the theory of Individualism, in the most marked manner, as a certain remedy for the sore disease of Churchmanship, which appeared grievous in his eyes chiefly because it tended to organic unity. Individualism was, in his view, the distinctive feature of the New England faith, and was, in fact, the great blessing of the Gospel. As a watchman on the walls, he proclaimed two Gospels as struggling for the mastery; the one, which the Puritans obtained directly from the Bible, seeking to save men without Priestly intervention; the other, aiming at the same result by means of a Church organization, through a Priesthood and the effect of Sacraments. Churchmen were well pleased, that at last one man had been found to comprehend the length and breadth of the great question, which is yet to be discussed, and were not slow to defend "the other Gospel," as the old faith of Christ's holy Church. But they were not prepared to expect so able an advocate of a radical and fundamental principle of the Gospel, as they soon found among the ranks of Congregationalism—for scarcely had the echoes of the bold champion of Individualism died away in the New England hills, before a mightier voice arose, denouncing the whole theory as a shallow, weak invention of the last century, of which the early Puritans knew nothing, and of which their descendants should be heartily ashamed. Much have we marveled at the quietness with which the devotee of Individualism, saw his idol rudely toppled over from its high but perilous position, by one, too, who should rather have brought offerings, and garlands, and swung incense at the new shrine.

The question which is here at issue, is the great question

of New England. It cannot long be slighted, but will force itself on thinking men. Dr. Bushnell complains loudly, and with reason, that his main position has been scarcely noticed by his brethren, and doubtless he well knows the reason of their silence.

For ourselves, we regard the sudden dropping of this matter, as affording the most certain proof, that there is no longer any system of belief—that there is no foundation for a system, in New England, except as set forth by that Church, which the Puritans, in their mistaken zeal, abandoned. That the Church should follow her erring children into the wilderness, and bear long with them, and wait patiently for their return, will, in future times, we are persuaded, be regarded generally as an exhibition of God's providence and grace, calling for the devout gratitude of every man in whose veins flows any blood of the old New England stock.

We have alluded to one other point as giving promise for the Church. There has certainly arisen in New England, a love and a taste for the beautiful, which is in strange contrast with the characteristic leaning of the Puritans, and which, though not as yet to any great extent turned in a Church direction, cannot fail eventually to influence the whole religious sentiments of the people.

It is not a little singular, that New England, at the present moment, should be much in advance, so far as the great body of the people are concerned, of any other portion of America, in all that pertains to the elegancies and refinements of social life. The testimony to this fact is unexceptionable. "We are almost forced to believe," says the accomplished author of "Landscape Gardening," "Cottage Residences," &c., as he contrasts New England with his own State, "that the famous common schools of New England teach the æsthetics of art. . . . The direct descendants of stern Puritans, who had a holy horror of things ornamental, who cropped their hair, and made penalties for indulgences in fine linen, live in villages overshadowed by the very spirit of rural elegance."

The early Puritans, as all admit, were a coarse, rude people. Nor was this owing to their separation from the humanizing and refining influences of their mother country. It was the result of their religion. They were the same people in England, and they hacked at the Liturgy and the Cathedrals with an indiscriminate fury, proving a right hearty will to leave no vestiges of beauty in the land. Even the liberal minded Arnold cannot help saying, that the Puritan has much in common with the Benthamite, and that "the Christianity of

the Puritan is coarse and fanatical. He cannot relish what there is in it of beautiful, or delicate, or ideal."

An attempt has been made, indeed, to dignify this trait of character, by grafting it upon the stock of nature, as if it were the result of the old Gothic blood in New England, and by giving prominence to the old fallacy which ran through all the errors of the Puritans, that Form and Spirit are antagonistic to each other. Thus the essential difference between the Gothic and Roman mind has been displayed at length, "the one looking at the formal and outward, the other turning to the living and spiritual essence; the one resting on the formula and creed, the other on the central truths from which the formula may be evolved, (as if the true formula or creed contains any other than the central truths;) the one attracting by material and sensuous beauty, the other pursuing the realization of an idea; the one, therefore, sinking Christianity into a system of ceremonies, and symbols, and splendid but dead rites, the other, feeling it to be a living, spiritual influence, by which the intellect is elevated and the heart purified." Now we have no faith in this theory, either as to the essential difference between the Gothic and the Roman mind, or the possibility of separating healthily the outward and the inward in religion. Humboldt has, indeed, as we have not forgotten, drawn a contrast somewhat similar between the north and south of Europe, as to the perception of beauty; the one having a profound feeling for the beauty of nature, while the taste of the other is more properly artistic; and on a broad scale, this theory may be allowed its weight, but in its application, we find it always modified by circumstances, of birth and education, and especially of religious faith.

The coarseness of the Puritan was not in the blood, but in the creed, which sought to destroy one portion of the nature that God gave him; and nature, in his descendants, could not bear the outrage, but rebelled against the creed; and it is observable that in those portions of New England where the Calvinistic faith has least influence, nature has asserted with the most freedom and success, her right to love whatever God has made beautiful and fair.

Nor will we admit for one moment, that there is any real opposition between truth and beauty, form and spirit, the outward and the inward in religion. The assertion is a libel upon God.

"I have no fear," says Professor Park, of Andover, "that the well-balanced mind of New England will prefer an outward beauty to inward strength." Why, the Heavens, which

declare God's glory, should have taught him in his infancy, when he gazed upon them from his nurse's arms, that God has joined strength and beauty in a blessed union which man cannot sever. But he did fear, lest the intelligent mind of New England would at length perceive the cheat which a false system had imposed upon the senses, for hear him further:—"We hear it often said that the [Puritan] system is worn out—that it worked well enough in the rude times of the Pilgrims, but is too unwieldy for a densely peopled state, too clumsy for the refinements of modern days—that it has been abandoned already by all young men of taste, and is acknowledged by our older men to be not fitted for this polite generation. And I know," he adds, "that we have, by our past indifference, given some reason for this charge, and have allowed the fascinations of ceremony to steal in upon the plainness of truth." And he had reason for his fear.

How much longer will the theory be tolerated in New England, that truth and ceremony are such deadly enemies? It is refreshing to turn to another quarter, and to hear a different language from Puritan Connecticut. "Virtue," says a Congregational Divine, "is two fold. It includes an inward principle, and an outward conduct or manifestation.

"There are two ways in which it may advance its power, viz, by invigorating the conscience, or the dominion of the idea, which is the internal principle of virtue; and by quickening and disciplining the power of discriminating those forms of action which best display the beautiful characteristics of virtue.

"The outward code of virtue must be perfected, or virtue cannot enjoy vigorous health. . . . The Greeks have done a work in their day, which is essential to the triumph of virtue. Their sense of beauty, their nice discriminations of art and poetic genius, are contributions made to the outward life and law of virtue; for to mature the code of action, and finish its perfect adaptation to the expression of virtue, and render it the ornament of life, requires a power of form, or of outward criticism, in full development. Considered in this view, it is impossible to over-rate the value of the Greek art."

This sounds very much like Church language, and almost reminds us of our own "judicious Hooker;" who says—"Besides which fitness for use, there is also in rectitude, beauty; as contrariwise in obliquity, deformity; and that which is good in the actions of man, doth not only delight as profitable, but as amiable also. In which consideration the Grecians most di-

vinely have given to the active perfection of men, a name expressing both beauty and goodness."

Here then we rest the matter.

Calvinism can never again be the theology of New England. The Rationalistic Infidelity of Unitarianism, to which things are fast tending, affords no solid resting place,—nor will a refined and polished people, dwelling in ceiled houses and in palaces of cedar, be content that the Ark of the Covenant shall dwell in tents.

The Church, and the Church alone, meets the wants of the New England mind. She has a Gospel, and a system of applying it effectually to the conscience and the heart. She has authority, and a power of impressing a distinct character upon her members. She combines strength and beauty; the plainness of truth, and the fascinations of ceremony. She is adapted to man's whole nature, and while loved by the most ignorant and humble of her members, because she teaches them in language, and by forms and ceremonies, suited to their case; she is appreciated, perhaps more fully, by her more enlightened sons, who admire her severe, chaste beauty, and the graceful delicacy with which, from the cradle to the grave, she entwines herself around the heart; putting the little child in CHRIST's blessed arms; giving him a certain Faith; requiring him to acknowledge his relation to his Lord; feeding him with bread from Heaven; hallowing his espousals; soothing him in sickness; commending him, when dying, to his Saviour; and laying him down gently in the dust, to await His Second Coming.

The strength of the Church lies in her Faith, and in her Order; and that strength has the freest scope for exercise, amid prevailing laxity of doctrinal opinion, and where the results of despising Church authority are most distinctly visible.

Apart, therefore, from faith, and the special promises of God, we are persuaded that the Church, and the Church alone, can give to New England what it wants now more than anything besides, viz, the confidence of a certain faith; and if there is ever to be seen here, unity of doctrine and harmony of action, it must be through the Church which the Puritans forsook, that they might try in a situation the most favorable, an experiment which has proved an utter failure.

We have spoken somewhat freely, yet not, as we trust, unfairly, and certainly with no unkind thought, of certain tendencies in New England, which make it necessary that the Church should preach boldly the true Gospel, of which she

is the witness and the keeper, and which, as we believe, will facilitate her work.

There is one difficulty, which we will, in conclusion, meet. The intelligent New England man may say, "Every system has its tendencies to evil, which must be resisted; and if our system tends to infidelity, your system tends no less certainly to superstition. If the Congregationalist may land in Unitarianism, the Churchman may throw himself no less naturally into the arms of Romanism. We have therefore, all of us, to watch against excesses, and our only choice can be—what class of evils we shall guard against."

To which we make the following reply:—

Even admitting this, there is yet a difference which may be made obvious to all. A tendency to superstition, presupposes active faith; a tendency to infidelity, shows that faith is, in part, or wholly, wanting. The one is a too luxuriant growth. The other is a dying at the root. It requires no great discernment, to perceive the essential difference between a corruption of the faith, and the denial of it. Historically, too, the difference can be made apparent. Granting that our tendency is to superstition; such, it has been elaborately proved, was the tendency of "Ancient Christianity." And the statement of Dodsworth is worthy the attention of all those who observe the natural development of principles.

"If the system of Dissent," he says, "or of ultra Protestantism, be a reformation on the true Apostolic model, it would be impossible to account for the existence of Popery; for it is impossible for any person of reflection, to maintain that, by any process of corruption, the system of Romanism should have arisen out of one which denies or slights the visible unity of the Church, the succession of an Apostolic Ministry, and the efficacy of the Sacraments, and which yields nothing to the voice of Catholic Antiquity. The admission that the Church of Rome is the same Church corrupted, which St. Paul addressed when its faith was 'spoken of throughout the whole world,' is fatal to the pretension of Dissenters and ultra Protestants, to Primitive and Apostolic doctrine. It is quite impossible that Christianity, in primitive times, should have borne any resemblance to their religion. One may conceive of the system of Dissent degenerating into Arianism, or Socinianism, or Deism; but it is quite impossible to conceive of it degenerating into Romanism."

We are by no means certain that this argument against the Apostolic character of the New England system, will have weight in every quarter, for there are those who make very

light of what professes to be Apostolic ; and we have been told by one who is familiar with the subject, that the system of ecclesiastical order, established in New England by the Puritans, was "without a parallel, or a model, save the pattern which God showed them in the mount, as they communed with the spirit of His wisdom, recorded in His word," (Bacon's *Historical Discourses*, p. 15 :) or, in other words, that there never had been such a system seen on earth before ; which we can well believe, and which the slightest study of Church history will show.

Our difficulties, therefore, to return, whatever they may be, are like those with which the early Church contended. Our very tendencies declare our Apostolic origin. No Churchman need deny that his principles may be perverted into Romanism, for they have been thus perverted. This is the great lesson of history. And we must strive together for the Faith, resisting the same evils, which, in their gradual increase, did so mar the beauty of the Churches planted by Apostles. The Church is indeed an ark of refuge, but she floats not always on calm waters. Holding to the principles of Ancient Christianity, we must expect to meet with all those natural perversions of them, which tried the faith, and called out the zeal of the early Fathers of the Church.

But the descendants of the Puritans, boasting their freedom from all Romish tendencies, do thus, in other words, declare the wild havoc which their fathers made with all those principles of Christian doctrine, from which the early Church received its life. If, instead of lopping off its too luxuriant branches, we strike the axe deeply into the root of the tree planted by our Lord, we shall certainly succeed in checking its luxuriant growth, but our success will be our own ruin—for the tree will die.

ART. VIII.—BOOK NOTICES.

PIONEER HISTORY: and the early Settlement of the North Western Territory.
pp. 525.

This is an admirable work, by Dr. Samuel Prescott Hildreth, of Marietta, Ohio. It commences with the exploration of La Salle, and other Roman Catholic missionaries. It details the Indian wars of the west; the massacres of the white traders; the attack upon Fort Pitt, now Pittsburgh; the abandonment of the early settlements; the expedition of Col. Bouquet, at the head of a detachment of five hundred men, for their relief, and his success. It describes Ohio and the Great West little known to the English previous to 1740; the possession of the country by the French; Gov. Dunmore's Indian war; his interview with Logan, the Mingo chief, and his celebrated speech; the speech of Cornstalk, the chief of the Shawanees, which, for manly eloquence, was fully equal to the best speeches of Patrick Henry or Richard Henry Lee in their best days; the cession of the country by the French, with a minute history of events to the Revolution.

The eighth chapter opens with the formation of the Ohio Land Company in 1786; Delegates met at the "Bunch of Grapes Tavern" in Boston; formed a plan of association; a board of directors was appointed to contract with the "Continental Congress" for a tract of land in the "Great Western Territory of the Union;" their agent purchased of Congress a million and an half acres at sixty-seven cents per acre, but paid only for a little less than a million. By the advice of Mr. Hutchins, the geographer of the United States, this tract was located on both sides of the Muskingum river, where it empties into the Ohio. He said "he considered it the best part of the whole western country." This was an unfortunate mistake. In 1787 the company elected Gen. Varnum a director. In March, following, they met at "Rice's Tavern" in Providence. At this meeting, the Rev. Mr. Cutler, Gen. Varnum, and Col. May, were appointed a committee, and they reported "that the directors be directed to pay as early attention as possible to the education of youth and the promotion of public worship among the first settlers; and that for these important purposes, they employ, if practicable, an instructor eminent for literary accomplishments and the virtue of his character, who shall superintend the first scholastic institutions and direct the manner of instruction," showing that wherever the New Englanders go, the minister and schoolmaster accompany the first settlers, that moral and mental cultivation may go hand in hand in the formation of civil society. The advance guard of the settlement started in December, 1787, consisting of twenty-two men, including boat builders and mechanics; they reached the river above Pittsburgh, and commenced boat building. The second company of pioneers arrived under Gen. Putnam; they descended the river in April. "The banks of the Muskingum were so thickly clothed with Sycamore trees, whose lofty tops and pendant branches leaning over the shores, obscured the outlet of the river so much," that they passed without observing it; they roped back, and on April 7th, 1788, began the settlement. The first meeting of the directors there was in July. Gen. Varnum was one. They named their city Marietta. The natives, who were jealous of their encroachments, destroyed all the wild game in their power, within fifteen or twenty miles of Marietta, "to keep it," as they stated, "from the whites. They considered all the wild animals as their own property, to which the new comers had no right."

"The year 1789 opened with the death of Gen. Varnum. . . . He landed at the mouth of the Muskingum in June, 1788, and lived only seven months in the new purchase. His health was feeble for some time previous, his disease being consumption. He was a native of Rhode Island, (born at Dracut, Mass.), and an active man in forming the Ohio company, of liberal education, refined manners, and superior abilities. In 1787, he was elected by Congress one of the judges of

the North West Territory, and assisted Gov. St. Clair in drafting the laws published in 1788. This code of laws was, in many respects, fully equal or superior to those adopted since we became a state. . . . He was one of the directors of the Ohio Company. His untimely death was much regretted by the inhabitants of Marietta. His obsequies took place on the 13th, when an oration was pronounced by Doctor Drown."

The United States Chronicle, printed at Providence, under date of July 30, 1789, in a communication, probably by Dr. Drown, says: "On Friday evening last, Dr. Solomon Drown, of this place, arrived from the settlement of the Ohio Company, on the Muskingum and the Ohio rivers, by whom we learn, that by the indefatigable industry of the settlers, great improvements have been made at Marietta, which has now become a place of such strength as to be impregnable against the Indians. Two other settlements are forming—one at Wolfe Creek, twenty-four miles up the Muskingum river, and the other about fourteen miles below Marietta, on the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Little Kenhawa. There is no apprehension of immediate danger from the Indians. The alarm given by the murder of Capt. Zebulon King in April last, having subsided, on certain information being received, that it is universally in the strongest manner reprobated by all the Indians who were concerned in the late treaty at Marietta, the Indian who killed Capt. King, having fled to the back country towards the Lakes, being an outcast straggler of a mixed breed, not acknowledged as belonging to either of the friendly tribes. This information was obtained by the celebrated Moravian missionary, Mr. John Heckenwelder, of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, who has lately returned from a tour to the Indian country, whither he had been to make arrangements for settling the Moravian Indians on the lands reserved for them by Congress.

"Colonel Shrieve, of New Jersey, having been employed by a large number of people, intending to emigrate with him from that state, to look for a suitable place to settle in, in the new western countries, had an intention of removing to the settlements forming under the Spanish government on the Mississippi, opposite the mouth of the Ohio river, where Col. Morgan's city of New Madrid was to have been erected; but on examination, this country was found to be so flat, and so liable to be overflowed by the vast body of waters which frequently accumulate there from the great rivers above, that it has greatly daunted that spirit of emigration to this place, which was excited by the liberal encouragement given by the Spanish government, who wished to establish a populous settlement there. And as the good lands in Kentucky have been generally taken up by the amazing number of emigrants thither; and the air of the Muskingum country is more salubrious than that further southward, Col. Shrieve, who has lately returned from the Mississippi, has it therefore in contemplation to recommend to his employers, to settle upon the purchase of the Ohio Company—a circumstance which may tend considerably to accelerate the population of the country.

"Pursuant to an act of the Legislature of Virginia, a road is now cutting through the wilderness at the expense of the State, from Clarksburgh to the mouth of the Muskingum river, and another from Morgantown, on the Monongahela river, into this road, hereby opening a communication from the most settled parts of Virginia on the Potomac, which must be of essential benefit to the new settlements.

"The affairs of the company appear to be now in a prosperous way—the settlers enjoying all the blessings arising from good government and a rich and fertile soil. The greatest decorum and order prevail; the stated weekly worship of God is established, and that obliging and accommodating disposition and good humor towards each other, which more than anything else sweetens life and contributes to the happiness of society, prevails among all the settlers; and while it causes them to be pleased with each other, seems to be a renewal of those primitive scenes of virtuous society and intercourse for which the first settlers of New England have been so much celebrated. It is supposed that more than ten thousand bushels of corn, and other articles of produce in proportion, will be raised the present year on the lands of the Company; and experience shows that the country is well adapted for raising all the useful and delicious fruits of the climate.

"The Indian chief Cornplanter, of the Seneca nation, informs that the word 'Muskingum,' in one of the Indian languages, signifies 'the river of many peo-

ple,' or 'the much people's river,' and that they have a tradition among the Six Nations, that formerly great numbers of inhabitants were settled upon *that* river, who, in consequence of a war, were extirpated and entirely driven off from the territory of the ancestors of the Six Nations. This was very probably the case, and may account for the erection of the ancient fortifications at Marietta. Thus empires rise and fall, and one nation and language succeeds another. There are the strongest reasons to suppose that the increase of population from the English stock, and of those who speak our language, will far surpass all others on the American continent; and that as a people, we shall finally become more numerous than any other of one and the same language on the Earth. And as the northern provinces of China, spread for ages, and at length deluged the southern with numerous and accumulated population, being now the most numerous people in the world; so it is probable that the northern states of America will continue for many years annually to furnish great numbers for settling the vast tracts of fertile country extending from the Atlantic to the Western Ocean; such a distance that we have never yet been able to explore its boundaries. So that in a few years, the settlements on the Ohio river will undoubtedly be considered as the most central part of the mighty empire of the United States. The great and judicious Lord Kains having, a number of years since, pointed out that river, as the place where human society will become most improved, and where the arts and sciences will be carried to the greatest perfection, and literature of every kind to the highest pitch of excellence."

Speaking of the family of St. Clair, who was Governor of the Territory, the author says it consisted of an only son, Arthur St. Clair, Jr, a young man of 21, and afterwards settled in Cincinnati as a lawyer, and three daughters. Louisa was the eldest, a young lady of 18 or 19. She "was a healthy, vigorous girl, full of life and activity, every way calculated for a soldier's daughter, fond of frolic and ready to draw amusement from all and everything around her. She was a fine equestrian, and would mount the most wild and spirited horse without fear, managing him with ease and gracefulness, dashing through the open woodlands around *Campus Martius* at full gallop, leaping over logs or any obstruction that fell in her way. She was one of the most rapid skaters in the garrison, few, if any, of the young men could equal her in speed and activity, or graceful movements in this enchanting exercise. Her elegant person and neat dress, showing to much advantage, called forth loud plaudits from both young and old. The broad sheet of ice on the Muskingum, near the garrison, for a few days in the winter, afforded a fine field for this healthy sport. She was also an expert huntress, and would have afforded a good figure of Diana, in her rambles through the woods, had she been armed with a bow instead of a rifle. Of this instrument she was a perfect mistress, loading and firing with the accuracy of a back-woodsman, killing a squirrel from the highest tree, or cutting off the head of a partridge with wonderful precision. She was fond of roaming in the woods, and often went out alone in the forests near Marietta fearless of the savages, that occasionally lurked in the vicinity. She was as active on foot, as on horseback, and would walk for several miles with the rapidity of a ranger. Her manners were refined and her person beautiful, with highly cultivated intellectual powers, having been educated with much care in Philadelphia. Born with a healthy, vigorous frame, she had strengthened both her body and mind by the athletic exercises when a child, probably first encouraged by her father, who had spent the larger portion of his life in camps. She was one of those rare spirits, so admirably fitted to the times and manners of the day in which she lived. After the Indian war she returned to her early home amidst the romantic glens of the Ligonier valley in Pennsylvania."

In the Indian war soon after the settlement, it was ordered that in case of alarm, every man was to repair to the alarm post, and the women and children to the Block-house. One night news was received that "a man was chased into the garrison, and that the Indians were besieging the gates of Marietta. The darkness of the night added to the confusion of the scene." "The first person for admittance to the central Block-house was Col. Sproat with a box of papers for safe keeping; then came some young men with their arms—next a woman with a bed and children, and after her, old Mr. Moulten from Newburyport, with his leather apron full of old goldsmith's tools and tobacco; his daughter Anna brought the china

teapot, cups and saucers; Lydia brought the great Bible, but when all were in, Mother was missing—where was Mother? she must be killed by the Indians. No, says Lydia, Mother said she would not leave the house *looking so*, she would put things a little *to rights*. After awhile the old lady came bringing the looking-glass, knives and forks.”—This is a graphic description of the alarms and escapes from the native savages, by the early settlers of New England.

Chapter 23d gives the topography of the country and its natural productions, the character of the climate—the effect that the cutting of the forests and cultivating the soil has upon streams—a valuable meteorological table for twenty-six years, from 1818 to 1826, giving the quantity of rain, the mean amount of which for twenty-six years is forty-one inches, while the mean for the last seven years is only thirty-eight inches, showing a falling off of three inches in the annual amount. Whether this may be attributed to the cutting away of the forests or to some other cause is yet uncertain, until the country is still further opened and future observations made. “The greatest snow storms are usually accompanied with wind from the northwest.” The blooming of fruit trees is later than formerly and late frosts more frequent and common. “The great abundance of forest trees is doubtless one cause of the greater humidity of the climate in this region of country, than in the same parallel east of the mountains. The quantity of rain which annually falls there, varies from twenty-four to thirty-six inches, while here on an average of twenty-six years, the mean amount is forty-one inches.” His account of the influence and direction of winds and their effects upon vegetable life is interesting. The article upon wild animals, their former abundance and recent disappearance, tells the history of early New England. Turkeys were in such countless numbers that the settlers “were obliged to gather their corn before it was fully ripe, to save it from their ravages; and to cover their stacks of grain with brush. One man killed forty in a day with his rifle. They were caught in pens, killed with clubs and dogs by boys. They were very fat and full grown ones, weighed from sixteen to thirty pounds.” “In the winter of 1792-3, two men went from Marietta ten miles west of the Muskingum in the morning, “and killed forty-five deer,” and the next day brought them all in. “The migration of the grey squirrel is a very curious phenomenon, and not easily accounted for. In the autumn of certain years, they become itinerant, traveling simultaneously in millions from north to south; destroying whole fields of corn in a few days, if not immediately gathered, and eating everything in their way, like the locusts of Africa, while traveling forward without stopping long in any place; swimming large rivers, and perhaps before winter returning again by the same route towards the north. As the country has become cleared of the forests, their numbers have greatly diminished. Bears and panthers were common in the hills.” “As an evidence of their strength, a panther killed a hog in the winter of 1794 or 5, and carried him through the snow, nine inches deep, a considerable distance, without leaving any trail of the hog, and buried him by the side of a log.” “Wolves were the most annoying and destructive, sometimes pursuing men who were unarmed, and forcing them to take shelter in a tree, to avoid their attack. * * Large gangs of hogs in the woods could defend themselves by placing the young and feeble ones in the centre of a ring, formed by the old and stronger animals. If a wolf came within their reach, they all fell upon him and tore him in pieces with their tusks and teeth.” No sheep could be raised for many years after the settlement. The beaver disappeared “with their friends and admirers the Indians.” Fish were in great abundance and very large. “The pike is the king of fish in western rivers.” One was taken which weighed nearly one hundred pounds in 1788, about six feet in length.

Mr. Hildreth has given us a very valuable work, written in a clear and vigorous style, and particularly interesting to all New Englanders, respecting this first settlement in the far west, which our ancestors commenced in that *then* wilderness, now the great and populous State of Ohio. All of us had relatives or friends among the emigrants that embarked in this enterprise, of colonizing in the Great North Western Territory, in the midst of untamed beasts, and far worse, amidst untamed men. The author has given us the names of the first adventurers; their sufferings, disasters and conflicts. The flourishing condition of their posterity, so nearly connected with us, throws around the narrative a gratifying charm.

The present volume was published in 1848, under the auspices of the “Hist-

ical Society of Cincinnati," and constitutes the first number of its published transactions. We hope the Society will continue its efforts, and give to the public the manuscript work in their possession, "containing ample biographies of the first settlers of Marietta and its vicinity, prepared by the author of the present volume."—We trust the sale of the present, will warrant the issuing of the second number. The rich materials awaiting this event, connected as it will be with the present publication, already excites an interest in every family in New England to possess them.

BISHOP WHITTINGHAM'S CHARGE: "*The Doctrine of this Church,*" and that alone, to be held and taught by the Ministry of CHRIST in the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States: A CHARGE to the Clergy of the Diocese of Maryland, by WILLIAM ROLLINSON WHITTINGHAM, Bishop of the Diocese. Read at the Annual Convention in Baltimore, Thursday, May 31, 1849. Published by order of the Convention.

Such is our conviction of the importance and truthfulness of this Charge, that we had intended to republish in the Review the entire argument of Bishop Whittingham. But having learned that it has been already reprinted in pamphlet form, and widely distributed, we shall do no more than allude to circumstances, which seem to us, to render the production exceedingly timely.

It cannot be disguised that throughout a large part of Christendom, there is existing a tendency to throw down old landmarks; to give a looseness of interpretation to Articles of Faith; to restiveness under the imposition of all restriction; and to a resort to the arts of casuistry to reconcile apparent double dealing and hypocrisy with moral honesty and Christian morality. Outside of the Church, this tendency exists in both directions, in opposite extremes, and perhaps with equal strength, though with different phases, and on different methods of reasoning. The Romanists even while retaining the forms of the Ancient Faith, had elevated certain dogmas and practices into absolute essentials, at first only practically held, until the Council of Trent, a packed company of Italian Bishops and monks, gave to these monstrous novelties and usurpations, outward form, and perpetual authority. Hence it has become necessary for them to hit upon something which shall reconcile her gross outrage upon the Church, with the judgment and convictions of thinking men within and without her pale. And so has been conceived her new doctrine of Development, which has already of late threatened to impose upon her members, upon peril of their souls, a ridiculous figment which even the later Fathers opposed with all their might, and upon a principle which hereafter may conceivably graft any new whims or fancy upon her faith.

On the other hand, the other extreme has been led virtually to the same results, by an altogether different process. Puritanism made a great and vital mistake, when it forsook the simplicity of the Ancient Faith, in exchange for philosophical speculations. Unlike Rome, its very first act was formal, rather than practical. It elevated opinions into Creeds. It exchanged doctrinal Facts, for doctrinal speculations. And this answered a purpose, just so long as the philosophy lasted on which these opinions were based. But when men began to doubt these speculations, or to philosophize upon different principles, their religious formularies began to be undermined, and fell at last into the disuse which might have been anticipated. Hence there has sprung up among their numerous descendants, all sorts of new Creeds, and new confessions, and as a necessary consequence, a wide spread indifference. Or where old Confessions are made binding by statutory enactments for special ends, they are subscribed to, as containing "the substance of doctrine," but yet are directly evaded, and sometimes openly controverted.—Of course we have no concern to reconcile this with Christian honesty; our business is to state the fact as one which nobody will care to deny.

All this out of the Church. And it is not strange that habits and reasonings which have prevailed so extensively, and have been endorsed with such show of learning and talent, and piety around us, should have crept into the Church, and should have gained an influence in one direction or the other. There has grown up of late among us, we think, an indistinctness of opinion—an uncertainty as to what our standards of opinion and of doctrine are. Under pretense that the Church tolerates

a broad Catholicity, there has sprung up a spirit of latitudinarianism on the one hand, or on the other, a hankering after novelties and customs, which the Church at the Reformation repudiated and formally rejected. So decided has this tendency become, that what our Fathers were accustomed to call the Standards of the Church, have been at least, to some extent, practically thrown aside. The Church's Formularies are supposed to have no definite meaning, and to be susceptible of widely different interpretations. The Articles have come to be called "Articles of Peace," adopted in the outset, it is said, as a sort of compromise between the two opposing elements of Puritanism and Romanism, as a middle ground, which neither party, or the Church at large, occupied *ex animo*, and which, though bound up in our Prayer Book, are rather relics of an anti-Catholic age, than binding upon the conscience of true Churchmen.

It is in this light, that we hail the Charge of the Bishop of Maryland, with great satisfaction. It is important and timely. It shows that the Church has definite and fixed standards, and tells us what they are, and in what respect they are such. Concerning the right, the use, and the responsibility of *private judgment*, concerning the necessary Faith of the Church Catholic; and concerning the Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship of any particular Branch of the Church, his statements are clear, and in our judgment convincing. His distinction, or rather the distinction, as stated by him, between matters of Faith and matters of Opinion, or, in his own words, between "Creeds and Confessions," is one of vast importance, especially in our own times. Not less timely is the convincing manner in which he sets forth the binding authority of the "Articles of Religion," upon the teachers of the Church. His withering rebuke of the hypocrisy of solemnly subscribing the Formularies of the Church, and then making them "a miserable nose of wax," will be keenly felt, just so far as it is deserved. We are also grateful to notice that the main positions of the Charge, are thoroughly approved in all parts of our Communion. We hail it as a harbinger of true unity and peace, and a powerful means of promoting it. The Senior Bishop of Virginia, as we perceive, has of late taken the same decided ground as to the authoritative nature and binding obligation of our Church Standards. We thank Bishop Whittingham for the noble work which he has done, and commend it to the attention of all honest and true hearted Churchmen.

THE CHURCH IDENTIFIED BY A REFERENCE TO THE HISTORY OF ITS ORIGIN, PERPETUATION, AND EXTENSION INTO THE UNITED STATES. By Rev. W. D. Wilson, A. M. H. H. Curtiss, Utica, N. Y. 12mo. pp. 254. 1848.

This book is the republication of a series of articles contributed to the *New York Churchman* some months since, and contains much valuable matter bearing on the subject. The author tells us that there are two ways in which men attempt to identify the Church. One class endeavor to "ascertain from the Scriptures, what are to be regarded as its essential notes or features," and that when they find any existing body corresponding thereto, it is regarded as the Church. The other class "go back to the first planting of the Church, and trace its existence down the current of time, in its spread over the face of the earth, until they find it extending itself into our own country."—p. 23. The first course, our author supposes, is pursued by most persons in this country; the last is the one which he adopts, though in doing so, we do not understand him as absolutely rejecting the other. He argues his case very well. We commend his book as a really valuable auxiliary toward the settlement of an important question. At the same time, we must express our opinion, that our author's argument is not as complete as he supposes, and for this reason—that he makes too little account of one very important, and in our judgment indispensable part of the evidence. No identification of the Church can be satisfactory or conclusive, that does not take into prominent consideration both modes of examination. He who leaves out of view the "Scriptural Notes" of the Church now existing, as surely errs, as he who omits all recognition of its historical continuity. It is the development of a true life in an organic body, and which must, therefore, have historical existence, which identifies the Church. The historical existence of the body without the life, no more identifies the Church, than identifying a *corpse* identifies the *man*.

This estimate of the historical side of the question has led our author, in common with many others, into arguments which seem to us fatal to his own cause. He assumes that the Church of England was planted in America before the Romish, and that when Romanism was brought here, it was by Papists from England, who were schismatics at home, and continued to be so when they came here—that the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States had the prior footing here, and is therefore entitled to hold canonical jurisdiction over the country. If these premises were all sound, the conclusion would be legitimate. But the Romanist may reply, and that truly, that America was discovered by a member of the Romish communion—that the right to the country was derived from a Papal Bull—that the first settlement was made on the continent, and probably within the present limits of the United States, by Romanists, who were not from England—that the first Bishop residing in the British Provinces of North America, of which the United States then formed part, was a Romish Bishop; and then he may reasonably infer, that the mere fact of the Protestant Episcopal Church having the first Bishop resident in the United States, after the Revolution, could not give it any claim of priority. So the Romanist may reason, and we know not what reply our author would make upon his own principles. We are sorry, therefore, to see this point pressed in this manner. For if we have no higher ground than canonical priority of occupation, whereon to rest our claim of jurisdiction, we shall be found sadly wanting.

On this point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, there seems to be much vagueness in the minds of men otherwise well informed, to remove which, we shall state, as briefly as may be, what we conceive to be the relative position of the two bodies. That the Church of England in England, and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, are true Catholic Churches, is now assumed without argument. It is also assumed that Rome has added to her *Orders* the unscriptural, if not anti-scriptural office of Pope, or Pontiff, to which she requires submission *as a term of communion*; and also that she has added to her *Faith*, various unscriptural and anti-scriptural points of belief, to be received and believed as essential to salvation, and that, too, *as a term of communion*. By both of these acts, she has raised an unlawful barrier around herself, by which she has cut herself off from the communion of all Churches, which reject her unlawful doctrine of the Pope's supremacy, and the anti-scriptural articles of Pope Pius' Creed. By so doing, she has clearly rendered herself essentially schismatic, in respect to the true Catholic Church everywhere. In England or America, in Spain or even in Italy, Rome is, therefore, essentially schismatic, and cannot lawfully, or canonically, challenge the obedience of any Catholic Christian. The schism of Rome, however, is very different from the schism of the various Protestant bodies. One has made itself schismatic by *adding* falsehoods to the truth, and requiring assent equally to both, as a term of communion with her; the other has taken away from the Catholic faith, and requires faith in the remainder to the exclusion of the rest, as a term of communion. One requires faith in falsehood; the other, disbelief of truth, as a condition of communion; and both have thus rendered themselves schismatic. The ground of our claim to jurisdiction here, or elsewhere, is, that ours is the true Catholic Church, and that Rome is a schismatic Church, and consequently that ours, and ours alone, can rightfully challenge jurisdiction over the members of that Catholic Church, which is the Body of CHRIST. The "Roman obedience," therefore, is the *obedience of schism*, and can never be justified anywhere. How far the condition of its members, in Romish countries, excuses individuals from participation in the guilt of schism, is a question we cannot now consider. Nor can we allude, at present, to the more serious inquiry, as to how far Rome is *heretical*, and hence to be renounced at all hazards. Suffice it for the present, that if our assumptions are correct, (and unless they are so, we are schismatics, if not heretics,) but if they are so, then, for one to leave the Church of England, or the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and conform to the Church of Rome *anywhere*, is an act of schism, not to say heresy, which cannot but peril the soul so offending.

THE OBEDIENCE OF FAITH. Seven Sermons delivered on his Visitation to the Churches in his Diocese, during 1848-9. By the Rt. Rev. L. Silliman Ives, D. D., Bishop of North Carolina. New York: 1849. Stanford & Swords. 12mo. pp. 162.

The Sermons in this volume, as might be inferred from the occasion of their delivery, are mostly of a practical character. They are written with great plainness, and exhibit an air of earnestness and sincerity, on the part of the author. There is in the volume, the exhibition of a shade of opinion, in which we by no means coincide, although our limits forbid more than a brief, and, perhaps, imperfect statement of what we mean. To prepare ourselves for that statement, we remark, that we deem it of infinite importance to form clear conceptions of the true position of the Church, relatively to CHRIST its Head, on the one hand, and to the members of the Church on the other. The Church then, is not CHRIST. It is not a depository, but a medium of Grace. It is not the *fountain*, but the channel, through which that fountain ordinarily flows. CHRIST HIMSELF, and HE alone, is that fountain. It is not the sun of the Christian system; it shines only with borrowed light. The Church is not in itself, or in any of its ordinances or Institutions, an *object* of Faith, but the divine method of approach to Him on whom alone Faith reposes. And the Church is truest to her nature and vocation, when she is the simplest and directest medium through which her members are brought to HIM, who, as the LAMB of God, taketh away the sins of the world. And having done this, the Church then has another vocation in her mission of mercy *from* her HEAD, *to* those who come to CHRIST in CHRIST's way. She is charged with blessings, not from herself, but from CHRIST, who is her Life and Strength.

And this enables us to state our objection to an apparent view of the Author of these Sermons. We mean in respect to the true position in the Christian Church, of the Christian Ministry, and especially in the Article of Absolution. The Church's view is, that Absolution, as pronounced by the Minister, is authoritative, but it is also declarative, and not judicial. The power to sit in judgment upon the conscience of the individual penitent, is God's. "He pardoneth and absolveth all those who truly repent and unfeignedly believe His Holy Gospel." Or if the Church in extreme cases, of perversity, or, for the quieting of conscience, calls the judgment of the Minister into exercise, still her ordinary rule exhibits the Minister as standing simply as Christ's ambassador and messenger. Bishop Ives considers this power to be judicial. Nor is this distinction between judicial power, and declarative power, one of mere words. If absolute judicial power is vested in the priesthood, then, of course, Confession, private Auricular Confession, follows inevitably, and is at once the bounden daily duty of every penitent. It is the Priest, and not CHRIST, whom the broken heart must ever approach. The object of Faith becomes changed. Practically Christ becomes lost to the soul's view, behind an intervening object. And such, we hesitate not to say, is the practical result, as seen in the workings of such a system. We shall not stigmatize such a view with an opprobrious name. This is not our method. We ourselves would be unmoved by such an art, and we will not use it. But to trace it in the light of God's Holy Word, and of Catholic Antiquity, would transcend our limits. It is foreign to both, of modern origin, and of most corrupt tendency. The most loathsome picture of corruption in the Church, is the history of the confessional.

A LAYMAN'S LESSON TO A LORD BISHOP, ON SACERDOTAL POWERS; or the necessity of Confession, Penance, and Absolution. Republished from the second edition, (London, 1713.) By NON-NEMO. New York: 1849. D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 48.

As we intend to present what we believe to be the Church's view on the subject embraced in this pamphlet at length hereafter, we shall do no more than state what, in our judgment, is the real difference on a single point between Non-Nemo, on the one hand, and the Anglican Church, and our own, on the other. We refer of course to Absolution; Confession and Penance growing out of, and depending upon this. The Church, as we suppose, regards Absolution as conditional, declarative, and authoritative; conditional as distinguished from absolute, declarative

as distinguished from judicial, and authoritative as distinguished from that which is merely ordinary and general. Non-Nemo regards Absolution as judicial, absolute, and final. It is evident that the whole system of Auricular Confession, Penance, &c., grows out of his view, and stands or falls with it. That he is not sustained by the English Church or our own, by either God's Holy Word or Catholic Antiquity, we believe absolutely certain. The subject will be presented hereafter, more at length. We regret to see that there is any demand for works of this class. A man is known by the company he keeps. And it is anything but reputable, to evince a growing familiarity with the charlatanism and religious jugglery of a system, which was cradled in ignorance and superstition, and nurtured by imposture.

LADY ALICE; OR THE NEW UNA. A Novel. D. Appleton & Co. 1849.

The apparent design of this new "religious Novel," is an attempt to illustrate Catholic Unity, by the practical intercommunion of members of the Anglican and Roman Branches of the Church. The author recognizes no adequate obstacles to this. He is oblivious to the formal declarations of his own Church, bearing upon this point, or opposes his private judgment to her decision. He professes loyalty to the Anglican Church, and regards Rome in England, as schismatic; yet he treats contemptuously that great providential event, the English Reformation; he takes no cognizance of the Catholic principles upon which that Reformation was conducted; and he speaks as no true son of the Church ought, (we might say, *can*), of the Romish Communion, with her harlotish attire, her deliberate abandonment of the Catholic Faith, her savage cruelty towards those who protest against her idolatrous rites. He fawns upon a monster which threatens to devour him.

As a work of art and genius, it is exceedingly well done. Some of its descriptions are graphic. In its moral tone, if it is not positively low and corrupting, it abounds in scenes which will shock and disgust every virtuous mind. Nor will it suffice to say, that "to the pure, all things are pure." This is a mere libertine's lie; and is worthy only of a modern disciple of the Agapemoneans. To the pure some things are not pure; but are positively gross and revolting; and especially some things in this new Novel. And yet, as the crowds of abandoned women at Rome, are the greatest devotees at the Church and the Confessional, so the strong religious pretensions of this book do not surprise us. As a whole, it will be warmly admired by those who are more sensitively alive to the meretricious adornments of vain pageantry, and gilded gewgaws, and burning candles, than to a hypocritical doctrinal position; and who might, without impropriety, study a homily on the real nature both of popery and perjury. As to Catholic Unity, we believe in its necessity, appreciate its desirableness, and have faith in it as an ultimate event. But there can be no unity upon a Roman basis. The Romish Church is essentially schismatic and heretical, in Rome and America, as well as in England, and anything like union or communion with her, anywhere, and everywhere, is treason to Christ, and a virtual abandonment of the Catholic Faith. To restore unity to the Church, the New Testament, we think, points to agencies and influences, which will destroy the corruptions, and mock the inventions of erring men.

LIVES OF THE QUEENS OF ENGLAND, from the Norman Conquest; with Anecdotes of their Courts, now first published from Official Records, and other authentic documents, private as well as public. New edition with corrections and additions. By Agnes Strickland. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1848. Six vols. 12mo.

There is one important theme which few have pondered as they ought—the unwritten history of the past. From Julius Cæsar to Macaulay, there has not been wanting what has professed to be the History of England, but the *written* bears no proportion, in magnitude and importance, to the *unwritten* and *forgotten*. This is preserved, however, in an imperishable record on high. The pen of Miss Strickland has been employed upon a new theme, and has added an important contribution to our store of knowledge. She has gone behind the curtain, where feelings, and motives, and purposes are formed, and has introduced us, to what the world has thought or known little of, the domestic life of royalty. The success of her labors, shows that she has not written in vain. An article in our last number, has awakened

some desire to see her work, and to such we wish to recommend this new and elegant edition of Messrs. Lea & Blanchard. Miss Strickland is a very entertaining writer; she feels keenly—is a devoted royalist, a thorough Churchwoman; she seems to have had access to the most important authorities, and if her sympathies have sometimes betrayed her judgment, her ample references leave us no doubt as to the grounds of her opinion. As a monument of industry, research, and ability, the work is in a very high degree creditable to the accomplished authoress.

NARRATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES EXPEDITION TO THE RIVER JORDAN AND THE DEAD SEA. By W. F. Lynch, U. S. N. Commander of the Expedition. With maps and numerous illustrations. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1849. 8vo. pp. 508.

This Narrative was looked for with great eagerness by the public, and has, we believe, justly satisfied all reasonable anticipations. We have noticed but two objections from the press:—One, that the book does not embody more scientific information; the other, that the author is a little too episodic, indulging rather freely in his own reflections. Both these are unreasonable criticisms. Full scientific results of the Expedition, are to be published in the official reports, and should not have been expected in the volume before us. Besides, it contains, perhaps, all the information which the general reader would care for. The Author's reflections are given always in good taste, and are creditable to his head and heart. The man who can penetrate the unbroken gloom and silence, hanging, for centuries, over the Dead Sea, which tradition and superstition have invested with terrors, without emotion, is not the man fitted for such a work. And we are glad, for once, to see the pertness of Infidelity put to the blush, by the deep tone of reverence in which the author has written. The whole Expedition was creditable to our Government, and to all who were concerned in it. The publishers have executed their task with liberality and judgment. We are promised, for a future number, a more thorough examination of this valuable work.

THE MOTTO OF JUBILEE COLLEGE, Vol. I, No. 7, May, 1849.

AN ARTICLE SIGNED P., IN THE CALENDAR, JUNE 30th, 1849.

LITERARY NOTICES IN THE NEW ENGLANDER, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 470.

We have been amused in tracing the history of an article in the Motto of Jubilee College, from the pen, we suppose, of Bishop Chase. It was entitled "A notable Corruption of the Bible." The Bishop tells his story remarkably well; which, as we anticipated, was caught up at once, by nearly all our Church papers, and has, before this time, been read and believed by several thousands of persons. A correspondent of the Calendar, P., at once corrected one important blunder of the Bishop; but as an untruth travels much faster than a truth, and as in this case, the latter has hardly started upon its journey, we presume the race will not be a close one. Indeed, our newspapers are so fond of a good story, and so proverbially infallible, that we dare say, the story will be reprinted again in a few years, as a new illustration of Puritan morality. It so happens, however, that the story of the Bishop is a tissue of mistakes from beginning to end, innocently made, we believe, by the Bishop, but mistakes notwithstanding, and very gross ones.

Thus the Bishop says:—

1st. That the corruption of changing "*we*" into "*ye*," in Acts vi, 3, (last clause,) was made in the time of Oliver Cromwell, and for the sake of aiding the cause of the Independents.

On the contrary, the corruption first appeared in 1638, under Archbishop Laud and Charles I. Nor does it appear that an edition of the Bible was published at all in the time of Cromwell.

2d. The Bishop states, that this corruption "doubtless was transported with the goods and chattels of our forefathers to the shores of America, especially in Massachusetts Bay, about, or soon after, the time of Cromwell."

On the contrary, the settlement at Plymouth was begun in 1620, and in Massachusetts about 1630. The Cambridge Platform was fully agreed upon in 1648; while Cromwell did not come into power until 1649, full twenty-nine years after the settlement at Plymouth was commenced.

3d. The Bishop says, that Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester, Massachusetts Bay, printed the first Bible ever published in America; and the same, containing this notable corruption, was circulated throughout New England.

On the contrary, Isaiah Thomas did not print the first Bible ever published in America, as there had been at least six previous editions—two for the Indians, three for the Germans, and one in English. Mr. Thomas' first edition appeared in 1791, and another in 1791, and still another in 1793, neither of which contained the corruption referred to. Several later editions did contain it, when the mistake was pointed out and rectified.

4th. Concerning Dean Berkeley, the Bishop states, that the Dean frequently visited Yale College; that Dr. Cutler was its first President; Dr. Johnson its first Professor; that the Dean gave his library, a sum of money, &c., the interest of which was to be applied in bestowing a gold medal upon the best Greek scholar; that the President and Professors were appointed an expurgating committee on the Dean's library, when, lo! and behold, the secret leaked out, that Dr. Cutler, and Dr. Johnson, and several others, had turned Churchmen!

On the contrary, Dr. Cutler was not its first President, nor was Dr. Johnson its first Professor, nor were they officers in the College at the same time. The Dean never visited Yale College. He never gave a sum of money to the College. He made no provision for a gold medal. Nor was the prize bestowed upon the best Greek scholar. His donation of books to the library did not arrive till 1732 or 1733, and Dr. Cutler and Dr. Johnson had both declared for Episcopacy at least ten years previously.

There are some other matters in the Bishop's statement equally at fault, but we care not to pursue the subject. We are sorry to spoil so good a story, but it is a greater pity to charge upon the early Puritans, sins of which they were never guilty. They have enough to answer for, without falsifying history. It is due also to the gentlemen who have charge of the library of Yale College, to say, that the large additions to its treasures recently made, have been selected with a spirit truly liberal, and worthy of all praise.

THE ADVENTURES OF CAPT. BONNEVILLE, U. S. A., IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS AND THE FAR WEST. Digested from his Journal, and illustrated from various other sources. By Washington Irving. Author's revised edition. Complete in one volume. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1849. 12mo. pp. 428.

While these amusing sketches of wild adventure are of absorbing interest, even now, they are among those works which become more valuable with the flight of time. The race of the red man is fading silently before us, as yet, unarrested destiny. The gay, free trapper and his steed, the savage war chief, the traders' cavalcade, the buffalo chase, the hunting camp, the mad carouse, the night attack, the stampado, the fierce skirmish among rocks and cliffs, all this scene of excitement, which Mr. Irving's pen depicts so graphically, will have passed away forever before the onward-rolling, restless wave of civilization. Capt. Bonneville, the hero of these "adventures," if he did not drive a successful speculation among the trappers, at least won the reputation of a most accomplished "brave." His strong sympathy with nature, his native fearlessness, his fondness for hazardous enterprise, and, at the same time, his highly cultivated mind, qualified him admirably to accomplish what, in this volume, is so truthfully described. It forms the *tenth* volume in Mr. Putnam's series.

OLIVER GOLDSMITH: A BIOGRAPHY. By Washington Irving. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1849. 12mo. pp. 362. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

As an easy, graceful, and elegant writer; as a delineator of the truly beautiful, morally, socially, and physically; Mr. Irving has achieved for himself a reputation second to no man living. But he has shown himself, in works not so widely known, equally capable of entering another and higher department in the world of letters; and we point to this Biography of Oliver Goldsmith as an illustration. Less voluminous than Prior, whose work is too heavy for republication here, less compact

and critical than Forster, it excels them both as a clear, striking, truthful delineation of the man whom it describes, and of the scenes which made up the sum of his chequered life. His character was a strange bundle of oddities and excellencies, but is given, we believe, with strict impartiality, and always in a tone of affection and kindness. His sketches of Goldsmith's companions, Johnson, Boswell, (Johnson's shadow,) Reynolds, Burke, Garrick, and others, are admirably done. The work will be read with interest and instruction, (for Goldsmith's life has a moral in it,) and will add to the reputation of its distinguished Author.

We are pleased to see, that Mr. Putnam has in press a complete edition of Goldsmith's Works, to be published uniform with Mr. Irving's series.

KALOOLAH. An autobiography of Jonathan Romer, edited by W. S. Mayo, M. D. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1849. 12mo. pp. 516.

A strange title, to a very strange book. The lovers of the marvelous may satiate themselves now, with all sorts of adventures by sea and by land, and with undreamed of escapes from wild men and wild beasts; the whole story ending, *à la mode*, with love and a marriage.

THE CHURCH VINDICATED against the Assault of W. T. Hamilton, D. D., Mobile, in a Review of his Sermon on Acts xvii, 22, "Ye are too superstitious." By Rev. Richard Johnson, Rector of Zion's Church, Talbotton, Georgia. New York: Stanford & Swords, 1849. 12mo. pp. 48.

This neatly published volume should be circulated wherever the Sermon of Dr. Hamilton has been read. It is a thorough and unanswerable reply, and makes the Doctor, in his attack upon the Church, appear, to say the very least, strangely ignorant. He will probably conclude by and by, that the Church is not to be demolished by a little rhapsody of rhetoric, blunders, and petulance. We see evidences in all parts of the country, "from Maine to Georgia," that Church Principles and Doctrines, are either to be abandoned and given up entirely to the ultimate spread of naked Deism, or else they are to be maintained with a firmness which will be thoroughly tested.

BULWER AND FORBES ON THE WATER-TREATMENT. Edited with additional matter, by Roland S. Houghton, A. M., M. D. New York: Geo. P. Putnam, 1849. 12mo. pp. 228. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

This volume contains papers on the Water-Treatment, by the well known Sir E. Bulwer; John Forbes, M. D., F. R. S.; Erasmus Wilson, M. D., F. R. S.; Mr. Herbert Mayo, Surgeon; Sir Charles Scudamore, M. D., F. R. S.; and some additional observations by Dr. Houghton, the American editor.

As a popular work, on a subject receiving just now much attention, we presume it contains all that any one needs to read. The authors are able, and their essays well written. For ourselves, we confess that we are quite behind the age, in respect to any and all of the various *theories* in the healing art. We are neither Hydro-pathists, nor Homeopathists, nor Allopathists. We have no confidence in any mere *theory* in medicine; and we have no sympathy with the modern tendency, both in morals and medicine, to mount some particular hobby, and ride it to death as a certain cure-all, for all sorts of evils. We doubt not that, in certain specific cases, the Water-Treatment, (especially with suitable attention to diet and exercise,) may be judiciously applied. But on the whole subject of diseases, their nature and remedy, we defer our own judgment to that of men of common-sense and intelligence, who have made this the business of their life. Beyond this we have no confidence, except in the blessing of a kind Providence.

With these remarks, we recommend this volume, and especially the article by Dr. Forbes, as one which may be profitably read.

THE MEN TO MAKE A STATE; their making and their marks. An Address before the Trustees, Teachers, and Students of Burlington College; on the seventy-third Anniversary of American Independence, and the third Anniversary of the College, July 4th, 1849. By the Rt. Rev. George Washington Doane, D. D., LL. D., President of the College. 8vo. pp. 16.

We protest earnestly against any attempt to imitate the style of Bishop Doane. Imitation is always a ridiculous business—in this case, it would be supremely so. And yet as we find men attempting the gait of Melville, always stately and swelling, so we shall meet mediocrity aping the pithiness and pungency of Bishop Doane. Chalmers opens upon us a well sustained cannonade. Doane depends upon the rapidity and earnestness of his attacks. The one surprises us by his strength upon the wing; the other, by the ease with which he darts from point to point in his gyrations. This is one of those productions which we do not care to criticise. It is nature. It is the man as God made him. It hits keenly, and tells effectually, where the man of "rules and exceptions," scientifically puts us to sleep. But again we say, whoever attempts to imitate Bishop Doane, will make a failure.—Thus much for the style. As for the matter, we have seen no recent "Fourth of July Oration," which contains so much in so few words.

QUESTIONS ON THE BOOK OF GENESIS. Part 1, Chapters i-xii. New York: Gen. Prot. Ep. Sunday Union, 1849. 18mo. pp. 94. New Haven: A. C. Heitmann.

We think this series of *Lessons* on the Old Testament, will be found adapted to the wants of our Sunday Schools. The *Lessons* are short, and divided into two portions; one, explanatory, for which there is sufficient assistance given, and the other practical. In doctrinal tone, we see nothing inconsistent with, but on the contrary a constant acknowledgment of the received Standards of the Church. To prepare a faithful guide for the young, which shall instruct them in their duties and responsibilities, and in no small degree mould the future character of the Church, is a difficult work, and yet, we see no reason why this little volume may not be so regarded.

REASONS for withdrawing from the Congregational Ministry, with a Sermon preached in Kent, Conn., May 20, 1849. By Rev. William W. Andrews. 1849. 8vo. pp. 34.

A most remarkable production. In a retired country Congregational Parish, a mind endued with rare gifts, and enriched with superior attainments, has been communing with high and holy truths; has been yearning after spiritual life; has been feeling its way gradually, but surely, out of a system which it wholly distrusted; and has embraced many, most of those deep realities of the Christian system, which have been the heritage of the Apostolic Church from the first. There is a single link wanting in the author's argument. He seems to overlook the perpetuity and binding obligation of CHRIST's positive Institutions, distrusts where he ought to exhibit faith, gratitude, and obedience; and substitutes therefor, extraordinary agencies with alledged extraordinary attestations. Respecting Miracles, Prophecy, and the Second Advent, Mr. Andrews takes the general view of the Irving School, which has at intervals gained temporary and limited credence from an early period. As an indication of a deeper and more earnest thoughtfulness, the pamphlet merits attention.

A SERMON delivered before the Bishop White Prayer Book Society, on its 16th Anniversary, and in commemoration of the 300th Anniversary of the introduction of the First Prayer Book in the English tongue, into the worship of the Church of England. Preached in St. Andrew's Church, Philadelphia, on the evening of Whitsunday, May 28th, 1849. By Wm. Bacon Stevens, D. D., Rector of the Church. Published by the request of the Society, 1849. 8vo. pp. 26.

The return of the 300th Anniversary of the introduction of the English Prayer Book, into use in the English Church, has been celebrated in England with suitable demonstrations; and in a manner to give new energy to the onward movements of that growing branch of CHRIST's Mystical Body. Dr. Stevens has entered fully

into the spirit of the occasion. His Sermon embodies and condenses a vast amount of historical matter ; it incidentally vindicates the English Reformation ; and pays a most eloquent tribute to that priceless treasure, the Prayer Book. It may be added, that the Bishop White Prayer Book Society, is one of the most efficient and economical organizations in the Church.

A SERMON at the Consecration of Calvary Church, Stonington, Conn., May 31, 1849. By the Rev. Robert A. Hallam, M. A., Rector of St. James' Church, New London. 1849. 8vo. pp. 20.

Mr. Hallam's theme is, "The earthly Sanctuary, a Figure of the Heavenly." The Sermon is characterized by clear, pertinent, and lofty thought, expressed in a felicitous style. The readers of this Review, are no strangers to the productions of the author's pen.

CENTENARY DISCOURSE delivered in Christ Church, Norwich, Conn., on the Sunday following its Consecration, April 22, 1849. By the Rector. 1849. 8vo. pp. 20.

The Parish in Norwich is one of the oldest in the Diocese of Connecticut. Its Rectors, from the first distinct records, dating back to Jan. 6th, 1746-7, have been the Rev. Ebenezer Ponderson, until 1752 ; (then an interval of eleven years,) the Rev. John Beardslee, whose connection with the Parish was brief ; the Rev. John Tyler, whose Rectorship continued from 1768 to 1822, a period of fifty-four years ; the Rev. Seth B. Paddock from 1822 to 1844, or twenty-two years ; and Rev. William F. Morgan, its present incumbent. The history of the Church in Norwich, is an illustration of the origin and progress of many a Parish in our country ; a monument of the zeal of the Venerable Propagation Society ; of the disastrous influences of the Revolution ; of the kindling up of new zeal under balmier influences ; and of ultimate and triumphant success. Mr. Morgan's Sermon is a very valuable one. Its historical statements are important, it is written in an elevated, glowing style, and breathes we think a most excellent spirit. The new Church at Norwich, when fully completed, will be one of the most imposing and Churchlike structures in the Diocese.

A DISCOURSE delivered before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, on their CCXI Anniversary. By Thomas M. Clark, Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, Boston. 1849. 8vo. pp. 22.

Mr. Clark's text is, "The ancient and honorable," Is. ix, 15, from which he proceeds to discriminate between what is "ancient," and what is "honorable." He has treated in a popular and most impressive manner, a topic pertinent to the time, the occasion, and the place. The miserable quackery of empiricism in morals, has no stronger hold in the United States, than in Boston, "the modern Athens." The theory of progress, is the great theory of the age. Men must yet learn the paradox, that to be truly great, is to be truly humble ; and that the path onward to Wisdom, leads backward to the only Fountain, to Him who is "the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

GODEY'S LADY'S BOOK. Sept., 1849. 8vo. pp. 68. Sixteen engravings, and forty-six contributions.

In matters of sentiment and "light literature," and in elegant embellishments of useful and ornamental art, by costly and beautiful engravings, Godey's Lady's Book, we believe, takes the lead of all works of its class. We have seen nothing in it offensive to the most fastidious moral taste, and it certainly "shoots folly as it flies," with no uncertain aim, as it is not seldom exhibited in the vulgar stupidity and arbitrary rules of modern American society. It is one of the worst features of our noble institutions, that a false standard too often elevates coarseness and brutishness, to the disparagement of genuine refinement and real excellence. In this respect, works like that before us, if rightly conducted, gain a hearing, and do immense good, where graver and more serious truths can effect nothing. The greatest burlesque upon humanity, may be found in the circle of what passes for American aristocracy.

A DISCOURSE occasioned by the death of the Hon. GEO. TIBBITS. By Rev. R. B. Van Kleeck, M. A., Rector of St. Paul's Church, Troy. New York, 1849.

An affectionate and appropriate discourse, in memory of one, who was both a man and a Christian; and who, having shared largely in worldly honor and prosperity, declared at last, "I see nothing that I can rely upon but the Cross." There is a peculiarity in the character of the piety which the Church fosters, which is not appreciated by most out of the Church, and not by nearly all in it. It is too quiet, too deep, too rich, too modest, and noiseless. The popular religion of the day is noisy, babbling, precocious, boastful, heady. In the example before us, although Mr. Tibbits had been, in earlier years, too much engrossed by merely worldly matters, the closing scenes of his life reflect a golden hue which cannot be mistaken.

THE ORIGIN AND USES OF THE CREEDS. By Rev. Samuel Fuller, D. D., late Milnor Professor of Divinity in the Theological Seminary of Ohio. Mass. Tract Society. 12mo. pp. 30.

Our readers will detect, in this tract, an article which appeared several months since, on the pages of the Church Review. It is no small compliment to it, that it has been adopted also by the Tract Societies in New York and Philadelphia. We think the compliment well deserved, and hope the tract will be scattered on the wings of the wind.

PATAPSCO FEMALE INSTITUTE. Eighth Annual Report. 1848-9. With Catalogue, Terms, etc.

Judging, from the statement of Bishop Whittingham, from the late Report of the Trustees, who are gentlemen of the highest respectability, from the strong corps of professors and teachers, from the thorough course of instruction, and from the confidence earned and so liberally received, we have little doubt that this is one of the best Female Collegiate Institutions in the United States. Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, the well-known Principal, is assisted by eighteen professors and teachers, and the number of pupils for the year ending May 27th, 1849, is one hundred and twelve. The parting Address, by the Principal, to the graduating class, is a beautiful and noble thing, and deserves to be inscribed on parchment, to be framed in gold, and hung up before the eye of our Greeleys and Infidel reformers, whose whole moral influence is blasting and mildew to the best interests of the social state.

FORMS OF PRAYER. By a Congregational Pastor. New Haven: A. H. Maltby.

We have rarely met with such a blundering little effort of ignorance, petulance, and self-conceit, as in this attack upon "Forms of Prayer," and upon the Church in general. We strongly suspect, from what we know of the origin of one or two similar productions, that the present author has recently lost some of his more valuable parishioners, by their conversion to the Church.

THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW. July, 1849. No. LVI. Rev. E. G. Sears, Editor. Boston.

We believe every denomination of professing Christians in this country, of any respectability, now has its Quarterly Magazine, devoted to the maintenance of its peculiar views. Several of these reviews are before us; generally ably conducted, and containing articles of much value, but differing widely in their tone and temper. The Review announced above is under the auspices of the Baptists. The July number has an article on the "Early Laws in Massachusetts Colony," for which we thank the Editor. It is no pleasant task to revert to the bitter persecutions by the Puritans; the banishments, imprisonments, and deaths, inflicted by them for the sake of religion; but the stupidity or perversity of many of their apologists, renders such an exposure more and more necessary. We ourselves have a large budget to open on this subject. The same number reviews ably, and we think judiciously, President Wayland's University Sermons. The Reviewer's remarks on the "Sufferings and Death of Christ," apart from the "obedience of Christ," are timely and of the greatest importance. We are glad to find the organ of the Baptists sound and earnest on this fundamental point.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Brooke, Robt. B.,	Meade,	July 13,	St. Paul's, Alexandria, Va.
Clements, F. C.,	Potter,	July 29,	St. Paul's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Childs, W. L.,	Chase,	July 11,	St. John's, Portsmouth, N. H.
Cook, E. R. T.,	Whittingham,	July 1,	Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Cox, Samuel, Jr.,	Potter,	July 5,	St. James', Philadelphia, Pa.
Douglass, Malcolm,	DeLancey,	July 3,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Draper, George B.,	Whittingham,	July 1,	Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Ellsworth, C. B.,	DeLancey,	July 3,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Fiske, W. A.,	DeLancey,	July 3,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Flagg, E. O.,	Brownell,	Aug. 22,	Christ Church, Hartford, Conn.
Frost, W. J.,	Whittingham,	July 1,	Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Gibson, J. D.,	Elliott,	May 13,	Christ Church, Macon, Ga.
Hanson, W. D.,	Meade,	July 13,	St. Paul's, Alexandria, Va.
Hollingsworth, S.,	Whittingham,	July 1,	Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hyland, W. L.,	"	"	"
Irish, W. N.,	"	"	"
Jones, Ezra,	Chase,	Aug. 15,	St. Peter's, Drewsville, N. H.
MacAuley, G.,	Elliott,	May 13,	Christ Church, Macon, Ga.
McIlvaine, J. W.,	Whittingham,	July 1,	Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.
McNamara, J.,	"	"	"
Markoe, William,	Kemper,	Sept. 9,	St. James', Philadelphia, Pa.
Murphy, J. K.,	Potter,	June 15,	All Saints, Moyamensing, Pa.
McKnight, G. H.,	DeLancey,	July 3,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Olaseu, W. W.,	Whittingham,	July 1,	Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Paddock, J. A.,	Brownell,	July 22,	St. Peter's, Cheshire, Conn.
Pottit, N.,	Doane,	Aug. 26,	St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J.
Perdue, W. J.,	Elliott,	May 13,	Christ Church, Macon, Ga.
Roberts, E.,	DeLancey,	July 3,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Richards, E.,	Meade,	July 13,	St. Paul's, Alexandria, Va.
Robertson, W. H. C.,	"	"	"
Rumney, T. S.,	"	"	"
Shield, C. H., Jr.,	"	"	"
Slattery, G.,	Burgess,	July 8,	St. Stephen's, Portland, Me.
Taylor, B. F.,	Gadsden,	June 3,	St. Stephen's, Charleston, S. C.
Warner, F. J.,	Potter,	July 1,	St. Luke's, Philadelphia, Pa.
Williams, W. M.,	Whittingham,	July 1,	Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.

PRIESTS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Burton, Jarvis,	Ives,	June 17,	Rutherfordton, N. C.
Drowne, T. S.,	Whittingham,	July 1,	Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Hoskins, J. W.,	Lee,	July 1,	St. Andrew's, Wilmington, Del.
Howe, W. H. W.,	Gadsden,	June 3,	St. Stephen's, Charleston, S. C.
Mackie, Andrew,	Doane,	June 10,	St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J.
Pratt, H. L. E.,	Doane,	Aug. 29,	St. Peter's, Perth Amboy, N. J.
Pyncheon, T. R.,	Eastburn,	July 25,	Trinity, Boston, Mass.
Rosé, J. D.,	Doane,	Aug. 12,	Grace, Newark, N. J.
Slack, S. R.,	Meade,	June 30,	St. Paul's, Albemarle, Va.
Tizzard, A. B.,	Meade,	June 3,	———, Powhatan Co., Va.
Wells, Minot M.,	Whittingham,	Sept. 2,	Grace, Canton, N. Y.

REMOVALS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>To Church or Parish.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. Chas. Aldis,	Christ,	Detroit, Mich.
" W. Bliss Ashley,	St. Paul's,	Syracuse, W. N. Y.
" Chas. E. Bennet,	Calvary,	Stonington, Conn.
" R. D. Brooke,		Boydton, Va.
" T. P. Barber,	Great Choptank,	Cambridge, Md.
" Stephen Douglass,	St. Paul's,	Glen Cove, L. I.
" Jas. R. Davenport,	Grace,	Albany, N. Y.
" C. B. Ellsworth,	Zion,	Pierre Manor, W. N. Y.
" Edward O. Flagg,	Christ,	Norwich, Conn.
" Z. Goldsmith,		Rock Island, Ill.
" E. W. Hager,	St. James',	Painesville, O.
" J. P. Hammond,		Upper Marlboro', Md.
" Andrew Hull,	Trinity,	Elmira, W. N. Y.
" W. N. Irish,	St. John's,	Harper's Ferry, Va.
" J. P. T. Ingraham,		Nashville, Tenn.
" C. F. Lewis,	Trinity,	Monroe, Mich.
" Martin Moody,		New Hartford, W. N. Y.
" W. H. Moore,	St. George's,	Hempstead, L. I.
" R. Murray,		Detroit, Mich.
" Geo. L. Neidie,	Holy Apostles,	St. Clair, Pa.
" W. R. Nicholson,	St. John's,	Cincinnati, O.
" H. L. E. Pratt,	St. Peter's,	Perth Amboy, N. J.
" E. Punderson,		New Hartford, W. N. Y.
" Joshua Peterkin,	Wickliffe,	Clarke Co., Va.
" T. R. Pyncheon,	St. Paul's,	Stockbridge, Mass.
" Samuel Randall,	Trinity,	Moorestown, Pa.
" J. H. Rouse,	Christ,	Clappville, Mass.
" W. T. Saunders,		Monticello, Fa.
" J. A. Stone,	Trinity,	Carbondale, Pa.
" James L. Scott,	St. Andrew's,	New Preston, Conn.
" Henry Stanley,		Pulaski, W. N. Y.
" John Stearns,	St. Peter's,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
" W. T. Smithett,	Ascension,	Esopus, W. N. Y.
" Silas Totten, D. D.	William and Mary Coll	Va.
" H. W. Woods,	Rock Creek,	D. C.
" James Young,		Anne Arundel Co., Md.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>
Church of the Intercession,	Carmansville, N. Y.	Whittingham,	June 25.
Grace,	Cherry Valley, W. N. Y.	DeLancey,	Aug. 21.
Grace,	Brooklyn, N. Y.	Whittingham,	June 26.
St. James',	Brentville, Va.	Meade,	July 15.
St. Jude's,	Philadelphia, Pa.	Potter,	Sept. 16.
St. John's,	Clayville, W. N. Y.	DeLancey,	Aug. 23.
St. John's,	Knoxville, Tenn.	Otey,	July 22.
St. Luke's,	Kickapoo, Ill.	Chase,	July 9.
St. Mark's,	Lappon's Cross-Roads, Md.	Whittingham,	July 25.
St. Mark's,	Northumberland, Pa.	Potter,	July 18.
St. Mary's,	Dorchester, Mass.	Eastburn,	Sept. 20.
St. Peter's,	Oak Grove, Va.	Meade,	May 31.
St. Paul's,	Wilkesboro', N. C.	Ives,	July 1.
St. Philip's,	Atlanta, Ga.	Elliott,	May 28.
Trinity,	Salem, Va.	Meade,	July 18.
Trinity,	Albany, N. Y.	Whittingham,	Sept. 10.
Zion,	MacLean, W. N. Y.	DeLancey,	Aug. 21.

DIOCESAN.

CONNECTICUT.—The sixty-fifth Annual Convention of this Diocese, was held at Hartford, the 12th and 13th of June; the *Journal* of which gives a flattering account of its condition and prospects. The number of the Clergy is 107, *Parishes*, 108. The Confirmations during the year, were 541. Four persons were ordained Deacons, and four were admitted to the Priesthood. The number of candidates for Holy Orders, is eighteen. The number of families, 7281. Baptisms,—infants 785, adults 198, total 983. Communicants added by removal, 222,—added anew, 483, lost by removal, 239, lost by death, 190, present number, 9031. Two Rectors have been instituted, five Churches have been consecrated, eight Clergymen have taken dismissory letters, and twelve have been received by the same. The Sunday scholars reported in 54 *Parishes*, are 3854. The contributions for other than parochial purposes, \$13,918.35. These statistics furnish abundant evidence that the increase of the Church was never more rapid than at this time. The storms that beat around us, have not reached the Church which adheres to the faith and discipline of the Apostolic Church. No stronger argument could be offered in favor of sound conservative Church principles, than is furnished by the history of the Church in this Diocese, and nowhere has faithful labor been more largely blessed, than here. In 1821 the population of this State was 276,000; *Parishes* 75,—Clergy about 35; and the communicants about 3000; now the population is about 325,000, the *Parishes* are 108, Clergy 107, and communicants 9031,—or three times as great as twenty-eight years ago.

The Annual Commencement of Trinity College, Hartford, was held on the 2d of August, when twelve were graduated with Collegiate honors. No degree of D. D. was conferred, and by a statute wisely adopted, none can hereafter be conferred, except for specified causes. The same course ought to be pursued in regard to other honorary degrees, for no fact is better understood, than that a great share of all the honorary degrees conferred by all our Colleges and Universities, are evidence of the private and personal interest or respect of the Boards conferring them, rather than testimonies to the preëminent abilities or acquirements of the recipients.

MASSACHUSETTS.—The fifty-ninth Annual Convention of this Diocese, was held at Boston, May 16th and 17th, and the *Journal* gives a full view of the position and condition of things. The number of *Parishes* is 60, of the Clergy, 76,—baptisms, infants 611, adults 104, total 715; confirmations 333,—communicants added, 549, lost 317, present number, 5014; Sunday scholars, 3586, contributions for vari-

ous religious purposes, \$21,372.39. The Bishop's address represents the Church as going steadily onward, and gaining strength as it advances; yet he supposes its progress has been much retarded in Massachusetts, by the "Tractarian movement," and thinks that but for that, there had been "a fair and glorious prospect of rapid extension in the Eastern States."

WESTERN NEW YORK—On Wednesday, the 15th of August, the 12th Annual Convention of this Diocese met in Trinity Church, Geneva. Morning prayer was read by the Rev. Mr. Clark, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Proal, Rev. Mr. Renouf, Rev. Mr. Lee, and Rev. Ernest Hawkins, B. D., Agent of the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The Bishop read the ante-communion service, and delivered a Charge.

The subject of the Charge was Religious Training. The Bishop observed that there were two systems: Excitement and Training. After some remarks on the first system, he proceeded to show that the second was supported by common sense, by analogy, and by the Holy Scriptures.

After morning service, the Convention having been called to order, 52 of the Clergy entitled to seats were found to be present, 32 absent.

The Rev. Dr. Proal was elected Secretary.

The following Churches applied for admission into union with this Convention, viz: St. John's Church, Clayville; Grace, Factoryville; St. Paul's, Utica; St. Paul's, Fort Byron, and Emmanuel Church, Adams.

Charles Seymour, Esq., was unanimously re-elected Treasurer of the Convention, and Major James Rees was unanimously re-elected Treasurer of the Christmas Fund for Disabled Clergymen.

The Bishop then delivered his Annual Address, from which we copy the following abstract:—

The aggregate services in both Dioceses, (New York and Western New York,) is as follows: Officiated in 119 congregations, baptized 2 adults and 15 children, administered the Holy Communion 28 times, Ordained 5 Priests and 12 Deacons, consecrated 8 new Churches, married 2 couples, preached 152 times, confirmed 847 persons, of which 243 were in the Diocese of New York, and 613 in the Diocese of Western New York.

In the Diocese of Western New York officiated in 79 organized Parishes, and 6 other places, total 85 places; baptized 9 infants, 2 adults, total 11; ordained 3 Priests and 10 Deacons; admitted 9 new candidates for Orders; received by transfer, 2 candidates; transferred 10 Clergymen; received 6, instituted 2 Rectors; consecrated 3 new Churches, married 2 couples; administered the Holy Communion 20 times; preached 122 times; confirmed 613 persons in 63 Parishes.

The Bishop having informed the Convention, in the course of his address, of a liberal gift to the Diocese from the heirs of the late Mr. Van Wagner, it was, on motion,

Resolved, That this Convention accept with grateful acknowledgments, the liberal proposal of the heirs of the late Gerritt H. Van Wagner, Esq., on the terms named.

Resolved, That the documents, with so much of the Bishop's address as relates to the subject, be referred to the Education and Missionary Board, with powers.

The following persons were elected members of the *Standing Committee*.—Rev. Benjamin Hale, D. D., Rev. Wm. Shelton, D. D., Rev. George Leeds, Rev. W. H. A. Bissell, Messrs James Rees, W. C. Pierrepont, T. D. Burrall, and David Hudson.

Deputies to the General Convention.—Rev. P. A. Proal, D. D., Rev. H. Gregory, D. D., Rev. J. Van Ingen, D. D., Rev. Edward Ingersoll, Messrs. W. C. Pierrepont, Horatio Seymour, George B. Webster, and C. H. Carroll.

On motion, *Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended to the Clergy of this Diocese, in view of the urgent want of funds to increase the number and efficiency of our Diocesan Missions, to make special appeals to their congregations in behalf of such Missions, on the second Sunday in the months of September, December, March, and June.

The business of the Convention was conducted with great harmony; and the Diocese is advancing rapidly in that important and prosperous portion of our country.

MARYLAND.—The Sixty-first Annual Convention of this Diocese was held at Baltimore, May 30th and 31st, 1849, the *Journal* of which furnishes the following items of interest. The number of Clergy belonging to the Diocese is 120. The number of Parishes reporting, 102. Baptisms—adults 96; infants 1156; not specified, 449. Total, 1701. Confirmations, 251. Communicants lost by death, 118. By removals, 255. Added, 532. Present number, 6551. Sunday scholars, 1717. Contributions for Church purposes, \$13,843.15. The Church in Maryland has made very rapid progress under the able and efficient administration of its present Bishop. The most interesting portion of the *Journal* to us, is the able and well-timed Charge of the Bishop, spoken of more at length in another place, and which we rejoice to hear has been widely circulated over the land. Besides the labors above mentioned, the Bishop, in his Convention Address, thus sums up his services:—

“My visitations during the year have extended to *forty-five* parishes and *twenty* congregations; *two* parishes and *two* congregations having been visited twice, and *two* of each three times. . . . In these visitations I have officiated in *ninety* churches, chapels, and other places of public worship; administering the Holy Communion *seventy-nine* times; the sacrament of Baptism *sixteen* times, to *seven* adults and *twenty-four* infants; confirmations *sixty-seven* times to *four hundred and thirty-one* persons; saying Morning or Evening Prayer *thirty-three* times; preaching *one hundred and twenty-four* times, and delivering *eighty* other addresses on various occasions. I have consecrated *five* churches, *one* chapel, and *one* Sunday school house; married *two* couples; and ordained *five* Deacons and *four* Priests.

“Besides these ministrations in the Diocese, I have been engaged a portion of the year, at the request of the Standing Committee of New York, in performing such Episcopal services as were required of me during one week in December, and the months of January and February. In that way I have held *five* ordinations, at which *four* were admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons, and *eight* to that of Priests; administered the Holy Communion *eight* times; confirmed *four hundred and seventeen* persons at *eighteen* administrations of the rite; preached *twenty-nine* times, and delivered *nineteen* other addresses; said Morning or Evening Prayer *six* times; consecrated *one* church; and attended *one* funeral.”

NEW JERSEY.—The Sixty-sixth Annual Convention was held in St. Mary's Church, Burlington, on Wednesday, the 30th, and Thursday, the 31st days of May—the Bishop presiding. Morning prayers were read by the Rev. David Clarkson, Missionary for the County of Essex, and the Rev. Joseph F. Phillips, minister of St. Peter's Church, Spottswood. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Job Steinfurt Kidney, Rector of St. John's Church, Salem. The Holy Communion was administered by the Bishop; the Rev. Richard H. B. Mitchell, Rector of Christ Church, Bordentown, reading the Epistle. The Rev. Andrew Bell Paten was unanimously re-elected Secretary. Two new Churches, St. Paul's, South Trenton, and the Ascension, Gloucester City, were admitted into union with the Convention.

The Rev. Messrs. Henderson, Moore, Finch and Williams, and Dr. Spencer, Mr. Howell, Mr. Garthwaite and Mr. Pennington, were re-elected as the *Standing Committee*; the Rev. Drs. Barry and Ogilby, and the Rev. Messrs. Dunn and Watson, and Messrs. Gifford, Stratton, Potter and Parker, were re-elected *Deputies to the General Convention*; and the Rev. Messrs. Henderson, Williams, Stubbs and Peet, and Messrs. Field, Harrold, King and Aertsen, were re-elected *Supplemental Deputies to the General Convention*. The Rev. Messrs. Williams and Henderson, and Messrs. Parker and Milnor, were re-appointed *Trustees of the Offerings of the Church*. The Rev. Mr. Germain, having declined the office of *Treasurer*, Jabez W. Hays, of Newark, was appointed.

Propositions to change the rules of order, so as to authorize an appeal, on questions of order, from the decision of the Chair; and to amend the Canons so as to allow inquiry into the rights of the Clergy to seats and votes, beyond the record of the Clergy List handed in by the Bishop, were severally lost; the Orders not concurring.

The following resolution was offered by William Halstead, Esq., of Trenton:

Whereas, a Bishop should be blameless, and should have a good report of those that are without, lest he fall into reproach; and, whereas, public rumor, as well as newspaper publications, have made serious charges against our Bishop, impeaching his moral character, tending to impair his usefulness, and to bring the Church of which he is Bishop into disrepute—therefore,

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed, consisting of three clergymen and three laymen, who, or a majority of them, shall make such inquiries as shall satisfy them of the innocency of the accused, or of the sufficiency of ground for presentment and trial; and that they do make report to this Convention at its present session, or at such other time as this Convention shall designate.

An earnest debate ensued upon this resolution. It was opposed by Mr. A. Gifford, Judge Dayton Ogden, Charles King, the Rev. Mr. Phillips, and the Rev. J. D. Ogilby, and supported by the mover, Mr. Halstead, when the resolution was negatived—not a single vote being given in its favor.

The Bishop in his Address thus sums up his services:—

"In the year just closed, I have laid two corner-stones; consecrated three churches; ordained three Deacons and one Priest; instituted one Rector; and confirmed, in twenty-one places, one hundred and eighty-nine persons. This number far exceeds the proportion of any former year; and would doubtless have been doubled, had the whole visitation been performed. My illness in the spring prevented the annual Confirmation in my own parish, which has always contributed largely towards the annual Report."

The number of the clergy is sixty, of whom seven are Deacons. There are eight candidates for Orders.

DELAWARE—The Fifty-ninth Annual Convention of this Diocese was held at Milford, May 31st, 1849, the *Journal* of which furnishes the following particulars. The Diocese contains twenty Parishes, two of which have both Churches and Chapels. The number of Clergy is thirteen, the number of Communicants about five hundred and fifty. Causes, which we do not understand, have long kept the Church in Delaware in a state of great depression, and the Bishop yet speaks somewhat despondingly of its prospects. Still, it has gained much in a few years, and a brighter day we trust dawns upon it, under the faithful labors of its Bishop and Clergy. The Confirmations have been thirty-seven.

TENNESSEE—The Convention of this Diocese met at La Grange, on the sixteenth of May. The *Journal* has not reached us. From Bishop Otey's Address to the Convention we find the following Episcopal acts mentioned—there being no summary:

Confirmed *ninety-eight* persons in 14 parishes, during the last nine months.

Consecrated *one* Church, St. John's, Knoxville, July 22, 1848.

Ordained *three* Deacons, Fred. Elwell, Thos. B. Lawson, and Wm. M. Steel.

Instituted *one* Rector, Rev. Charles Tomes, of Christ Church, Nashville.

There are five candidates for Orders. The number of Clergy is 21.

NORTH CAROLINA—The 33d Annual Convention of this Diocese, was held at Salisbury, May 24th, 1849, and the *Journal* gives the following particulars. The clergy number thirty-eight, and all but two are engaged in the work of their calling. The Parishes are twenty-seven, besides missionary stations. The Bishop was disabled from service during a large part of the year, yet the Confirmations were 233. Baptisms, 604. Communicants, 2,129. It appears from the Report of the Committee on the State of the Church, and from a special Charge of the Bishop, that considerable alarm had been felt in the Diocese, on account of the alleged introduction of unauthorized customs and usages into the worship of some of the Congregations, and because of the supposed existence of a secret society in the Church in that Diocese, the principles and rules of which were at variance with the laws and usages of the Church. The society, however, which is understood to have been *The Order of the Holy Cross*, and of which Bishop Ives was the reputed head, had been disbanded, and the strongest assurances were given that nothing repugnant to the authorized doctrines and usages of the Church in this country, would be introduced or sanctioned.

GEORGIA.—The 27th Annual Convention of this Diocese was held at Macon, May 10th, 1849, and we gather the following items of the Church's condition and progress, from its *Journal*. The number of Clergy is twenty-four, six of whom, besides the Bishop, were without parochial charge, at the meeting of the Convention. The Bishop speaks encouragingly of future progress, though he supposes considerable time must elapse before very much can be realized. It should be remembered that the foundations of the Church in Georgia were laid by John Wesley and George Whitefield, while yet their Methodism was in a forming state, and the result has been such, to the Church, as might have been anticipated from their measures.

MICHIGAN.—The 15th Annual Convention of this Diocese was held at Ypsilanti, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of June, 1849; the *Journal* of which gives us the following. Michigan has been a Diocese fifteen years, during thirteen of which it has been blessed with a faithful and laborious Bishop. He is now Rector of a Church in Detroit, and during the last year, he has preached twice on Sundays, and generally once beside in a free Church or Chapel for mariners. Yet he has made twenty-five visitations, confirming one hundred and forty-five persons, consecrating three Churches, and ordaining one Deacon. The number of Clergy is 27, Parishes 28. Michigan is a good example of the results that may be expected from laying the foundations of the Church early in our new States and Territories, and beginning with its full and complete organization. Michigan must eventually be one of our strongest Dioceses.

DIOCESE OF INDIANA.—The Convention of this Diocese assembled at Indianapolis on the 28th of June. There were nine Clergymen present entitled to seats, seven Parishes represented, and Bishop Kemper in the chair. The Rev. C. A. Foster was unanimously elected Secretary. The Rev. Messrs. Wylie, Fiske, and Claxton, and Judge Morrison, Dr. Mears, and J. B. Moore, Esq., are the Standing Committee.

On the second day, (Friday,) after prayer, the Clergy retired, and made choice by a more than two-thirds vote, for the office of Bishop, of the Rev. George Upfold, D. D., whose name was announced to the Laity for confirmation. The Laity then retired, and in a few minutes returned, unanimously confirming the nomination.

Dr. Upfold has accepted. Should the several Standing Committees and Bishops assent to the election, the consecration is expected to take place somewhere in Indiana.

EDUCATIONAL.

OHIO.—*Kenyon College*.—The degree of Bachelor of Arts was conferred, on Commencement Day, Aug. 5th, by the Faculty, on the following gentlemen, who had completed the course of study, viz: R. C. Anderson, R. L. Chittenden, R. S. French, Peter Neff, Jr., Leonard Whitney, Hunter Brooke, Daniel Risser, Wm. H. Scott, E. C. Benson, and George E. Thrall.

The degree of A. M. was conferred, in course, on the Rev. R. S. Nash and B. C. Woodward.

The following honorary degrees were also conferred: that of LL. D. on the Rev. Geo. P. Williams, of the University of Michigan, and on Edward C. Ross, of the Free Academy of New York.

The honorary degree of A. M. was conferred on the Rev. Edwin A. Dalrymple, Rector of the Protestant Episcopal High School, Va., Rev. J. Morsell, Md., Rev. James B. Britton, Rev. James A. Woodward, George Johnson, Thomas Bosall, and I. J. Allen.

The Faculty of the Theological Seminary presented diplomas to John Cates Smith and Geo. Johnson; and also conferred the honorary degree of D. D. on the Rev. R. Bethell Claxton, of Christ Church, Madison, Indiana, and on the Rev. Joseph Muenschner, St. Paul's Church, Mt. Vernon, Ohio.

WESTERN NEW YORK.—Commencement of Geneva College.—The annual Commencement of Geneva College was held in Trinity Church, Geneva, on the 14th of August. A large number of clergy and laity were present, some from distant parts of the Union.

The degree of B. A. was conferred, in course, upon the members of the graduating class.

The degree of M. A., in course, upon Charles Stebbins, Isaac Tripp, and Charles C. Clarke. The honorary degree of M. A. was conferred upon Alfred B. Street, Marvin M. Baldwin, Joseph V. H. Clark, Douglass Boardman, Isaac L. Cushman, Daniel McCarty, Rev. Samuel A. Norton, Rev. Charles Tomes, Rev. Caleb B. Ellsworth, and Rev. Malcom Douglass.

The degree of LL. D. was conferred upon Henry R. Schoolcraft and Hiram Denio.

The degree of D. D. was conferred upon the Rev. William D. Wilson and Rev. John F. McLaren.

The Rev. Dr. Kip, who was to have delivered an address before the Hermean Society, was prevented from attending.

The friends of Geneva College, and the Church at large, will be gratified to learn that the sum necessary to complete the endowment to the Hobart Professorship, \$30,000, was subscribed on Monday, the 13th of August.

OBITUARIES.

REV. JOHN W. BROWN.—We have been waiting for further information before recording our tribute of affection and respect, for the memory of this departed brother and personal friend. His rare excellence of character, veiled in his earlier years by his singular modesty, began to be appreciated as his powers were developed by the stern conflicts of life. We last saw him at the Commencement of Yale College in 1848, and listened, with him, to a strange development of Pantheism, which he comprehended at once in all its bearings, and described in the next issue of the Protestant Churchman, with great distinctness and accuracy. At that time he was harassed by a troublesome cough; as the irritation, however, proceeded from the throat, no immediate alarm was felt. As a writer, Mr. Brown has never been known as he deserved. Some of his most popular productions appeared anonymously. His Article in the October number of the Church Review, on Oliver Cromwell, shows his familiarity with a particular period of English history; and his extended reading and retentive memory, made him at once at home with the prominent actors of almost every age in modern history. He possessed some very rare traits of character. Seldom have we seen such power and capacity for vigorous action, united with so much imperturbable quietness of disposition. Although his position before the Church gave him the aspect of a party-man, yet we know that he was truly Catholic in his feelings. The confession which he is said to have made in a foreign land, upon this point, a little previous to his death, was but the utterance of what we know to have been the prevailing sentiments of his heart. And in this connection, we may say, that he appreciated fully the plan for the establishment of the Church Review; and early pledged to it his personal coöperation. At the time of his death, he was under engagement for an article on a most important subject. He felt that there are certain fearful duties and responsibilities belonging to the position of the Church at the present day, in comparison with which, the petty differences which so often alienate brethren from each other, are but as the dust in the balance. Broad and comprehensive as was his charity, his attachment to the Church of Christ was, however, most uncompromising.

Mr. Brown was born Aug. 21st, 1814, in Schenectady, N. Y. At the age of 14 he entered Union College, and was graduated in 1832 with distinguished honor. In 1833 he entered the General Theological Seminary, and having passed through a complete course of study, was ordained to the Order of Deacons by the Rt. Rev. B. T. Onderdonk, D. D., July 3d, 1836, in Grace Church, New York. He immediately commenced ministerial labors at Astoria, Long Island, in connection with services as assistant minister to the late Rev. Dr. Lyall, Rector of Christ Church,

New York City. He soon, however, devoted his whole labor to the infant charge at Astoria, and succeeded in establishing a permanent and prosperous parish. On the 2d of Sept., 1838, he was admitted to the Order of Priests, by Bishop Onderdonk, in St. George's Church, Astoria. In May, 1838, he established the "Astoria Female Institute," and retained his connection with it for seven years, when he became Editor of the "Protestant Churchman." In the autumn of 1848, a bronchial affection became so threatening, that at the advice of his Vestry, he took a voyage to Europe, landing in England, and passing over to the Continent. His Editorial correspondence, while abroad, is written in his graceful and vigorous style. His health rallied for a time; but in passing through Italy, having taken a severe cold, alarming symptoms returned. He reached Malta about the middle of March, and on Easter Sunday, attended Church, and received the Holy Communion at the hands of the Bishop of Gibraltar; but so ill was he, that it was communicated privately in the Vestry room. On the following day, Easter Monday, his spirit took its departure, as we trust, to the land of rest and peace. Even on the morning of the day of his death, he spake of leaving Malta for America, but acquiesced in the opinion that his complaint might terminate suddenly. He received the last consolatory offices of our holy Religion, at the hands of the resident clergy, and died at about 11 o'clock, P. M., April 9th, at the early age of 35 years. The Burial Service was performed by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Tomlinson, Bishop of Gibraltar.

Died, in Brooklyn, N. Y., August 18th, the Rev. JOHN CROZES, a distinguished Presbyter of New Jersey. He was born September 22d, 1787. For forty years he had been a minister of the Church in that Diocese, during which time he had received from it many and very high tokens of its confidence and attachment, by being repeatedly elected a Delegate to the General Convention, Trustee of the General Theological Seminary, Secretary of the Convention of the Diocese, Member of her Standing Committee, and Treasurer of certain of her trusts. In the Convention of 1832, at the election of the Diocesan, his name for the first three ballottings stood foremost, receiving nearly three times as many clerical votes as any other, and standing first also among the laity. But several votes were wanting to make a majority of the whole, and at last, his friends united to elect the Prolate, who is yet its indefatigable leader. The last time this lamented brother officiated, was in Calvary Church, Brooklyn, on Friday, August 3d, the National Fast Day for the Cholera. His sermon on that occasion, has been repeatedly spoken of, as one of remarkable excellence, and worthy to be remembered and recorded. He was not well at the time, and on the following day he had a very severe attack, partaking of the nature of the prevailing epidemic, and on the next day, Sunday, the disease had made such fearful progress, that it was feared he would die that very day. The disease, however, was checked, and he partially rallied, and under the assiduous care of physicians of high reputation from Brooklyn and New York City, sanguine hopes were entertained of his recovery; but he remained exceedingly weak and prostrate; and at last, a fortnight later, to the inexpressible grief of his family and friends, he expired, aged 62, leaving his disconsolate widow, to whom he had been united for thirty-seven years, with two sons and four daughters, to mourn his irreparable loss. He was buried the 20th of August, in the beautiful Church-yard of his own old Church at Shrewsbury, by the side of his beloved daughter Eleanor, who died a few years since. He has long been known and held in honor in the Church, as one of her most excellent, serviceable, and substantial Clergymen; distinguished for his reasoning powers, for his valuable theological attainments, for his pastoral fidelity, and for high personal integrity of mind, heart, and life. He was ordained Deacon in 1809, by Bishop Benjamin Moore, and subsequently Priest by Bishop Hobart. He commenced his labors in the ministry, officiating in St. Peter's Church, Freehold; Christ Church, Shrewsbury; and Christ Church, Middletown. He became Rector of this congregation, Christ Church, Shrewsbury, and continued its Rector thirteen years, respected and beloved, useful and happy. After a few months spent in New Brunswick, he became the Rector of St. Paul's Church, Paterson, for three years; then he was in Newark for two years; then in Christ Church, New Brunswick, for two years he assisted his venerable father in his declining age, the first Bishop of New Jersey. After the death of his father, the

Bishop, the son succeeded him as Rector of the Parish and continued such for eight years. And it will show the high estimation in which he was held, when we say, that his name was frequently mentioned, both in his own Diocese and abroad, as one supposed to be quite likely to succeed his father in the Episcopate also. The last nine years of his life he spent at Keyport, where he founded and served St. James' Church, at Brown's Point, erecting the building on his own land, and by his own gifts and collections. This last scene of his regular labors he had just left, and had made his temporary residence at Brooklyn, where, and in the adjoining parishes of Long Island, he was busily and usefully occupied in occasional services as opportunity presented, or as call was made upon his willing and obliging nature, when suddenly, on Saturday, two weeks before the day of his death, he was prostrated by his last illness, and left his sick room only for his burial.

Died in Natchez, Miss., Feb. 15th, 1849, Rev. WILLIAM MASON GILES, at the age of 31 years.

Mr. GILES was born Nov. 23, 1817, in Adams Co., Mississippi. Under singular circumstances he was led, in 1835, to connect himself with Kenyon College, Ohio. Here he became acquainted with and a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He left Kenyon College in 1838 and returned to his native State, but the following year joined the Theological Seminary in Virginia. At the solicitation of friends, in 1840 he left the Seminary and became a member of Princeton College, New Jersey, and graduated in 1841, with distinction. He then returned to Mississippi, entered upon the study of Law, and was admitted to the Bar. At this period of his history the providence of God arrested again his attention and called him to another field of duty. A protracted and painful sickness was the means of leading him to a re-consecration of himself to the work of the Christian ministry. Having completed his studies in the Seminary at Virginia, he was ordained Deacon in Trinity Church, Natchez, by Bishop Otey, in March, 1846, and Priest in January, 1847. His first cure was the missionary stations of Washington and Woodville, Mississippi, which being at a distance of 40 miles from each other rendered his labors very severe. In November, 1846, he accepted an invitation to the Rectorship of Trinity Church, Natchez; with a single exception, the largest, wealthiest, and most intelligent Congregation in the Southwest. In December following, he married Miss Caroline Joor, youngest daughter of the late Gen. John Joor, of Mississippi. In August, 1848, while absent from his Parish to seek restoration of his health, already impaired, the yellow fever, that scourge of our Southern cities, visited his beloved flock. Without hesitation this noble-hearted minister returned to his post to offer the consolations of religion to the dying, and to bury the dead. After a few weeks of labor, he became a victim to the disease, and gradually declined until the February following, when he sweetly fell asleep in Jesus. His remains were deposited in the family cemetery of his widowed partner; the Rev. Messrs. Lewis and Lynd, performing the burial services. Mr. GILES is believed to have been the first native of Mississippi ever admitted to the Ministry of the Church. His commanding talents, winning manners, ardent piety, and warm devotion to the Church, render his early departure a mysterious event. The Church in Mississippi has lost one of her brightest ornaments, while the gentle wife of his bosom, and an aged, widowed, and now childless mother, mourn their irreparable loss.

Died at St. Louis, Missouri, July 25th, the Rev. Whiting Griswold, Rector of St. John's Church in that city. He had gathered around him a flourishing Congregation, and his decease is a serious loss to the infant Church in that Diocese.

At Tuscaloosa, Alabama, July 21st, Rev. C. F. Peake, Minister in that city, in the 31st year of his age. He was a graduate of Trinity College in 1842, and was a noble and true hearted minister of the Church.

At Timmouth, Vermont, July 27th, Rev. Caleb S. Ives. He graduated at Trinity College in 1830, and studied theology at the General Seminary. He afterwards entered upon missionary labor at Matagorda, Texas, where he was indefatigable and successful. His health failing, he sought again the bracing air of his native land; but it was too late. His funeral was attended by a large concourse of mourning friends.

Near Baton Rouge, La., on board a Steamboat, of cholera, in the latter part of July, Rev. Richard Salmon. He was canonically connected with the Diocese of New York.

We have not been able to obtain more perfect accounts of the four deceased clergymen last mentioned.

Hon. David B. Ogden, of New York city, died at his residence on Staten Island, on the 16th of July. At a meeting of the New York Bar on the 17th, the Hon. Judge Jones presided, with the following Vice-Presidents and Secretaries:—

Vice-Presidents.—Hon. Ogden Edwards, Hon. F. J. Oakley, Hon. J. W. Edmonds, Geo. W. Strong, Esq., Hon. Wm. T. McCoun.

Secretaries.—John L. Lawrence, Wm. Kent, Thomas L. Wells, Wm. H. Harrison, Esqs.

Hon. H. Ketchum, after appropriate remarks, offered the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the New York Bar has heard with deep sensibility of the decease of this distinguished ornament, DAVID B. OGDEN, the venerable citizen, the profound lawyer, the warm-hearted friend, and the devout Christian.

Resolved, That, throughout a long professional career, our lamented friend has set a bright example to his professional brethren, of all those virtues which give dignity to their profession and respectability to its members.

Resolved, That in this afflictive dispensation of Providence, our city, state, and country, are called upon to mourn the loss of one whose fame was coëxtensive with our Union, and whose departure from among us will leave a melancholy void, not only in the domestic circle, but in all those relations which identify a good man, an able jurist, a disinterested patriot, with the age in which he lives.

Resolved, That the Bar of New York most cordially sympathize with the family of the deceased in their afflictive bereavement, and that as a tribute of respect to the memory of our venerated friend, we will wear the usual badge of mourning for thirty days.

The meeting was farther addressed by Messrs. Tillou, Romeyn, Duncomb, and Blunt, when it adjourned, having resolved to attend the funeral of the deceased at Trinity Church.

HON. ALBERT GALLATIN.—This distinguished statesman, so long and intimately connected with our national history and government, died at Astoria, Long Island, on Sunday, Aug. 12th, at the age of 88 years, 6 months and 15 days. He was born at Geneva, Switzerland, graduated at Geneva in 1779, studied history under Von Muller, came to America at the age of 19, was chosen Professor of French in Harvard University, removed to Virginia in 1784, and in 1786 to Fayette County, Pennsylvania; in 1790 was chosen a member of the House of Representatives of that State, and in 1793 United States Senator, but did not take his seat because not a citizen under the Constitution; was again elected member of Congress in 1795, and re-elected for three successive terms; was appointed Secretary of the Treasury by Jefferson in 1801, was appointed, with Adams and Clay, Commissioner to Ghent in 1813, was Minister to France from 1816 to 1823, and to England in 1826. He then took up his residence in New York city, and has spent his time since in watching the progress of his country, and in contributing by his pen on political and scientific subjects. He was also President of the New York Historical and Ethnological Societies. As a scholar, and statesman, he exhibited a mind of uncommon clearness and strength. His funeral was attended from Trinity Church, New York, on Tuesday, Aug. 14th.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES.

From the Annual Report presented at the meeting of the Board of Missions at New York, in June last, we gather the following statistics of our Foreign Missionary operations.

MISSION AT ATHENS.—Established, 1830. Missionaries, Rev. J. H. Hill, Mrs. Hill, Miss Mulligan, Miss Baldwin, and several Greek Teachers. The school of native Greek children, numbers 400 pupils. Expenses of the Mission during the past year, \$3,847.29. The course of instruction is both secular and religious, and the school is exerting a most salutary influence.

MISSIONS IN AFRICA.—Established, 1836. Missionaries, Rev. John Payne, Rev. E. W. Henning, Rev. C. Colden Hoffman, Rev. J. Rambo, Dr. Geo. A. Perkins, Physician, Mr. J. T. Gibson, Mrs. Payne, Mrs. Henning, Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Gibson, and several Native Teachers.

There are now four stations. At Cavalla, where there are 31 communicants, 38 male and 25 female pupils in the schools, regular services in Grebo, and average congregations of 250. At the River Cavalla, where there is a small school under a Native Teacher, and religious services about once in two weeks. At Fishtown, where there are 8 communicants, and religious services four times a year. At Mount Vaughan, where there are regular services, and good congregations. Eight baptisms of infants and one adult, are reported. More than one hundred youths and adults are under Sunday School instruction. The day-schools are flourishing. A High School is in immediate contemplation, to train up Native Teachers and Missionaries. Funds have been contributed to build a Church for the Colonists, and a colored Clergyman will probably soon be sent out. All these are important movements, and we confidently look forward to this as one of the most noble and successful Missions of the Church. Expenses for the year, \$11,538.46, or less than double the expenses of some single congregations in our own country. A translation of the Gospel of St. Luke has been made into Grebo by the Rev. Mr. Payne.

MISSION AT CONSTANTINOPLE.—Re-established, 1843. Rt. Rev. Horatio Southgate, D. D., Missionary Bishop.

The facilities for laboring effectually among the decayed Churches of the East, for counteracting the proselyting agencies of Rome, and for a reforming and purifying work, have been all that could be desired. Translations of the Prayer Book, and of a Treatise on the Church, have been published and circulated—a school established, and prospects opened of the most cheering character. On account of financial arrangements, however, by which the Bishop complains that his plans are continually thwarted, the Missionary has resigned his appointment to the Board, which resignation the Board did not deem it expedient to act upon. We trust that this Mission will not even *seem* to be sacrificed to an opposition out of the Church, which has been as industrious as it has unscrupulous. This Mission may, under God, yet accomplish a great and far-reaching work. Annual expenses of the Mission, \$4,434.69.

MISSION IN CHINA.—Re-established, 1845. Missionaries, Rt. Rev. Wm. J. Boone, D. D., Rev. E. W. Syle, Rev. P. D. Spalding—Teachers, Miss Jones and Miss Morse.

The Bishop is employed in preaching, overseeing the school, and in revising the Chinese version of the Scriptures. Mr. Syle and Mr. Spalding are now both able to preach in Chinese. Funds for building a Church have been received, and a site secured. The Mission school has its full allotment of pupils. Two pupils have

been baptized; there are now ten candidates for that Sacrament; and there is one Chinese candidate for Holy Orders. Assistants to the Mission, Clerical and Lay, male and female, are implored with great earnestness. Expenditure, \$14,990.08.

The Board have taken measures to ascertain the relations which may be expected to subsist between our Bishop, and the newly appointed English Bishop of Victoria.

On the whole, the Foreign report is exceedingly gratifying. The receipts (being \$41,453.38) exceed those of any previous year. No Missionary has fallen by death. Plans of usefulness have been enlarged. New Missionaries have been sent out. The sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit have been vouchsafed; and the Kingdom of our LORD and SAVIOUR been extended.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

CONSECRATION OF COLONIAL CHURCH BISHOPS.—On Whit-Sunday, May 29th, the Right Rev. George Smith, D. D., of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, Bishop elect of Victoria, (Hong Kong,) and the Right Rev. David Anderson, D. D., of Exeter College, Oxford, Bishop elect of Prince Rupert's Land, were consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at the Canterbury Cathedral. The main reason for the selection of this place was its immediate vicinity to the new Missionary College in that city; in earlier times consecrations were rarely performed elsewhere. There were present the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, Worcester, St. Asaph, Bishop Coleridge, Warden of St. Augustine's College, and other prelates; and a large number of Clergymen from all parts of the country. Bishop Smith is to aim especially in his plans, at the training up of Chinese Evangelists, and the use of the press for Christian purposes. An Episcopal College, of which the Bishop is to be ex-officio Warden, is to be established immediately at Hong Kong. Both Prelates were to start at once for their distant Missions; and to be accompanied by Clergymen, Schoolmasters, and Catechists.

The following table exhibits the series of Colonial Bishopricks in the order of their foundation:—

Dioceses.	Erection of See.	Consecrated.
Nova Scotia,	1787, John Inglis, D. D.,	1825.
Montreal, (late Quebec,)	1793, Geo. J. Mountain, D. D.,	1836.
Calcutta,	1814, Daniel Wilson, D. D.,	1832.
Jamaica,	1824, Aubrey G. Spenser, D. D.,	1839.
Barbadoes,	1824, Thomas Parry, D. D.,	1842.
Madras,	1835, G. Travor Spencer, D. D.,	1836.
Sydney, (late Australia,)	1836, Wm. G. Broughton, D. D.,	1836.
Bombay,	1837, Thomas Carr, D. D.,	1837.
Toronto,	1839, John Strachan, D. D.,	1839.
Newfoundland,	1839, Edward Field, D. D.,	1844.
New Zealand,	1841, George A. Selwyn, D. D.,	1841.
Antigua,	1842, Daniel G. Davis, D. D.,	1842.
Guiana,	1842, William Piercy Austin, D. D.,	1842.
Tasmania,	1842, Frances R. Nixon, D. D.,	1842.
Gibraltar,	1842, George Tomlinson, D. D.,	1842.
Fredericton,	1845, John Medley, D. D.,	1845.
Colombo,	1845, James Chapman, D. D.,	1845.
Melbourne,	1847, Charles Perry, D. D.,	1847.
Newcastle,	1847, William Tyrell, D. D.,	1847.
Adelaide,	1847, Augustus Short, D. D.,	1847.
Capetown,	1847, Robert Gray, D. D.,	1847.
Victoria,	1849, George Smith, D. D.,	1849.
Prince Rupert's Land,	1849, David Anderson, D. D.,	1849.

To these may be added the Bishopric of the United Church of England and Ireland in Jerusalem, which was established in 1841, and to which the Right Rev. Samuel Gobat, was consecrated in 1846.

ORDINATIONS.—On Trinity Sunday, June 3d, being one of the stated times for Ordinations, there were ordained as follows. By the Archbishop of Canterbury, 11

Deacons and 8 Priests. By the Archbishop of York, 8 Deacons and 15 Priests. By the Bishop of London, 20 Deacons and 19 Priests. By the Bishop of Bath and Wells, 11 Deacons and 3 Priests. By the Bishop of Chichester, 10 Deacons and 4 Priests. By the Bishop of Ely, 7 Deacons and 6 Priests. By the Bishop of Exeter, 14 Deacons and 17 Priests. By the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, 11 Deacons and 14 Priests. By the Bishop of Hereford, 9 Deacons and 8 Priests. By the Bishop of Lichfield, 19 Deacons and 23 Priests. By the Bishop of Lincoln, 4 Deacons and 3 Priests. By the Bishop of Manchester, 14 Deacons and 22 Priests. By the Bishop of Oxford, 24 Deacons and 11 Priests. By the Bishop of Peterborough, 8 Deacons and 13 Priests. By the Bishop of Ripon, 5 Deacons and 11 Priests. By the Bishop of Salisbury, 4 Deacons and 4 Priests. By the Bishop of St. David's, 7 Deacons and 3 Priests. By the Bishop of Sodor and Man, 2 Priests. Also on Sunday, July 15th, by the Bishop of Durham, at Auckland Castle, 14 Deacons and 15 Priests. And by the Bishop of Norwich, on Sunday, July 29th, 22 Deacons and 9 Priests. Total by 20 Bishops, 222 Deacons, and 210 Priests.

THE CHURCH IN CANADA.

ORDINATION.—The Lord Bishop of Toronto held his annual general Ordination in St. George's Church, Kingston, on Sunday the 19th of August, when the following gentlemen were admitted to the Holy Orders of Deacon and Priest.

DEACONS.—Mr. Ephraim Patterson, of the Diocesan Theological College, Coburg, to remain at Coburg as Curate, with Missionary duty attached in parts adjacent. Mr. John Reynolds Tooke, of the Diocesan Theological College, Coburg, appointed to the Mission of Marysburg, District of Prince Edward. Mr. Joseph Henry Ede, of the Diocesan Theological College, Coburg,—destination not yet fixed. Mr. Henry Bate Jessopp, B. A. of the University of King's College, Toronto, to be Curate at Dundas and Ancaster. Mr. Robert Norris Merritt, B. A. of King's College, Fredericton, and lately of the Diocesan Theological College, Coburg, to be Traveling Missionary in the Gore District. Mr. John Walker Marsh, B. A. of King's College, Toronto, appointed to the Mission of Elora, Wellington District. Mr. Edmund Baldwin, B. A. of King's College, Toronto,—destination not yet fixed. Mr. Robert Charge Boyer, B. A. of New Inn Hall, Oxford, to be Traveling Missionary in Mersea, Western District, and parts adjacent. Mr. Charles Brown, of the Diocesan Theological College, Coburg, to be Traveling Missionary in the Townships of Malahide and Dereham, London District, on the Stewart Mission Fund, superintended by the Rev. W. J. D. Waddilove. Mr. Arthur Hill Ringland Mulholland, lately of the parish of Craig's, County of Antrim, Ireland, recommended by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,—destination not yet fixed. Mr. Edward Chambers Bower, of the University College, Durham, and lately of the Diocesan Theological College, Coburg, appointed to the Mission of Seymour, Newcastle District, and parts adjacent. Mr. Elam Rush Stimson, of the Diocesan Theological College, Coburg, to be Traveling Missionary in the Talbot District.

PRESTERS.—Rev. Elliott Grasett, M. A.—destination not yet fixed. Rev. Thomas W. Marsh, B. A., Assistant Minister at Hamilton. Rev. Thomas W. Allen, Traveling Missionary in the Midland District. Rev. Alexander Dixon, appointed to the Mission of Chinguacousy, Gore District. Rev. Gustavus A. Anderson, Missionary to the Indians at Sault St. Marie.

THE CHURCH IN INDIA.

The Rt. Rev. Daniel Wilson, DD., Bishop of Calcutta, and Metropolitan of India, has recently published his Charge, delivered at his second Metropolitan Visitation in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Colombo, in 1848 and 1849. Few of our readers are aware of the gigantic operations of the English Church in India. From the Bishop's Charge we glean the following items of intelligence. There are now *ten Sees*, and as many Bishops, in the large and unwieldy Diocese in which the

Bishop stood alone in 1836. There are now in India and Ceylon nearly 300 Clergy and 179 Churches, where, in 1814, when Bishop Middleton first arrived, there were only 15 Clergy, and not nearly so many Churches. In the Diocese of Calcutta there are now 130 Clergy and 92 Churches. St. Paul's College in Calcutta, once a School of the Jesuits, (St. Xavier's College,) has about 200 pupils. The Cathedral at Calcutta is open for daily morning prayers.

In the Diocese of Madras, the Missions are the "honor of India and the glory of Christ." They comprehend 43 districts, 693 villages, 46 ordained Ministers, 47,099 baptized persons under instruction, 6,806 Communicants, 13,067 Scholars, 122 permanent Churches, and 320 temporary houses of worship.

The Bishop reports the "crescent as fast waning in Bengal, as it is throughout the world."

Throughout Hindostan the Church of England is doing a great work, and is laying foundations broad and deep with a far-seeing wisdom and zeal worthy of Apostolic days. The several districts of Kishnagur and Cawnpore are full of promise. India, as the Bishop says, has been given to England "as by miracle," that she may communicate to India and the world the immense blessings of the Gospel.

The district of Agra, one of the large divisions of Hindostan, and lying on the Jumna River, a fertile and populous region, is about to be raised to a separate Diocese; and the Rev. Thomas Dealtry, for many years Archdeacon of Calcutta, will probably be Bishop of the new Diocese. It is also in immediate contemplation to establish a new Diocese in Tinnivelly, now under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Madras; and the Ven. Archdeacon Shortland is named as the Bishop of this new See. The Church Missionary Society has a large Clerical and lay Staff in this portion of Southern India, and the Propagation Society has 14,000 native converts under instruction at Tinnivelly.

COLONIAL BISHOPRICS' FUND.

The Treasurers and Trustees of this Fund have lately made a Report to the Archbishops and Bishops of the United Church of England and Ireland, stating the results of their doings since their appointment in 1841, the present condition of funds, and the necessities for further efficient action. It appears that the sum of £183,600 has been contributed to the endowment wholly or in part of nine new Bishoprics, and for the outfit and passage of ten Bishops to their Dioceses. It is worthy of notice, that £45,000 was contributed by three subscribers. To which Report the Archbishops and Bishops have made the following reply, which we give as an important paper for future reference.

Lambeth Palace, Ascension Day, 1849.

The undersigned Archbishops and Bishops, having received the foregoing Report, do not hesitate to lay it before the members of the Church of England, in the confident expectation of a renewal of that liberality which has already been so largely shown, and which has produced such abundant fruits. By a careful appropriation of the funds intrusted to them, they have been enabled to provide competent endowments for the five Colonial Sees of—

1. Gibraltar,.....1842.
2. Fredericton,.....1845.
3. Capetown,.....1847.
4. Adelaide,.....1847.
5. Victoria,.....1849.

Five more Bishoprics have been in part endowed from the same fund, viz:—

1. New Zealand,.....1841.
2. Tasmania,.....1842.
3. Melbourne,.....1847.
4. Newcastle,.....1847.

And within the same period of eight years, four additional Bishoprics have been endowed from other sources, viz :—

1. Antigua,.....1842.
2. Guiana,.....1842.
3. Colombo,....1845.
4. Rupert's Land, (Outfit provided by the C. B. Fund,)..... 9.

There is still an urgent demand for resident Bishops in Sierra Leone, Western Australia, and the Island of Mauritius. It is also to be borne in mind that no provision is yet made for the Sees of Nova Scotia and Montreal, after the incumbency of the present Bishops ; and that in respect both to these and many other existing Dioceses, their vast extent and increasing population will soon render subdivision indispensable.

From the statement which we lay before the public, we trust it will appear that they, to whom the contributions of the Church have been confided, have been enabled to render a good account of their stewardship. We ask now for a further supply of means, that the work may still proceed. We ask this with the more confidence, because the measure, which in 1841 was comparatively untried, has been proved by experience to answer the warmest hopes of those who then devised it. The creation of Bishops for the several Colonies has been found immediately to promote the interests of religion, by concentrating the efforts of Christian zeal, both for the welfare of the heathen and of our own countrymen : by increasing the number, the influence, and the usefulness of the Clergy, and by establishing the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England in countries where previously its existence was practically almost unfelt.

With this conviction "of the sacredness and importance of the work, and in the hope that Almighty God may graciously dispose the hearts of His servants to a corresponding measure of liberality, we" once more "earnestly commend it to the good-will, the assistance, and the prayers of all the members of our Church."

J. B. CANTUAR.	T. EBOR.	J. G. ARMAGH.
RD. DUBLIN.	C. J. LONDON.	E. DUNELM.
C. WINTON.	J. LINCOLN.	E. BANGOR.
H. CARLISLE.	G. ROCHESTER.	E. LLANDAFF.
J. H. GLOUCESTER & BRISTOL.	H. EXETER.	C. T. RIFON.
E. NORWICH.	E. SARUM.	THOS. TUAM.
G. PETERBOROUGH.	H. WORCESTER.	A. T. CISTER.
R. CARRIL & ELMLY.	J. LICHFIELD.	T. ELY.
THOS. VOWLER ST. ASAPH.	S. OXON.	J. P. MANCHESTER.
R. D. HEREFORD.	J. CHESTER.	

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING THE EDUCATION OF THE POOR.

The Annual Meeting of this Society was held at Westminster on Wednesday, June 6th. The Archbishop of Canterbury was in the chair, and there were present the greater number of the Bishops, and a most numerous assemblage of the leading members of the Church of England. The meeting was one of great interest and importance. The discussions were very earnest, of which we have full reports. This Society is a Church Society, designed expressly to educate the children of the poor in the principles of the Church of England. There are in connection with it more than 17,000 schools, nearly 50,000 teachers, and 1,500,000 children under Sunday School instruction, and 1,000,000 children attending daily. The annual funds amount to about £900,000. A practical difficulty has arisen between this Society and the Parliamentary Privy Council of Education—the latter body evidently endeavoring to get the management of the education of the children to a certain extent, into its own hands, and enforcing its pretensions on the strength of Parliamentary Grants. At this annual meeting, therefore, a Resolution embodying a strong protest, was moved by the Rev. G. A. Denison, brother of the Bishop of Salisbury ; but was subsequently withdrawn in favor of a substitute, proposed by

Archdeacon Manning, in the following language.—“That this meeting acknowledges the care and attention of the Committee in conducting the correspondence pending with the Committee of the Privy Council on Education, and regrets to find that a satisfactory conclusion has not yet been attained. Secondly: that while this meeting desires fully to coöperate with the State in promoting the education of the people, it is under the necessity of declaring that no terms of coöperation can be satisfactory which shall not allow to the Clergy and laity full freedom to constitute schools upon such principles and models as are both sanctioned and recommended by the order and the practice of the Church of England.”—Which was carried by a very large majority.

The meeting was very spirited and lasted eight hours; and the debates on the part of the Bishop of Oxford, Archdeacons Manning and Wilberforce, Rev. Dr. Wordsworth, and Rev. Mr. Denison, show that the real position and dangers of the Church are clearly understood.

SUBDIVISION OF PARISHES.

The Committee appointed “to inquire into the practicability and mode of subdividing into distinct and independent Parishes, for all ecclesiastical purposes, all the densely-peopled parishes in England and Wales, in such manner that the population of each, except in particular cases, at our discretion, shall not exceed four thousand souls,” have made an elaborate Report, touching the method of providing adequate support of newly formed Parishes; the subject of pew-rents; the importance of free-sittings for the poorer classes; the right of presentation to new Parishes formed out of old; the question of former liabilities on the old Parishes, as affecting the newly formed; the subject of division of endowments, &c., &c. The effect of this important movement will be to extend vastly, the influence of the English Church among the people; and to equalize the support of the Clergy, of which there is great need; the hardest working Clergy, being often the poorest paid.

HON. BAPTIST W. NOEL.

This erratic individual has turned a cold shoulder upon the Independents, by whom he has been “lionized,” and on the 9th of August, was “rebaptized” in a Baptist Chapel in London, by immersion, by a Mr. Shepherd. The Ecclesiastical Authorities of the Church have, as yet, taken no notice of his irregularities. Between the Church’s view of Baptism, as taught in the Prayer Book, and the view as held by the Anti-pædo-Baptists, we see no middle ground which is worth the name of a principle. In this respect, Mr. Noel has acted consistently.

ECCLESIASTICAL COURT.

COURT OF ARCHES.

The Rt. Hon. Sir H. Jenner Fust, on Thursday, Aug. 2d, gave a decision in the long contested case of Rev. George C. Gorham, B. D., *versus* the Bishop of Exeter. This was a case in which the Bishop refused to institute Mr. Gorham to the Vicarage of Branford Speke, on the ground of his (Mr. G.) holding doctrine contrary to that of the Church. On the 15th of June, 1848, a nomination was taken out, requiring the Bishop to show cause why he refused institution. This was the case brought before the Arches Court; and after a prolonged examination, the Judge declared, that it was clear Mr. Gorham was opposed to the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration—a doctrine which the Church of England clearly held,—and that the Bishop was justified in refusing him institution. The delivery of the judgment occupied four hours. Mr. Gorham will carry the matter up to the Court of Appeal. His friends strenuously maintain, that he *does* hold to Baptismal Regeneration, as explained by the Archbishop of York in his late Charge; by Bishop Wilson of Calcutta, and others; and that he only differs from the Bishop of Exeter, as to the mode of explanation. Suppose the Court of Appeal shall affirm the decision of the Arches Court; and that it shall be made to appear that one, if not two of the Archbishops, substantially agree with Mr. Gorham, as to what Baptismal Regeneration is, what then?

To us, it seems that the Church of England has shown great practical wisdom in two particulars; first, in framing her Formularies in the very language of Holy Scripture; and second, in being tolerant, as to the method of interpretation of those Formularies. By the first, she secures unity in all essentials. By the second, she provides for the endless existing varieties of the human mind. The moment men begin to speculate about the *nature* of spiritual operations, that moment the "Scotists" and the "Thomists" come upon the stage. Of Mr. Gorham, the question should be, we think, not does he hold to this, that, or the other *method of interpretation* of the *Baptismal Service*, but, does he hold to the *Baptismal Service itself*? The Bishop of Exeter has decided that he does not; and the Court of Archies has confirmed the decision.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

THE HOUSE OF PEERS numbers 453 members; and consists of three Princes of the Blood Royal, 20 Dukes, 20 Marquesses, 117 Earls, 21 Viscounts, 198 Barons, 16 Peers of Scotland, 28 Peers of Ireland, 26 English Archbishops and Bishops, and 4 Irish representative Archbishops and Bishops.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS numbers 658 members. Of these, 469 are *English*, (county members 144, University members 4, cities and boroughs 321;) 29 are *Welsh*, (county members 15, cities and boroughs 14;) 53 are *Scotch*, (county members 30, cities and boroughs 23;) and 105 are *Irish*, (county members 64, University 2, cities and boroughs 39.)

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

DEFEAT OF THE JEW BILL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

This important Bill came up for final action on Tuesday evening, June 26. The debate was spirited, but not very protracted. The Archbishop of Dublin supported the Bill, and voted for it, as did also Archbishop Musgrave, Bishop Maltby, Bishop Hampden, and Bishop Lee. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Phillpotts, and Bishop Wilberforce strenuously opposed it. In a House of 165 members, it was lost by a vote of 95 to 70, or a majority of 25. The Bill had special reference to Baron Rothschild, candidate for the representation in Parliament of the City of London; who notwithstanding, this decision, determined to run as candidate, and has been elected by a large majority over Lord John Manners, the opposing candidate. The effect of all this excitement, must be the ultimate restoration of Convocation, which, under Queen Anne, and through the influence of Bishop Hoadley, and the indifference of Churchmen, was lost to the Church.

CHURCH OF IRELAND.

On the 10th of July, Mr. B. Osborne, member from Middlesex, brought forward a measure to abolish the territorial system of religion in Ireland and substitute the Congregational; to reduce the Irish Archbishops to one, with £4,000 a year, and the ten Bishops to five, with £2,000 a year. Sir George Grey, in reply, charged, that the object of the measure was the "subversion of the Church Establishment in Ireland." Mr. Napier, from Dublin University, contended that the nation contributed nothing to the Irish Church, the property of which was inherited from the ancient Christian Church of Ireland, and that Parliament had no right to interfere with it. The motion was lost by a vote of 170 to 103, a majority of 67.

TRIENNIAL PARLIAMENTS.

July 11th, Mr. T. D'Eyncourt moved the second reading of the Duration of Parliaments Bill, the object of which was to reduce the term of Parliaments from seven to three years. The opposition to this Bill from Sir George Grey, one of the Cabinet, led to a violent tirade against the Whig Ministry, on the part of Mr. Hume, a member from Scotland, and a leader of the Radical party in the House; which party seem resolved to destroy every conservative element in the Govern-

ment. Such a reduction of the term of Parliament would of course expose that body more directly to the influence of popular commotion. This Bill was lost by a majority of 75, or a vote of 132 to 57.

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

At a monthly meeting of this Society, recently held in Lincoln's-inn-Fields, the Archbishop of Canterbury presiding, the Report of the Foreign Translation Committee was laid before the Meeting, from which we give the following extracts.

"The Foreign Translation Committee have to report seven works, of no inconsiderable interest, completed under their charge during the past year. The works in question are—a duodecimo edition of Luther's German Bible; the French version of the Old Testament; an Italian New Testament of a small size; the Book of Common Prayer in Portuguese; a new and carefully revised edition of the Prayer Book in French; a pocket edition of the Society's Italian Prayer Book; and a new translation of the Liturgy into the Danish language.

"The German Bible and the Portuguese Prayer Book have already been for some time in circulation; and of the latter of these, the Board at their Meeting in April last, made a grant of a considerable number of copies on the application of Mr. Cassels of Oporto, to whose exertions and liberality the Society is indebted for the original manuscript of the translation. The Committee have since had the gratification of hearing, that these copies of the Liturgy in Portuguese were received with much interest and approval, and that means were immediately adopted by the Oporto District Committee, lately formed under the sanction of the Bishop of Gibraltar, to put them judiciously into circulation.

"The last sheet of the French version of the Old Testament is now in the press; and the whole work will soon be ready to bind with the octave edition of the New Testament in French, which has been for several years in the Society's Catalogue. The Committee are now proceeding with the Apocryphal Books, which will be so printed as either to form a separate volume, or to be bound with the Bible, according to demand. The Board has before been informed that simultaneously with the printing of this Bible in octavo in London, an edition of the same version, in a quarto form, is printed for the Society in Paris.

"The new edition of the New Testament and Prayer Book in Italian, and of the French Prayer Book, being only just completed, are now, for the first time, laid before the Board. The existing state of Italy, and the facilities at present afforded for the introduction of such, hitherto, prohibited books into that country, induced the Foreign Translation Committee, as the Board are already aware, to undertake these reprints of the Italian New Testament and Prayer Book in a portable form. The Committee judged it to be expedient to put forth such an edition of the New Testament at once; but duly alive to the importance of circulating the Bible complete, among an inquiring but hitherto partially instructed people, they are now engaged in carrying through the press a similar edition of the Old Testament in Italian.

"The Board will, no doubt, learn with much interest that Dr. Lee and Mr. Fares, the latter of whom arrived in London toward the end of last summer, have completed the proposed translation of the New Testament into Arabic, and are now proceeding, very satisfactorily, with the Old Testament. Several sheets of the New Testament are already in type, and there is good reason to hope that the New Testament will be carried through the press, and the translation of the Old Testament completed, before the expiration of Mr. Fares' leave of absence from Malta.

"Along with this important labor, Dr. Lee and Mr. Fares, with the aid of a sub-Committee of Oriental Scholars, are engaged in revising and correcting the proofs of the new edition of the Prayer Book in Arabic. The Psalms for this Prayer Book are now printing; and the committee have taken advantage of the opportunity thus afforded them, to throw off from the same type, with the few requisite alterations of titles and heading, a separate edition of the Psalter for distribution in the East.

"The demand for such translation is most encouraging. Among others the Committee may be allowed to refer to a letter from the Bishop of the English Church at Jerusalem, read to the Board in December last, in which his Lordship wrote, 'I am

very glad to hear that your Society will soon be in possession of a good version of the Book of Common Prayer in Arabic. Indeed, after the Holy Scriptures, it is the first book I wish to distribute among the Arabs of this country, for many reasons, which I need not state, except one, viz., that the simple Arabs like it. I am sure you will rejoice to hear that there are villages in the mountains of Samaria, containing from two to ten families, chiefly of Greek Christians, to whom I sent Bibles last year, together with a few copies of the Liturgy, and of whom I now hear that they meet every Lord's day to read the Bible together and to join in prayer, in which they regularly make use of our Liturgy in their own language.' And in a more recent letter from the Rev. J. Nicolayson, written with the sanction of the Bishop, and dated Jerusalem, April 28, 1849, it is said 'the natives who attend our services are so much increasing in number, since our new church was consecrated, that we are very anxious to be able to supply them with the Liturgy in their own language; and many others also, both here and in the villages, anxiously inquire after them for private use.'

"The third volume of the Septuagint, printing in Athens, is ready for publication. The three volumes, thus completed, contain all the canonical books of the Old Testament; and the fourth and last volume, which is now in progress, will contain the Apocrypha. The Holy Synod of Greece readily assented to the proposition of the Foreign translation Committee to print the Apocryphal books in a separate volume; and the committee receive continued assurances of the gratitude with which the Synod and the clergy generally, accept and value this important work, undertaken for the benefit of the Church in Greece."

ROME.

On the 30th of June, the Constituent Assembly of Rome, finding further resistance to the French army impossible, dissolved the Assembly, and surrendered the city to its besiegers. It is due to the French, to say, that they have attacked the city at such points only, where the least possible injury would befall the splendid monuments of genius and art, with which the city is enriched. The terms of capitulation are not yet known. The Pope, however, and his Cardinals demand unconditional power over the people. In Rome, the spirit of rebellion to oppression, is, for the time, silenced, but not in the slightest degree subdued, and the Pope returns, if at all, to rule with a tyrant's rod over slaves who hate and despise him. Father Ventura, an eminent Romish Priest, who by the Pope's appointment, pronounced the eulogy of O'Connell, says, "this restoration, if it takes place, will destroy the power of the Pontiff, without establishing the power of the Prince. . . . The Churches are deserted, . . . everything that is presented by a Priest, or smells of a Priest, is shunned. . . . The people see the French spilling Roman blood in the name of the Pope, who has sent against them four powers, armed with all the means of destruction, like a pack of hounds against a wild beast. . . . Rome will probably fall, and the Pope may again enter the Eternal City, but he will never reign over the hearts of the Romans." Popery, hoary in its sins, bald in its outrage upon Christianity, has fallen forever. It may exist in name, but not in reality. A new era dawns in its history. The word of prophecy is to be accomplished. Meanwhile the Cardinals have returned to Rome; and on Sunday, July 15th, St. Peter's glistened with 6,000 French bayonets, while a grand *Te Deum* was celebrated in honor of the restoration of the Papacy! This was the last act of a miserable farce; too gross to be forgotten or forgiven on the part of the Italian people, who have learnt a lesson of centuries crowded into a few brief days; a lesson of their former glory, their present degradation, and its cause, in the withering curse of Popery. The French general Oudinot, has resigned his civil functions into the hands of the Pope, who has named as his Commissioners, Cardinals Altieri, Vannicelli and Della-Genga. These Commissioners have already become excessively odious to the people, by abolishing all laws enacted since Nov. 6th, 1848, by re-establishing the Inquisition, the Ecclesiastical Courts, &c. Dr. Achilli, formerly a Romanist, and now a member of the Church of England, has been thrown into prison. The Italians are silent, in the presence of 30,000 French bayonets, but there is a vow of vengeance in their hearts. The principle for which the Pope contends, would lead him, if he could, to

place his foot on the neck of every civil ruler in Christendom. But Italy has felt the curse long enough, and will wear the chains no longer.

FRANCE.

RELIGION IN FRANCE.—The Archbishops and Bishops of the Romish Church are named by the President of France, and confirmed by the Pope; they take the oath of allegiance to the Republic, before taking possession of their Sees. Each Bishop nominates his vicars-general, but the appointments are made by the Minister of Public Instruction and Worship. The right of removal is not claimed to its full extent by the State.

The salaries vary. The Archbishop of Paris has \$8,000, or nearly that sum, a year, the other Archbishops \$3,000, and Bishops \$2,000. If one of them happens to be a Cardinal, he receives \$2,000 in addition. The salaries of the vicars-general and canons vary from \$400 to \$800, those of curates, from \$240 to \$300. A retired curate was allowed a small pension. The total cost of the [Roman] Catholic Clergy in France, is estimated at 36,318,900 francs for the year 1846.

The salaries of the Protestant Ministers vary from \$240 to \$400, according to the number of Parishioners. The whole expense of the Protestant worship for 1846, amounted to 1,255,050 francs.

The Jewish creed counts eight great Rabbins; the expenses amount to about 110,000 francs.

The total number of [Roman] Catholic Clergy in France is about 42,000, comprising 15 Archbishops, 65 Bishops, 176 vicars-general, 661 canons, 3,301 curates, and 28,501 priests, of what are called *succursal* Churches. To these add 8,500 theological students, 24,000 nuns, and hosts of monks belonging to the different orders of Trappists, Carthusians, Capuchins, Benedictines, and St. Sulpice.

Of the ministers of other persuasions, there are 411 Calvinists, and some 250 Lutherans.

In order to conduct the affairs of the Church in France, there is a bureau, comprising a director and 56 subordinates, acting under the supervision of the Minister. These 57 persons, who are not, for the most part, suspected of being religiously inclined, are charged by the State, with the care of religion in France. Although the numerical force, and the wealth of the [Roman] Catholic Church are very great, yet they have much decreased since the first revolution. Before 1793, the total number of ecclesiastical personages was 114,000, including 19,000 regular Clergy; and their annual revenues, from actual property, amounted to 72,000,000 francs, and the tithes to 70,000,000 francs, giving a total of 142,000,000 francs. While the number of regular Priests has increased, the number of monks and nuns has diminished. But it must be remembered, that at present the receipts from the State do not constitute more than about half of the income of the [Roman] Catholic Clergy, as they receive an immense sum for marriages, burials, masses for the dead, and various other matters.

THE COPTIC CHURCH.

A correspondent of the London Colonial Church Chronicle, who has lately traveled in Egypt, gives an account of this Ancient Church as now existing. The following is a condensed summary of his statement.

The Copts in Egypt possess a double interest, both as the legitimate descendants, though much intermixed, of the ancient Egyptians, and as the representatives of the strictly national Church of the land. They are of course to be distinguished from the Greek Christians in Egypt, who despise them as schismatics from the orthodox Church, and who are chiefly to be found in the cities of Alexandria and Cairo.

Most remarkable is the tenacity with which the Copts as a body have maintained their faith; and the more so when we consider how completely isolated they have been, not only from the Catholic communion, but from any intercourse of a friendly kind with other Christian communities. Not that there have not been very extensive defections, especially in times of persecutions; or that even now apostasy is

Islamism, is by any means an unknown offense ; but still it must be acknowledged, by any one who has read the sickening tale of the domination of Mahometan fanaticism and misrule in Egypt for so many ages, as a very remarkable fact, that so large a remnant as a Church of 150,000 native Christians, (about one-tenth of the present estimated population of Egypt,) should have been left in the land.

The Bishops are selected from the monastic Clergy, and I believe among them some would be found with a considerable amount of ecclesiastical knowledge and traditional experience, in matters connected with their own Church ; but the priests at large, have no ecclesiastical training or education whatsoever. They are, for the most part, chosen by the congregation to which they minister, out of their own body, and are ordained without any special preparation. Their condition is one of extreme poverty, and the demoralizing and degrading effects of that extreme, are but too often visible. As with the priest, so I fear is it with the people. The moral character of the Copts, in the eyes of impartial observers, stands very low ; in some respects, especially that of temperance, lower than that of the Mahometan population. Intellectually, indeed, they are superior to the Arab inhabitants, as the Copts can almost universally read and write. They have become, therefore, the scribe class of Egypt ; all the accounts and the legal transactions of the country, pass through their hands, the profession of arms being in Egypt, as throughout the Turkish empire, prohibited to the Christian population.

I could not but be much struck with another very unpleasant feature in the character, at least of the Coptic Bishops and Clergy, and that is, the utter want of interest or concern which they show about other branches of the Christian Church, and the coldness with which they receive all advances towards Christian communion and fellowship. This, considering that all the relations of the English Church to them, have been those of kindness and Christian sympathy, is very painful.

The Churches of the Copts are in melancholy keeping with their moral and spiritual condition. Almost without exception, they are in a state of extreme filth and neglect, and in most cases, they are mere mud buildings. They are uniformly built on one model. There are, in general, three or five small chancels, or divisions of the chancel, surmounted by domes, and with no windows in them. These have all a screen separating them from the next division, which runs across the Church, and in the part immediately outside the principal chancel, in which is the altar, is the lectern at which the priest reads the non-liturgical parts of the service. This division is also appropriated to the male part of the congregation. In some of their Churches there is also a second division beyond, for the less honorable part of the male congregation. Behind all, and sometimes at the side, is the part appropriated to the women, whom in the Patriarch's Church at Cairo, I have also seen accommodated in galleries above, to which the sacred elements are carried, when there is communion. In addition to the fonts, in which they practise the trine immersion, most of the Churches have large depositories for water, in which they practise their singular custom of annually bathing, in commemoration of our Lord's baptism in the Jordan. This is a ceremony to which the Copts ascribe great importance. In many of their Churches, I saw hardly any traces of pictures, and though I was told they treat their sacred pictures with extreme devotion, I cannot say that I saw much of this, at least, in comparison with other Eastern Christians. In one of the largest and best of their Churches which I visited, that at Thebes, on the edge of the great Eastern desert, there were no pictures at all.

I have mentioned some painful features in the Coptic character ; but I should be unwilling not to bring forward some others, which I think are to be viewed with respect, and even admiration. The very exclusiveness to which I have alluded, and their rigid nationality, have their bright side. They adhere most strictly to their own peculiar ecclesiastical rites and ordinances. Though the Coptic has long since ceased to be spoken, and cannot even be read by many of the laity, they have never abandoned the use of their old Coptic liturgy, offices, and homilies. They have rendered their services into Arabic ; but they employ this language only in addition, not to the prejudice of the Coptic.

Nor can one avoid respecting the rigid adherence of the Copts to their fasts, which I believe are more numerous and severe than those of any other Christian community now existing.

Another pleasing and encouraging feature in the religious character of the Copts, is their reverence for, and attachment to, the sacred Scriptures. I am not aware that there is any hindrance placed in the way of the study of the Bible by all classes, on the part of the Bishops and priests. Their chief impediment to such a study is a practical one—the difficulty of obtaining copies of the Scriptures in the Arabic, which is the colloquial language both of Mahometans and Copts in Egypt. Many of the latter can read the Coptic; but, as a spoken language, it is now, I believe, completely dead; a fate which has befallen this, the last remains of the old tongue of the Pharaohs, within the last hundred years. The Copts are always eager to receive either portions of the Bible, (the Psalms they are specially fond of, and I am told, they are very generally committed to memory,) or entire copies; and a proof of their sincerity, amid all their professions of poverty, is to be found in their willingness to become *purchasers*. This desire for books is the chief, I fear I may add, the only, encouragement to the Missionaries of our Church resident in Cairo, to continue their periodical voyages up the Nile.

There are, I believe, twelve Coptic Bishoprics—eight in Upper, and four in Lower Egypt. The most remote Christian Church in which worship is now offered to the true God, is to be found at Assouan, (the ancient Syene.) The first cataract, which separates the sacred isle of Peiles from Assouan, is the northern boundary of Nubia; and upward from that point, all along the banks of the river, till you reach the Abyssinian branch, the voice of praise to the honor of the Saviour has been hushed these many centuries. Nubia was once a Christian land—as much so as Egypt. Now there is not a Christian to be found in the whole land: and, although there are not more than three mosques to be found throughout the whole length of that thinly peopled strip of green land, the Nubians are said to be bitter enemies to the name of Christianity. It is indeed a melancholy thing to traverse a land from which Christianity has fairly died out. For such has been the process in Nubia. A traveler, not three centuries ago, records that he found the congregations mourning over the lack of priests. There was then a people, but no priests. Now there are neither a Christian people nor priests, and the only traces left of either are the ruined churches of God. Of these, I believe there are several still to be found in Nubia. I myself saw three; two of them were of the Coptic character; in one, at Phares, the chancel was of stone—built out of the remains of an ancient idol temple—and now used as a granary. The third was also a rock temple, which had plainly been used as a church; and on the walls of which are the remains of Christian paintings.

CHURCH AT JERUSALEM.

CONSECRATION.—Christ's Church, at Jerusalem, was consecrated on Sunday the 21st of January, by the Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, to the worship of Almighty God, according to the rites of the United Church of England and Ireland—that day being the seventh anniversary of the entry of the first Protestant Bishop into the Holy City. The Syrian Bishop, with some priests and deacons, attended throughout the whole of the solemnity. The former expressed himself deeply interested by the service. There were also some Armenian priests present; but the Armenian Patriarch, who had in a manner accepted the Bishop's invitation, did not come, being indisposed. Some Greek Catholic priests were also present, but none of the dignitaries of those communities.

The Bishop of the United Church of England and Ireland at Jerusalem, has issued his annual letter. He states that the Greek Patriarch and his Clergy, keep as far from him as they possibly can; that with the Latin he is on a footing of polite reserve, and that with the Armenian, the United Greek Patriarch, and the Syrian Bishops, a friendly intercourse has been continued. He further states that he has now fourteen inquirers, who have left the Jews, most of whom are now receiving regular instruction, preparatory to their being baptized; and mentions a rule which he has laid down that no adult person, in the enjoyment of health, is to be baptized until he can earn at least a part of his daily bread. In accordance with this rule, the Bishop refused baptism to two candidates who had been prepared for it, in consequence of their refusing to learn any trade practical at Jerusalem.

THE
CHURCH REVIEW.

VOL. II.

JANUARY, 1850.

No. 4.

MOEHLER'S SYMBOLISM.

ART. I.—MOEHLER'S SYMBOLISM. New York : published by Edward Dunigan, No. 151 Fulton street, 1844.

MOEHLER'S Symbolism is one of the most able and celebrated controversial works that have ever emanated from the Romish Church. It created immense sensation upon its first appearance in Germany in 1832, and in that country passed through five large editions in the course of six years. It was hailed with acclamations by Roman Catholics, and attacked with earnestness by the Protestant writers of Germany. Its publication, in a translation, in this country, in the year 1844, has given it importance here, and the fact, that, in certain portions of our country, it is a work most likely to mislead active but partially instructed minds, who are in search of a harbor of religious rest, renders a notice of its character and of its style of argumentation, a service demanded by the interests of Catholic truth. We regard Moehler's book as the most dangerous one, in the spells of its Sirenian delusion, that we have ever seen from a Romish controversialist. It has, on its face, an air of great candor and love of truth, and of tender regard for those whom it treats as the victims of error and heresy, while, at the same time, it is throughout remarka-

ble for its suppression of the truth, and its unfair statements of the real position of the Romish Church, in matters of doctrine, discipline, and worship. Those who are allured to the Romish Church by Moehler's representations of her character and teaching, are doomed to a most cruel disappointment. Instead of finding, as he represents, the beautiful and tender Mother of our New Birth, they will be introduced to a foul and withered hag, ministering in the practice of her witchcrafts, as the pretended Priestess of the Most High,—instead of the pure realities of Christian faith, they will be taught the unwarranted inventions of human doctrine, which is still ever growing and developing,—instead of the simplicity of the holy worship of God through the one Mediator, they will see practically established and made prominent in the sanctuaries of Rome, the idolatrous worship of the Virgin and the Saints.

We propose to point out some of the concealments and unfair statements by which Moehler has succeeded in throwing such plausible attractions about the Church that he has undertaken to defend. In his very Introduction both this concealment and this falsehood appear. He states falsely, and of course unfairly, the doctrinal standards of the Romish Church. Among these standards, the only ones which he mentions, without reservation, as public confessions of the Romish Church, are the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Catechism of Trent and the Creed of Pope Pius IV, he rejects as writings possessing symbolical authority in the Romish Church, though he professes for them high regard. The Catechism, however, was published by direction of the Council of Trent, who left to the Pope the charge of approving and authorizing and publishing it. By him, in accordance with the decree of the Council, it was published. It is designed, as is stated by the Council of Trent, for the guidance of pastors in the instruction of their flocks, and is placed in the hands of the parochial ministers of the Romish Church, as instruction provided for the members of that Church, by those to whom the Council of Trent committed the charge of making such provision. Surely, then, this writing *has* symbolical authority in the Romish communion. And most undoubtedly the Romish Church cannot escape from the full responsibility of the Creed of Pope Pius, as one of its symbolical writings. In the Bull setting it forth, it was imposed "*juxta Concilii Tridentini dispositionem*" on all who held benefices in the Romish Church, having the cure of souls; it was also imposed on all members of the regular and military

orders. Upon all these classes of persons the injunction was laid that profession of faith should be made "juxta hanc et non aliam formam," "according to this form and no other," "sub poenis *per Concilium ipsum* in contravenientes latis," "under penalties denounced by the Council itself against opposers." In the form provided, by authority, for reconciling a convert to the Romish Church, the profession of this creed, which is recited, in the office, in full, is required of the proselyte. It is in vain to deny, therefore, that the Creed of Pope Pius is, in the strictest use of terms, the authorized Creed of the Romish Church, and that controversialist deals most unfairly, who denies this creed, as Moehler does, the place of a symbolical writing of that Church. Nor is this denial unimportant. The Creed of Pope Pius is appended to the Nicene Creed as part and parcel of the Creed of the Universal Church, and the acceptance of it declared necessary to salvation, it being expressly said, in this creed itself, that all that it contains is "the true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved." Such a declaration is so shameless, so directly opposed, too, to the decree of the General Council of Ephesus concerning additions to the Creed of the Universal Church, that it is an object for a Romish controversialist, if he can, to get rid of the embarrassment which this creed would occasion if he acknowledged it to be a symbolical writing of his Church. And Moehler, notwithstanding the Bull of Pope Pius imposing this creed, in accordance with the decrees of Trent, and under penalties denounced by that Council itself, and notwithstanding the use of this creed in the Romish Church in the reconciliation of converts, of whom certainly no more is required than of those born within her pale, and notwithstanding the imposition of this creed as "the true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved," has not scrupled, in the outset of his undertaking, to cast off the trammels of this unwelcome formulary. He knew full well that the decrees of Trent were carefully drawn up for purposes of controversy, as guarded statements of Romish doctrine,—not denying any of the errors of faith or practice which are retained in the Romish communion, but giving the most plausible accounts of them, which ingenuity could furnish, and leaving out of sight the strong views of doctrine and the abominations of practice, which, to this day, constitute the popular teaching and the authorized worship of that corrupt communion. Moehler has therefore planted himself exclusively upon the Trentine decrees, and would fain have his readers believe that when he has given the Trentine state-

ments of doctrine, he has presented a full view of the teaching and practice of the Romish Church on the points in question.

This arbitrary exclusion of authorized standards of faith and offices of worship, for which the Romish Church is responsible, runs through the whole of his book, and makes his representation of the Romish Church the mere trickery of a huckster, who shows the fair and sunny side of the fruit he offers for sale, while he studiously conceals the rottenness, which is eating into the core. And yet, while Moehler denies the symbolical authority of the creed of Pius, he admits, when it suits his purpose, the symbolical character of other papal determinations. He says, in a note, (p. 117,) "Popes Pius V and Gregory XIII, have condemned the following propositions," which he quotes, and then adds, "The opinion put forth in the earlier editions of this work, that the doctrine of the *donum supernaturale primi hominis*, though generally received among theologians, and grounded in the whole Catholic system, had not, however, received a formal sanction from the Church, must now be corrected." The determinations of Popes, then, are symbolical authority, when they advance Moehler's ends, but not so, when, as in the Bull of Pope Pius IV, setting forth his creed, they thwart those ends. The *animus* of Moehler as a controversialist and his unscrupulousness are here most plainly shown. The note, above quoted, admits also that doctrines not formally sanctioned by the Church, though generally received by theologians, may be "*grounded in the whole Catholic system*," an admission fatal to the great effort of Moehler's book to set forth the decrees of Trent as the only standard of Romish teaching. How a note, so completely exposing himself, found its way into his book, we are at a loss to determine.

In connection with his partial and insufficient delineations of the Romish Church, Moehler most studiously seeks to conceal the true position of the English Church, and to cover it, most unfairly, from view, by crowding it into an obscure, scarcely noticed place among the Calvinistic sects. The *thirty-nine articles*, forsooth, are all that he knows, or chooses to recognize, of the formularies of the English Church, and through the whole of his book he slurs over the English Church, as if he were afraid that the very mention of it would bring it into a dangerous prominence, as if he feared that a glimpse of her Apostolic and Catholic constitution would, at once, expose to his readers the vanity of his hard attempt to identify the schismatic position of Rome and her Pseudo-

Catholicity with the true and genuine Catholicity of the Ancient Church, as if the mere presentation of the Queen, in her simple, majestic beauty, would, at once, confound the pretensions of the upstart, in the meretricious attire of Trent, who would fain show herself in the true dignity of the ancient Apostolic line. Let those who are captivated by Moehler's glowing pictures of unity, and truth, and Catholicity, apply these very pictures to the Church, which he has studiously kept in the background ; and also to the real condition of *that* Church, as she is seen in her every day life, which he has presented only in the cautious, nicely worded decrees of Trent, and they will be at no loss to discover, at once, the trickery of Moehler's whole style of argumentation, and the truest home of Catholicity, which is now to be found upon earth.

But we proceed to exemplify, by some particulars, his style and mode of argumentation.

Of original sin, justification and sanctification, and the teaching of the Romish Church and Protestant confessions on these subjects, Moehler treats at length. To pursue his reasonings on these doctrines would take us too far from our present more immediate object, though we may, at a future time, enter into a somewhat extended examination of these points, in reference to his statements and reasonings. We remark, however, upon what he says about justification, that his own statements of the Romish doctrine on this subject, show the insufficiency and error of the doctrine, as defined by the Council of Trent. Moehler declares the identity of justification with inherent holiness, and denies that the justification of the sinner before God is the Forensic act of his acquittal. Justification, with him and the Romish Church, is making just, and *so* making just that sin is "extirpated," while, nevertheless, there is the inconsistency of admitting, as he expressly does, that (p. 192) "the sinfulness in concupiscence," which, in justification, "is removed, as it is driven from the inward to the outward man," "*survives*" nevertheless, "as the consequence and the chastisement of sin, and withal as a temptation, which may conduce either to the more exalted glorification of the soul, or to its relapse into the deepest fall. In the former case, it summons us to struggle and to victory, and to the confirmation and expansion of virtue ; in the latter, it can easily surprise the inattentive, and draw him into its toils, or penetrate into his inmost soul." Truly, when such a principle as this remains, though only in "the outward man," yet struggling to find its way to the "inmost soul," and capable of doing so, there has been a strange *extirpation* of sin. And yet Moeh-

ler says of *such* a justified person, (p. 192,) the "Catholic Church" "cannot find any further traces of sin in man, so soon as his spirit has been averted from the creature, and hath turned to God." Such a justification we should not call any more complete than Moehler can see in the justification of Calvinists and Lutherans, when, speaking of Calvinistic and Lutheran saints, he says, (p. 197,) "A singular saint, forsooth, who seeks his own interest, and not Christ's glory! Equally strange is the combination of ideas when we are required to conceive an immodest or avaricious saint; for, according to the laws of logic, the predicate destroys the subject." But equally strange, most assuredly, say we, is that combination of ideas, which requires us to believe that sin is *extirpated*, while, nevertheless, it is so in the system, that there is imminent danger of its penetrating to the inmost soul. And yet this is Romish justification, according to the statement of this its most plausible advocate. How different, how truly complete, is that view of justification, which is presented by the Catholic Church of England and America, which at once declares the completeness of justification on the part of God, without compromising the interests of holiness, or denying the plainest facts in the spiritual history and condition of regenerate man. This view of Justification declares it to be a Forensic act on the part of God, acquitting the sinner and receiving him into favor, while, at the same time, in the declaration that this Justification is granted to none, but those who possess a lively or fruitful faith, which works by love, and purifies the heart, it shows that the gift of Justification is inseparable from that of the Sanctifying Spirit. It does not, as the Romish Church does, *sink* the act of deliverance from condemnation in the act of imparting the principle of holiness, but gives due and distinct importance to each of these gifts, or rather, presents them clearly as the two-fold aspect of that one gift of the Spirit, who, at the same time, justifies, and imparts to the justified the principle of sanctification. It does not mar the gift of God, but sets it forth in that distinctness of each of its parts, and yet that inseparable conjunction of the parts, which show its completeness and its beauty. And then that "infection of nature," which "doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerated," it acknowledges, as a plain fact of spiritual history open to observation, as well as declared by revelation, and from these remains of concupiscence, it deduces that struggle which is described in Scripture, as the great conflict of the Christian life, in the gradual advancement of Christian sanctification.

Did the limits of our article allow, we would like to bring the searching light of Scripture to bear upon these two systems of Justification, and show how completely the Romish system removes from view, and merges in sanctification, that Justification which the Scriptures ever connect with sanctification, and yet do not confound with it. We would like to show also the superiority of the true system in its influence of holiness. There is a curious specimen of Moehler's style of philosophizing, however, in his remarks on Justification, which we cannot forbear noticing, especially as it illustrates his systematic concealment of the true ecclesiastical position of the English Church. He says, (p. 188,) "It is worthy of remark, that the Protestants conceive justification to be a thing chiefly external, and the Church to be a thing chiefly internal, so that, in either respect, they are unable to bring about a *permeation* of the inward and the outward. The one, however, determines the other; for, as they consider not justification to be internal, the Church, according to their system, could not become external. When justification is not the inmost property of man, it is then too weak to possess the power to produce a complete effect, and to throw out the invisible into the visible, and consequently to make the inward Church simultaneously and indubitably an outward one. Hence that painful oscillation between the invisible and the visible Church, because justification was not conceived to be an internal thing." This is a piece of philosophizing more subtle than solid. The same style of reasoning might be adapted to any conclusion, according to the fancies of those who should adopt it. Thus we might retort upon Moehler in his own strain, that the Romish system of justification is so *inherent*, that it could never make its way out into visibility, and, on the other hand, that an external justification is, in its own nature, more adapted to an external Church, than one that is internal, which would be most apt to seek its own kind. We should, indeed, be ashamed to use such reasoning except as the child's play of philosophy; but yet, it is as good, as grave, as valid, as that to which we oppose it, being in the very same view of fanciful puerility. But such unsubstantial gossamer philosophy is not unusual with Moehler, who often surrenders himself to an ingenuity that degenerates into inanity, while it talks with all the gravity of the deepest wisdom. We have noticed this tendency of his, to talk nonsense in the tones and big words of philosophy, because it is, in him, really the artifice of a superior mind to entrap those who are captivated by what they think deep, simply because it is unmeaning, or unintelligible, or

in the pompous attire of philosophy. In fact, the above piece of philosophizing utterly disappears before a presentation of the real truth of the case. The Justification which we receive from God, is, according to the teaching of the English and American Churches, sealed, and conveyed, and made visible, through the Sacrament of Baptism, a Sacrament over which the Spirit presides, and which the Spirit invigorates. So that the visible Church, to which Baptism admits us, and the conveyance of justification to the soul, are both clearly recognized in the teaching of the English Church on the subject of Justification, and the presentation of this teaching by Moehler would have left no room for the piece of fanciful philosophy upon which we have remarked.

We pass to Moehler's remarks upon the Sacraments. In these, he shows an unabashed recklessness of assertion, when he says that the institution of seven Sacraments by Christ, is in accordance with Scripture and the well founded tradition of the Catholic Church, and also of the Greek Church; when it is notorious and capable of demonstration, that the doctrine of the seven Sacraments, as now taught by the Romish Church, was an invention of their schoolmen of the twelfth century, and opposed to the whole teaching of the Ancient Catholic Church on this subject, as has over and over again been shown by the opponents of the Romish doctrine. Indeed, Cassander, one of the Romish Theologians, asserts, "you will hardly find any one of the writers, before Peter Lombard, who maintained any certain and definite number of Sacraments," the word Sacrament being often applied, during the first eleven centuries, not merely to the two Sacraments instituted by Christ our Lord in the Gospel, but to any sacred rite or object. But this cool assumption of facts, which the history of the Church disowns and disproves, is very usual with Moehler. Thus he says, (p. 254,) "The Protestants," "with their wonted arrogance, have rejected the dogma of purgatory, *so well founded as it is in tradition*," when writers of the Romish Church, as Cardinal Fisher and Alphonsus a Castro, have admitted that "Aliquandiu purgatorium incognitum fuit, sero cognitum universae Ecclesiae," and "usque ad hodiernum diem, purgatorium non est a Graecis creditum." And the whole tenor of the prayers for the dead in the Ancient Church, as well as the teachings of its earliest writers on the state of the departed, show that purgatory was a doctrine wholly unknown and unrecognized. In comparison with the arrogance of this assertion of Moehler, the highest "arrogance" he could attribute to "the Protestants," is perfect modesty. Again, with

the same coolness and seeming naiveté, he asserts, (p. 310.) "According to the clear declarations of Christ and his Apostles, and the unanimous teaching of the Church, attested by the immediate followers of our Lord's disciples, Catholics firmly hold that in the Sacrament of the altar, Christ is truly present, and indeed in such a way, that Almighty God, who was pleased at Cana, in Galilee, to convert water into wine, changes the inward substance of the consecrated bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ." He refers for the maintenance of this assertion, to the Council of Trent, as, in vain, would he appeal, for its substantiation, to the testimonies of the Ancient Church. Again, he says of transubstantiation, (p. 320,) "This doctrine, which most undoubtedly was at all times prevalent in the Church, though at one time more clearly, at another less clearly expressed, according as occasion seemed to require, was, in the Middle Age, laid down as a formal dogma." These are specimens of the insidious manner in which he weaves into the texture of his plausible statements of Romish doctrine, the most palpable misstatements of the teaching of the Ancient Church, and thus seeks to obtain for Romish Doctrine a support from reference to the Ancient Church, which the slightest examination of testimonies would sweep away.

But to return to Moehler's view of the sacraments. He does not fairly and fully represent the Romish view of the *opus operatum* of the sacraments, as that view is brought out even by the Council of Trent. That Council teaches expressly* that Attrition, which, it says, is "imperfect Contrition," and is the act of a person who has not the Holy Ghost "indwelling," is, nevertheless, sufficient to dispose him to obtain the grace of God in the sacrament of Penance. Here, certainly, the efficacy of sacraments, without a religious disposition that comes up to the requirements of God, is taught. And, throughout, in his view of the seven sacraments, Moehler represents them as means of permeating the whole "earthly being" of man with "the heavenly element," and as being insufficient for this purpose, unless they are seven in number, and applied at the beginning, middle, and end of our human existence. He represents them as extirpating, casting out sin, which yet ever seeks to return, and needs, at last, to be finally ejected, in spite of all previous expulsions, by Extreme Unction, (p. 289,) "and this, especially in the approaching dissolution of the bond between body and soul, never fails of its effect." Does not this

* *Scem. XIV, Cap. IV.*

teaching subject the whole life of man to a series of charms, which are declared to be most effective, but which must, nevertheless, be constantly used, and, at last, consummated by a charm, which finishes an extirpation that is said, notwithstanding, to have been wrought by those which preceded it, while the utmost coöperation, that is absolutely necessary in man, is that "imperfect Contrition which is called Attrition?" Such is the system of sacraments, upon which Moehler expatiates in the most glowing terms. As usual, he leaves out of view the teaching of the English Church, which sets forth the two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel as efficacious instruments of divine grace, but whose efficacy to individuals is made dependent upon their possession of faith and repentance, upon their sincere endeavors to appropriate and carry out in their lives the grace proffered them in the sacraments. This view represents the sacraments, not as charms, which extirpate and yet do not extirpate sin, but as means by which the Divine Spirit furnishes the grace, which actually eradicates sin and causes the growth of holiness in those who, under His guidance, are walking in the way everlasting. It takes the appointments of Christ, as He has delivered them, and holds these to be sufficient, and strives to value and use them as those who must give account of the talents entrusted to them, and does not, in a presumptuous spirit of Rationalism, crowd the life of man with a series of imagined charms, which, in reality, cause him to relax his faithful endeavors in the work of his sanctification.

Moehler's view of the Eucharist is one of the most artful portions of his book. He gives an eloquent and captivating description of the presence of Christ with His people in all ages of His Church, and of that presence as especially manifested in the sacrament of the Altar. He refers to the representative sacrifice of the ancient liturgies, and then quietly and almost imperceptibly, though most unwarrantably, identifies this commemorative sacrifice with that real propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, which the Council of Trent* asserts to be offered upon the altar at the celebration of the Eucharist. As quietly and as unwarrantably does he identify, in his account of the Eucharist, the real spiritual presence of Christ, as it was held in the ancient Church, with the modern Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation. And, in the face of all history, as has been demonstrated by Daillé and Whitby, he asserts the adoration of the host to have been a practice of the Church in the

* *Seem. XXII, Cap. II.*

days when the Liturgy was in use, which bears the name of St. Chrysostom, and quotes a passage from that Liturgy, which does *not* prove his assertion; a passage in which worship is addressed to God, "O God, be propitious to me, a sinner," but not to the sacrament. Cardinal Bona admits that the practice of elevating the host, which preceded that of adoration, cannot be traced in the Latin Church higher than the eleventh or twelfth century, and Germanus, who lived in the thirteenth century,* "is the first that mentions this elevation among the Greeks, without any notice of adoration." "He says, it was to represent our Saviour's elevation upon the cross, and his dying there, together with his rising from the dead." Durandus, who lived in the thirteenth century, is the first writer who mentions the adoration of the host as a practice of the Church.

Moehler has a most curious philosophical account of the original of the "formal dogma" of transubstantiation. He says that it was laid down in the Middle Age, in opposition to (p. 321) "a false pantheistic mysticism," which "confounded the distinctions between the human and the divine, and identified the Father with the world, the Son of God with the eternal idea of man, and the Holy Ghost with religious feelings. Several Gnostic sects, and afterwards, Amalrich of Chartres and David of Dinaut, inculcated these errors. They regarded the historical revelation of God in Christ Jesus as a self-revelation of man, and the sacraments were, therefore, in the eyes of these people, nought else than what man chose of himself to attribute to them. Hence, they rejected them as useless; and, identifying with God the energies of the world, they conceived it singular that those powers, which in themselves were thoroughly divine, should receive, from any external cause, a divine nature or property. In this conjuncture of time, it appeared necessary to point out more clearly than had been done at any previous period, the primitive doctrine that had been handed down, and to set it in the strongest light with all the consequences deducible from it. The doctrine of a change of *substance* in created powers, to be applied as a divine and sanctifying nourishment of the spirit, most clearly established the opposition of Christianity to the fundamental tenet of these sects, which took so much pleasure in the world as to confound it with the Divinity; failing to observe that, through the creative energy of the Redeemer only could a new world be called into existence, and that, consequently, it was impossible for him to be engendered by the world!" This is one of those

* Bingham, XV, Cap. V, Sec. 4.

precious pieces of philosophizing, which we noticed above. For ourselves, we cannot see what difficulty sects, which believed in the Divinity of the World, could have found in the manifestation of Divinity in the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist; and, in fact, we learn from the statements of the Council of Paris, (A. D. 1209,) that these very people, whom Moehler mentions, did believe the Body and Blood of Christ to be under the visible forms of Bread and Wine in the sacrament, and that the words of consecration were declaratory of this fact. Nor can we see that their error would be eradicated by teaching them that Bread and Wine could become the Divinity, and that it was lawful for them to adore a sacrament,* which was only an appearance destitute of the substance, of which it is the appearance. Such a remedy is like the cure of superstition by infidelity; it is the cure of Pantheism by idolatry, or by the worship of a "*Deus factus*." The difference between these "Gnostics" and the "Catholics," who would find a remedy for their heresies, is, according to Moehler's own philosophy, the difference between "*creatum a Deo adorant*" and "*quem creant adorant*." Both worship creatures, but the Romanists, the creature of their own vain imaginations. The sentence with which Moehler concludes his account of Transubstantiation, is an affecting proof of the bondage in which the Church of Rome holds the people of Christ, in defiance, as the Council of Constance admits in its own decree, of the institution of Christ and the practice of the primitive Church. It is this, (p. 323 :) "However, we should rejoice, if it were left free to each one to drink or not of the consecrated chalice: and this permission would be granted, if with the same love and concord, an universal desire were expressed for the use of the cup, as, from the twelfth century the contrary wish has been enounced."

In his account of Protestant views of the Eucharist, he not only conceals, but he misrepresents the view of the English Church. He represents Calvin as pursuing a middle course between the Saxon and Helvetic opinions on this subject. Calvin, he says, (p. 325,) "taught that the body of Christ is truly present in the Lord's Supper, and that the believer partook of it. But he only meant that, simultaneously with the bodily participation of the material elements, which in every respect remained what they were, and merely signified the body and blood of Christ, a power, emanating from the body of Christ, which is now in heaven only, is communicated to

* See Council of Trent, Sess. XIII, Cap. V.

the spirit." To this view, Moehler says, "the later Calvinistic formularies of faith adhere." Among these, he classes, in the Note which he appends, the Articles of the English Church, and quotes the twenty-eighth Article. Now the English Church clearly declares the Sacraments to be "effectual signs of grace," "by the which" God "doth work invisibly in us," and "means whereby" "we receive the inward and spiritual grace" which they represent. And of the Eucharist she declares, that God "hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ not only to die for us, but *also* to be our spiritual food and sustenance in that holy Sacrament." This is much more than Moehler allows to her teaching. He had, undoubtedly, a reason for suppressing, in this place, a fair view of her teaching; for a presentation of that teaching would have shown its likeness to that view of the Ancient Church, to which he vainly strives to fit the modern view of the Trentine Council.

Moehler's chapter on the Church is one of the most labored, as well as one of the most sophistical portions of his book. It abounds in eloquent dissertation upon the unity and the unbroken tradition of the Catholic Church, and upon its power for good over the imagination, the reason, and the will of man, and its potency and necessity in the preservation of Christianity and in training Christians for their high, everlasting destiny. And to the truth and correctness of what he says about the Catholic Church, which has come down to us from the days of the Apostles, and brought with it, down the ages, the tradition of their doctrine, a tradition which will bear the test of Vincentius, "*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,*" we assent, as well as yield our tribute of admiration to the eloquence with which Moehler sets forth the agency of the Catholic Church in the preservation of truth and the promotion of holiness. But we except to the *application*, which he makes of his eloquent description of the Catholic Church and her universal apostolic tradition. And any one, who, in reading this chapter of his work, will bear in mind and notice this application, will, at each turning point of his argument, continually discern its one grand and fatal fallacy. He magnifies the authority of the Church, which has come down to us from the Apostles, *bringing with it from them its teaching*, and upon the ground, that *this* Church was appointed by the Saviour for the transmission of His Truth and the edification of His people, calls upon us to recognize, without limitation, the authority of the *Romish Church*, and to receive her Decrees as those of a Church which is infallible, *thus quietly taking it for granted* that the Romish Church, as represented by the Council of Trent, is in the line of ancient Tradition,

and does but set forth the teaching of the Church of all ages. We are not, according to his statements, at liberty to inquire whether the Romish Church, in her Trentine Decrees, (and we would add, her creed of Pope Pius,) does fairly deliver to us the ancient teaching of the Church,—we are not at liberty to inquire whether she, as Moehler says the English Church has done, has “broken off the chain of tradition” by her Trentine Decrees and her Modern Creed. That, according to him, is not an open question. He says, (p. 379,) “The dogmatic decrees of the episcopacy, (united with the general head and centre,) are infallible; for it represents the Universal Church, and one doctrine of faith, falsely explained by it, would render the whole a prey to error. Hence, as the institution which Christ hath established for the preservation and the explanation of His doctrines, is subject, in this, its function, to no error; so the organ through which the Church speaks, is also exempt from error.” And again, he says, (p. 406,) “Hence, the ecclesiastical traditional principle is this: such and such a doctrine,—for instance, the Divinity of Christ,—is a Christian Evangelical truth, because the Church, the institution invested with authority from Christ, declares it to be his doctrine;—not because such or such an individual subjectively holds it, as the result of his scriptural reading, for a Christian truth.” And again, “In itself, therefore, and without any other medium, the Bible cannot be considered, by the Church, as a rule of faith: on the contrary, the doctrine of the Church is the rule, whereby the Scripture must be investigated.” It must be confessed that all this is very explicit. The Decrees of Trent, which, with Moehler, are “the dogmatic decrees of the episcopacy united with the general head and centre,” are infallible. They, without further inquiry, are to be received as the Tradition of the Catholic Church, and, according to them, must we understand the Scripture. And this is the grand conclusion of all his magnificent description of the Ancient Catholic Church and its tradition. All that we are to know of this tradition is to be found in the present consciousness and the authoritative declaration of the Episcopacy and the Pope of Rome, that *her* figments *are* that tradition, and in this consciousness and declaration there is infallibility. Truly of such premises and such a conclusion, we may say, “*Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus.*”

Moehler says distinctly that the Catholic Church, meaning the Roman Church and those Churches in its Communion, for he recognizes no other, does not inquire, in making her decrees, what past tradition has been, or what the Scripture says, for

of tradition and Scripture, her own living, present consciousness, without further consultation, assures her. (P. 367 :) "The certainty, which she has of the truth of her own doctrines, is an immediate one, for she received her dogmas from the lips of Christ and the Apostles; and by the power of the Divine Spirit, they are indelibly stamped on her consciousness, or, as Irenæus expresses it, on her heart. If the Church were to endeavor, by learned investigation, to seek her doctrines, she would fall into the most absurd inconsistency and annihilate her very self. For, as it would be the Church that should institute the inquiry, her existence would be presupposed; and yet, as she would have first to find out her own being, the thing, whereby and wherein she absolutely consists, namely, Divine Truth, her non-existence must at the same time be presupposed! She would have to go in search of herself, and this a madman only could do: she would be like the man that would examine the papers written by himself, in order to discover whether he really existed! The essential matter of Holy Writ, is eternally present in the Church, because it is her heart's blood,—her breath,—her soul,—her all. She exists only by Christ, and yet she must have to find him out! Whoever seriously reflects on the signification of those words of Christ, 'I am with ye even to the consummation of the world,' will be able to conceive at least the view which the Catholic Church takes of herself." And that view, we should say, is a very comforting one to self-sufficiency, even as much so, as Moehler represents the "inward witness" of the Lutherans to be to those who believe in it. Of this he says, (p. 381,) "But, this inward witness possesses a very decided advantage over the outward one. *Being the organ of the latter*, he is too inclined, in his narrative, to substitute his own pretended internal perceptions, for the testimony of the voucher, who stands by his side; and persuades himself that he is but faithfully relating what he had learned from without, when he has been listening only to himself, and in this wise has thrown every thing into confusion," just as Moehler would persuade us that the Romish Church is the Interpreter of ancient tradition and Holy Writ, when she only utters the "consciousness" of her Trent cabal, whose decrees have been the source of a disunion in the Church of God, which seems incurable, and which have not allayed, even in the Romish Communion, controversies on matters which are treated by the combatants as *de fide*. Between this "ecclesiastical consciousness" of the Trent cabal and the "inward perceptions," as Moehler represents them of the individual Lutheran, there is a middle ground; and it is

the ground of that Church, which not only praises ancient tradition, but consults it, which not only exalts Holy Writ, but studies it, that its teachings may be preserved, and which, like the Ancient Church, investigates questions that new controversies present, in the light of Scripture and of Catholic Tradition as an aid for the understanding of Scripture, and only as it follows these, claims acceptance for its determinations. When the Catholic Church develops herself in accordance with the divinely appointed Law of her Life, Scripture, and Catholic Tradition, and so far as she does this, she can appropriate the Promise, "I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." But her growth, like that of the material body, *depends* upon the observance of the law of her Being. And so any one of her branches may look for health and growth in the proportion in which it observes the law of the Church's life. But a development like that of Rome, who arbitrarily separates herself from the communion of her sisters of the Catholic family, and proclaims herself the Catholic Church, and follows her own self-devised laws of life, not acknowledging the supremacy of the Law of the Church's Living Head, cannot be other than a development of disease and death; and the appropriation, under such circumstances, of the Divine Promise, which Moehler quotes, is a Presumption which is the Precursor of Judicial blindness. Moehler tells us that, if Rome should investigate Holy Writ and Ancient Tradition, "she would have to go in search of herself, and this a madman only could do." She would indeed then find her ancient self, when she was the light of Christendom, because she was a true exponent of Scripture and Catholic Tradition, and this would be the course of true and holy wisdom, though if her heart be set upon retaining her Trentine Decrees and her Trentine Creed, it would be "midsummer madness" to go in search of herself in the light of that Ancient Teaching, with which Moehler would fain confound the teachings of the days of Trent and Pius IV.

It must, from what has been said, be sufficiently plain, that, by the Catholic Church, Moehler means the present Romish Church, which, the Council of Trent says, is the Mother and Mistress of all Churches,* or, what is the same thing with him, "the episcopacy united with the general head and centre," that is, the Trent cabal, or any like Council. Bearing this in mind, the following passages display most fearfully the blasphemous arrogance of the Church, which he advocates. He

* Scas. XXV.

says, (p. 340,) "*On the other hand, the authority of the Church is the medium of all, which in the Christian religion resteth on authority, and is authority, that is to say, the Christian religion itself; so that Christ himself is only in so far an authority, as the Church is an authority.*" (The italics are his.) Such language, in regard to the Catholic Church of all ages, would be fearful; but applied to the Romish Church, as his argumentation shows he means it to be, it is Blasphemy, from which even an advocate of her, whose Name is Blasphemy, might shrink. Again he says, (the italics are his,) "If the Church be not the Authority representing Christ, then all again relapses into darkness, uncertainty, doubt, distraction, unbelief, and superstition; *revelation becomes null and void, fails of its real purpose, and must henceforth be even called in question, and finally denied.*" As above, we say, he has in view here the Romish Church; for, to uphold that, his whole argument is constructed, and he makes an assertion directly the reverse of the fact; for, it has been shown, and might here be shown, did our particular object allow, that the *Romish Church* has been the fruitful Parent of Infidelity. Among her people it has been widely spread, and many avowed Infidels have been in the ranks of her Priesthood. Unbelief is the natural result of the false teachings, and corrupt worship, and Jesuitical casuistry of Rome, and of her claim to coin new doctrines under the specious pretense of development. It is blasphemous to say, as Moehler does, that the life of Christianity is bound up in the same bundle with that of the Trentine Decrees. And again he says, having in view, of course, the Romish Church, that the miracles of Christ broke the prescription of ancient error, and that the maintenance of the dispensation founded by these miracles is necessary to keep up belief in the miracles, (p. 342,) "the Church is conscious of owing her very existence to those miracles, and without them cannot at all conceive herself. Hence the fact again, that together with the authority founded by these extraordinary works of God, faith, too, in these works, ever simultaneously disappears." Undoubtedly, if *the Church* were extinguished, men would forget the miracles of Christ,—but the false claims of the *Romish Church* to miraculous power, have had no small influence in discrediting the genuine miracles of our Saviour Christ.

Moehler makes these arrogant assumptions, for the advantage of the Church of Rome, in the very midst of his eloquent descriptions of the glorious, holy, healthful influence of the Church, which has come down, in unbroken succession of

faith and institutions, from the Apostolic day, and then quietly *takes for granted* the minor premise of his syllogism, which *he suppresses*, that the Church of *Rome* is this Church which he has described, and thus seeks to insinuate into the unconscious mind of his reader, reverence for the authority of the Romish Church. This artful substitution of an article most different from that, which has been described,—of the Church of Rome for the Ancient Catholic Church,—of transubstantiation for the real presence held in the ancient Church,—of seven sacraments ordained by Christ for sacraments, in that general sense, in which the Ancient Church called any sacred rite,—such as exorcism, the salt given to Catechumens before Baptism, and the sign of the cross,—a sacrament ; this change in the conclusion of what had been stated in the premise, or, which is the same thing, this *assumption* of the suppressed premise that the Romish Church is the same with the Universal Church of all ages,—is a most unworthy juggle, not a whit more honest or respectable than the substitution, in the mock auctions, of which we read, of a worthless article in the delivery, for the valuable one that was exhibited to tempt the bidder. The Church of Rome, which, as appears from Mochler's own statements above quoted, is the Church he means, in his whole argument, to recommend, is a most cruel mockery and caricature of that, upon which, in his glowing eloquence, he expatiates. How different, for example, was the reality of the hollow truce, at the Council of Florence, between the East and West, a truce brought about by chicanery, force, and bribery, and indignantly rejected by the whole Eastern Church, from the description, which Mochler gives of it, as an actual healing of a schism of centuries, and from his adduction of the magniloquent language of gratulation used by Pope Eugenius on that occasion. Even such, is the Catholicity of Trent to the true, high, glorious, ancient Catholicity, of which it vaunts itself the Descendant and the Representative, claiming to comprehend all the past in *its* present, to be the ever-during *Now* of Christianity upon earth.

And yet Mochler will admit the practical corruption of "priests, bishops, and popes," in times past. His language is strong on this subject. (P. 349 :) "Never would a system of doctrine like theirs (the Protestants') have sprung up, still less have obtained such wide diffusion, had individual teachers and priests been faithful to the duties of their calling. Truly, the ignorance could not have been slight, on which a system of faith like that of the Reformers, was imposed as worthy of acceptance ; and thus Protestants may learn to estimate the

magnitude of the evil, which then oppressed the Church, by the magnitude of the errors into which they themselves have fallen. This is the point at which Catholics and Protestants will, in great multitudes, one day meet, and stretch a friendly hand one to the other. Both, conscious of guilt, must exclaim, "We all have erred—it is the Church only which cannot err; we all have sinned—the Church only is spotless on earth." That is, the solution of the present distracted state of Christendom will be the general acceptance of a Church, "the Mother and Mistress of all Churches," which, according to the statements of this her skillful advocate, acknowledges no rule, because *she* has the Spirit, and her rule is always present in her heart, and what, by her proper organ, she says, is infallibly true; and to this must bow the thoughts of men, their inquiries, all Ancient Tradition and Holy Writ; and even "*Christ himself is only in so far an authority, as the Church* (that is, the Church of Trent) *is an authority!*" From *such* a solution, which annihilates the responsibility of man to his Maker, and disowns the guides which God has given to His Church upon earth, from such thralldom to the arrogant assumption of a political cabal of the sixteenth century, from a Creed, which declares that, without such a faith there can be no salvation, "Good Lord deliver us," and all thy afflicted people, who are in those galling bonds of error and blasphemy.

But the possibility that the Trentine dogmas might not appear to be coincident with the ancient tradition of the Church *did* flit across the mind of Moehler, and he has endeavored to bridge over the gap between ancient tradition and the teaching of Trent. His bridge is the famed one of development. (P. 361 :) "For, every thing, that the human mind hath received from an external source, and which is destined to become its property, wherein it must find itself perfectly at home, must first be reproduced by the human mind itself. The original doctrine, as the human mind had variously elaborated it, exhibited itself in a much altered form; it remained the original, and yet did not; it was the same in substance, and yet differed as to form. In this process of the development of the Divine Word, during the Apostolic age, we may exalt as high, and extend as wide as we please the divine guidance, given to the disciples of Christ; yet certainly, without human coöperation, without the peculiar activity of man, it did not advance of itself. As in the good work of the Christian, free-will and grace pervade each other, and one and the same undivided deed is at once divine and human, so we find this to be the case here." We remark upon this passage from Moehler, that

the reproduction of the original doctrine by the human mind, the conception, the elaboration of it by the human mind is not the same thing with the original doctrine itself, and unless the reproduction or elaboration proceeds under the inspiration of the Spirit, its statements and results have no more authority than they derive from their true and real dependence upon the doctrine, about which they are employed. The Apostles and writers of Scripture, elaborated Christian doctrine under the inspiration of the Spirit, and, of course, their statements have the authority of revelation. The determinations of the Nicene Council about the person of Christ, are deduced from the doctrine laid down by the Apostles, and are *in* that doctrine, and they are therefore to be received as Articles of the Faith, being proved by the statements of the inspired writers.

Moehler, after the passage above quoted, goes on to say, "The same could not fail to hold good, even after the death of the Apostles, even after the Gospels and the Epistles were written; and whatever else we include in the canon of the New Testament, were already in the hands of the faithful. When, in the manner described, the Church explains and secures the original doctrine of faith against misrepresentations, the Apostolic expression is necessarily changed for another, which is the most fitted alike clearly to set forth and reject the particular error of the time. As little as the Apostles themselves, in the course of their polemics, could retain the form wherein the Saviour expounded His divine doctrine; so little was the Church enabled to adhere to the same. If the evangelical doctrine be assailed by a definite theological system, and a terminology peculiar to itself; the false notions cannot by any means be repelled in a clear, distinct, evident, and intelligible manner, unless the Church have regard to the form of the error, and exhibit its thesis in a shape, qualified by the garb, wherein the adverse doctrine is invested, and thus render itself intelligible to all cotemporaries. The origin of the Nicene formula furnishes the best solution to this question. This form is in itself the human, the temporal, the perishable element, and might be exchanged for a hundred others. Accordingly, tradition often hands down to later generations, the original deposit in another form, because that deposit hath been entrusted to the care of men, whose conduct must be guided by the circumstances wherein they are placed." This is clear, admirable, and true. But in adapting the form of doctrine to changing circumstances, the Church must hold inviolate the doctrine, and must therefore ever use and consult the means for preserving and ascertaining it, Scripture and universal tra-

dition of the truth of Scripture, which God has provided. But Moehler, as usual, goes on to make an application of the train of just remark above quoted to a most illegitimate purpose. He says, "Lastly, in the same manner as in the Apostolic writings, the truths of salvation are laid open with greater clearness, and in all their mutual organic connexion; so, in the doctrine of the Church, the doctrine of Scripture is ever progressively unfolded to our view. Dull, therefore, as it is, to find any other than a mere *formal* distinction between the doctrine of Christ and that of his Apostles; no less senseless is it, to discover any other difference between the primitive and the later tradition of the Church. The blame of this formal difference arises from overlooking the fact, that Christ was a God-Man, and wished to continue working in a manner conformable to his two-fold nature." This, at least, is *plain*. There is no more difference between the traditions of Trent and those of the Ancient Church, of Nice, of Ephesus and of Chalcedon; there is no more difference between the creed of Pius IV, and the creed of that General Council, which forbade, under penalty of deprivation, if they were clergymen, and anathema, if they were laymen, * "any one to set forth, write, or compose any other creed than that which was determined by the Holy Fathers at Nice in the Holy Ghost, * * or adduce, or present it to those who are willing to be converted to the knowledge of the truth, either from heathenism or Judaism, or any heresy whatsoever," than there is between the doctrine of Christ's own lips, and the teaching of his Apostles! Of what arrogance of assertion are these men of Trent incapable? To what lengths will they not go in the maintenance of their false position? If that position had been seen by the General Council of Ephesus, it could not have been more clearly indicated and condemned than it is in the decree above quoted. It is of such a position that Moehler says, that those who do not admit it to be primitive in essence, and different only in form from that of the Ancient Church, fall into their mistake from overlooking the truth of our Lord's Incarnation! "O Deus in quæ tempora nos reservasti," when men annex such monstrosities to the holy central truths of our religion. After this assertion, Moehler goes on to say, that as "the expositions of Paul touching faith and the power of the Gospel," were occasioned by "the unenlightened zeal of the Jewish Christians for the law," as we must attribute to "the schisms in Corinth," Paul's "explanation of principles, in respect to the

* Council of Ephesus, Act 6.

Church," as "the Gnostic and Manichean errors led to a clearer insight" into several specified doctrines, as "the Pelagian contest" opened up a clearer view of much important truth, so "Catholics" have gained by the errors of Protestants, and, since the council of Trent, have stood on a more shining summit of Christian knowledge, than even *they* had attained before! *Macte virtute puer*,—was the exhortation of the old Roman to one who was on a similar progress with that of the Romish Church in the days of Trent. It requires more than the assertion of Moehler to establish any connexion of the baleful fruit of Trent with the root and fatness of the tree, which Christ hath planted, or to show that the Trentine development is *like* that development of the doctrine of the Apostles and Evangelists from the Divine word, and of true Catholic Teaching from the doctrine of the Apostles and Evangelists, to which he compares it. The difference of the two kinds of Development, is well explained by Vincentius Lirinensis. * "It is right and consistent that of the increase of wheaten teaching, we should reap a harvest of wheaten doctrine, the last and the first thus not differing between themselves. So that when in course of time any of those original seeds germinates and puts forth and is cultivated, there is notwithstanding no change in the properties of the germ; there may be additions to its form, appearance, and distinguishing characteristics, but it retains the same nature of its kind, whatever that may be. For God forbid, that those rose plants of Catholic sentiments should be changed into thistles and thorns," (as they were at Trent.) "God forbid, I say, that in that spiritual paradise, from stocks of cinnamon and balsam, darnel and aconite should be suddenly found to shoot," (as in the creed of Pius appended to the Nicene creed.) * * * * "For that those primitive doctrines of the heavenly philosophy should, in process of time, be more neatly dressed out, trimmed and polished, is admissible; but not so, that they should be altered." Moehler first captivates us with a view of the growth of † "the seed of wheat in the field of the Church," of "the rose plants of Catholic sentiments," and then exhibits, as specimens of this culture, those "thistles and thorns," the Decrees of Trent. He speaks of the "dressing out, trimming, and polishing of the heavenly philosophy," and then shows as the result, the *new* and vain wisdom of the Innovators of that Romish Council. He quotes the caution of Vincent, that there should be "*progress* of the faith, not *change*," and then produces to illustrate this "*progress*," the

* Common, Cap. XXIII.

† Vincentius.

tamperings of the Trentine Fathers with holy, ancient truth. He concludes his section on Development by asserting (p. 363) "the necessity of a living, visible authority which in every dispute can with certainty discern the truth, and separate it from error." But it will be more than any Romish controversialist has yet adduced, which would persuade us to surrender ourselves to an authority that avowedly shuts its eyes to the outward light, in which itself professes to walk, because it declares that this light is in itself, and which requires us blindfolded to follow its guidance. Such is the position which Moehler himself assigns to the Church. We decline submission to such authority, because our Lord has cautioned us against blind leaders of the blind.

Moehler is singularly disingenuous in the view which he presents of the state of the departed, of Purgatory and of the Invocation of Saints and Angels, according to the doctrine of the Romish Church. He represents purgatory as a necessary consequence of the Romish doctrine of justification, since there must be, here or hereafter, that complete purification, which the Justified must attain before admission into heaven. He is obliged, also, to hint at Purgatory as a place of "punishment," but he keeps in the background the teaching of Trent,* that, in the temporal penalties, which are due after the eternal punishment of sin is remitted in the sacrament of penance, *we make a satisfaction for sins like that of Christ*, ("dum satisfaciendo patimur pro peccatis, Christo Jesu, qui pro peccatis nostris satisfecit, ex quo omnis nostra sufficientia est, conformes efficimur," are the words of the Council;) he leaves out of view also the universal teaching of the Romish schools, that the pains of Purgatory are the satisfaction, by the Justified, of those penalties, which have not been remitted, by the blood of Christ, in the absolution of the Penitent. That is, the blood of Christ is not a sufficing satisfaction for sin, (though the Council of Trent *says*, "all our sufficiency is from him," in the very sentence in which it declares the necessity of other satisfaction in addition to his,) but those, who have received the benefit of his satisfaction, must still make up for its deficiencies by satisfactions of their own, either in this world, or in purgatorial fire. There is no wonder that Moehler shrunk from the avowal and the defense of this teaching, which is undoubtedly the teaching of the theologians of his Church. Indeed he so artfully weaves together in his statement, the *purifying* and the *punitive* character of Purgatory, giving by

* *Sess. XIV, Cap. VIII.*

far the greatest prominence to the former, as well nigh to hide this teaching so hard to defend. He defends the practice of masses and prayers for souls in Purgatory, and he says, (p. 419,) "this custom may be proved to have been authorized by the practice of the primitive Church; and is, accordingly, revered by us as an Apostolic tradition." There is effrontery, indeed, in this assertion,—for he well knew that the prayers of the Ancient Church were for the Virgin Mary, for Prophets, Apostles and Saints, who were believed, and whom the Romish Church believes, to have been in rest and peace; and that these prayers did not at all contemplate those for whom they were offered, as being in a state of suffering. Purgatory we have seen to have been admitted by distinguished Romish writers as of late introduction in the Church. Moehler says, "as to the mode of punishment, and the place which Purgatory occupies, the Church teaches nothing further; for she has, on this point, received no special revelations; and when we use the expression, 'Purifying fire,' we employ it only in the usual figurative sense." He knew that the representation of the fire of Purgatory as fire differing only in duration from that of Hell, pervades the writings of the standard theologians of Rome. Bouvier, Bishop of Mans, writes, "the constant belief of the Latins is, that there is in Purgatory a material fire like the fire of Hell. Natalis Alexander says, "*According to the more probable opinion received by the Church*, the fire of Purgatory is real and corporeal, and nevertheless tortures incorporeal souls," and Benedict XIV says, "the Church, in that anthem or offertory in Masses for the dead, means the punishments of Purgatory; and calls Purgatory, Hell, because there is the same fire in both places." Moehler knew also, that Cardinal Perrone but expresses the universal belief of Romanists, when he says "that some of those things," which "do not pertain to faith," although they be not defined, cannot be rejected without a mark of temerity; since not only the *common doctrine of theologians* concerning them, (from which it is unlawful for any discreet Catholic to depart without most weighty reason,) is sufficiently known; but also *the sense of the Church herself*, especially with reference to the severity of the punishments with which souls are tortured in Purgatory." And we have seen that Moehler himself admits that a doctrine generally received among theologians, may be grounded in the whole Catholic System, without a formal sanction from the Church. Now the Roman theologians generally receive the doctrine that the punishments of Purgatory are the same with those of Hell, duration only excepted, and they tell us that this is the more

probable opinion received by the Church ; and notwithstanding all this, Moehler tells us, "when *we*, (that is, Romanists,) use the expression 'purifying fire,' we employ it *only* in the usual figurative sense." The exposure of this statement would not be worth the space we have bestowed upon it, did it not plainly illustrate how reckless, and unscrupulous, and utterly unworthy of credence, Moehler is, in his controversial statements. He certainly renders apparent *his* belief, that the doctrine that the Justified must be subjected to punishments, the same in nature with those of Hell, as an expiation of offences, for which Christ's satisfaction has not removed all liability, as "a revenge and chastisement for past sins," (to use the language of the Council of Trent,) from the full consequences of which, Justification by Christ has not delivered us, was a doctrine difficult to maintain, and that "the better part of valor" in this case was "discretion."

Equally disingenuous is he on the subject of the Invocation of Saints, or, to use his own words, on "the intercourse subsisting between us and the triumphant church." He declares that, to intercession on the part of the Saints for us, answers invocation for that intercession on our part ; and that both are the result of our union in Christ, and redound to His glory. This is, in brief, his representation. He entirely leaves out of view the addresses to the Saints sanctioned by Bulls of Indulgence, and those contained in the Breviary, the Missal, and in popular books of devotion, and which have often been adduced, which do not merely ask Saints, and Angels, and the Virgin Mary, to intercede for us, but ask them directly for grace, for pardon, for protection, as God only should be asked. Moehler does not dare to mention or defend these, and yet he is in a position, in which he could not attack or condemn them, because they are authorized by his Church. We quote the language of Palmer to Wiseman, which represents the position of every Romish Controversialist on this subject. "Romanists are continually assuring us, that they only invoke the Saints to "pray for us" to God, and that they are, therefore, most unjustly accused of idolatrous practices. I showed that it is an *authorized* practice in your Communion, to pray to the Saints in the very terms in which God is addressed ; to offer them Divine honors, to regard them as fountains of grace ; to place religious trust and confidence in them ; to set them, in every respect, on a level with God. You had repudiated all such imputations ; but when they were actually brought home to your Communion, you at once stepped forward to express your approbation of all the most obnoxious expressions and practices that had

been adduced, and to justify them by still more objectionable passages from spurious and forged writings."

The Anglican Church may well maintain that she herself is on true Catholic ground in the rejection, from her services, of all invocations of saints, when, in no liturgy of the Church, as we are assured by liturgical writers, are there invocations of the saints, before the eighth century, and when Councils, such as Laodicea, and Fathers of the early centuries most decidedly reject prayers to any but God, and also expressly reject petitions to saints and angels to intercede for us. Mr. Palmer has shown this clearly in his fifth letter to Dr. Wiseman. And especially may the English Church felicitate herself on the freedom of her liturgical worship, when we have such a declaration as the following from Moehler. (P. 420 :) "Lastly, it is to be borne in mind, that the doctrine of the Church does not declare, that the saints *must*, but only that they *can* be invoked ; since the Council of Trent, in the passage we have cited, says, 'only that it is *useful and salutary*, to invoke with confidence the intercession of the saints.' Of faith in the divinity of Christ, and in his mediatorial office, or in his sanctifying grace, and the like, the Church by no means teaches that it is merely useful and salutary, but that it is absolutely necessary to salvation." Moehler here shows the inconvenience, to his mind, of this practice, but not to say that one could not attend upon and engage in the services of the Romish Church without invoking the saints, he is short of the truth, when he says, that the Council of Trent does not declare that the saints *must* be invoked. That very declaration of Trent, which he cites, says, just below the passage which he cites, "*illos vero, qui negant, sanctos, aeterna felicitate in coelo fruentes, invocandos esse * * * * ** impie sentire," that they, who deny that the saints enjoying eternal happiness in heaven, "*ought to be invoked*, are impious in their opinions ;" the same declaration of the Council also pronounces it "good and useful" to seek not only the prayers of Saints, but also their "aid and assistance," (*ad eorum orationes, opem auxiliumque confugere*), which is more than Moehler attributes to the doctrine of the Council, and which embraces the authorized prayers of the Romish Church that transcend the "*ora pro nobis*." And yet, in this very sentence, the Council, as if it delighted to bring the name of Christ forward in those connections, in which it most derogates from His honor, speaks of Him as "*our only Redeemer and Saviour*," and then goes on to say, that it is "*good and useful to fly to the prayers, aid, and assistance of the saints*,"

"for the purpose of obtaining benefits from God through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who alone is our Redeemer and Saviour!" Truly, the One Mediatorship of Christ seems to be acknowledged by these men of Trent, only to show how boldly, by their decrees, they can set it aside. Thus much for Moehler's assertion that the Council of Trent says "*only* that it is useful and salutary to invoke with confidence the intercession of the Saints." And for his assertion that "the Church" does not teach the doctrine of invocation of Saints as one "absolutely necessary to salvation," it will be sufficient to adduce the Creed of Pope Pius IV, which declares as an article of that "true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved,"—"Sanctos una cum Christo regnantes, *venerandos atque invocandos esse, eosque orationes Deo pro nobis offerre, atque eorum reliquias esse venerandas.*"

With regard to Indulgences, Moehler pursues the same course of concealment, which he does with reference to Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints. He admits, indeed, that the ancient Church, unlike the Romish Church, gave absolution after and not before satisfaction; and this satisfaction, in the ancient Church, was that penance, which was inflicted, in this life, in the discipline of the Church, as a means of preparing penitents for reception again to the privileges of Church communion. In the Romish Church, however, Indulgences are the remission of satisfaction, which is due for sin, *after* the sinner has been released from its eternal penalty by justification in Christ; and practically, these indulgences are made the great motives to acts of devotion, and of benevolence, as well as incitements to the veneration of saints and images and relics. They are thus made to withdraw men from Christ, and to hold before them, as the great consideration of their Christian existence, that satisfaction for sin, which Christ did not make, but which men must perform for themselves. Such is the established system of opinion and practice on this subject in the Romish Church, and Moehler could not deny it. He therefore contents himself with the shuffling remark, (p. 310,) "At a later period, many theologians gave greater extension to the doctrine of Indulgences; but their opinions, *though very well grounded*, have not been declared articles of faith in any formulary of the Church, and, therefore, enter not into the plan of this work. The Council of Trent, *with wise precaution*, decreed no more, than that the Church has the right to grant indulgences, and that these, dispensed with wisdom, are useful."

It seems that* "the honor and veneration due" to "the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God and the other saints," did not enter into the plan of Moehler's work, as he has not once noticed this subject. He probably thought that the declaration of the Council of Trent, that "the honor which is shown to them is referred to the prototypes, which they represent," was a hard one to manage; he probably knew that this declaration has been used by the distinguished theologians of Rome to support the "probable opinion," which they advocate, that *Latria* is due to the images of Christ, of God, of the Trinity, of the Cross, of the Virgin, and to the relics of Christ, of the true Cross, and of the instruments of the Passion; he probably knew that this is an opinion, which no Romish theologian would venture to anathematize; and he certainly knew that the Creed of Pope Pius declares it an article of the "true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved,"—"that the images of Christ, and of the Mother of God, ever Virgin, also of the other Saints, ought to be had and retained, and that due honor and veneration ought to be given to them." No wonder then, that Moehler let entirely alone this subject of the worship of images.

He writes, throughout, as one, who feels that he has a hard cause to defend. Glowing descriptions of ancient truth and of the ancient Church, which are out of place, when applied to the modern definitions and the cabal, which he strives to defend; studious concealment of that Church, which, more than any other on earth, approximates to the ideal, that he draws, and which *follows* the rule that he exhibits only to show how arrogantly his Church can pocket it, as needless for her; an artful confusion of Romish novelties with ancient illustrations and explications, which were developments of *the Truth*; reckless misstatements of the plainest facts of ancient Church History; suppression of the truth about practices of worship and discipline, which it would be dangerous to exhibit, as they are set forth in standard treatises of the Roman schools of theology; a denial of the symbolical authority of a creed, which his Church sets forth, as "the true Catholic faith without which no man can be saved," and of a Catechism which she has provided for the instruction of her members in her doctrine;—and delineations of the theoretical working of the Romish system, which its whole history, the infidelity and immorality and idolatry that follow in its train, disprove in practice,—such is the tissue, such is the staple of Moehler's argumentation. And

* Conc. Triden., Sess. XXV.

it is certainly the line of argument, not of one who is intrenched in Truth, but of one, who has a weak and a difficult cause to defend.

It is hard, and we pity the advocate who undertakes the cause, it is hard to defend a Church, whose Catholicity must be tested by placing the Decrees of Trent and the Creed of Pope Pius in the light of Scripture and ancient tradition ; which has assumed authority over Scripture and ancient tradition, because she proclaims herself Mistress of both ; which has invented sacraments that she dares to stamp with the name of Christ ; which claims authority to mutilate a sacrament of the Lord's appointment, by taking from it an essential part ; which has devised a scheme of satisfaction that draws men away from Christ, and makes them dependant on herself ; which then takes her round of sacraments in her hand, and applies them to her people as charms, which work *ex* opere operato*, assuring them that these applications will avail even to those who exercise an "imperfect contrition," that they avail to the extermination of sin,—and yet, with all the cruelty of a sorceress, she tells them that the efficacy† of these her sacramental charms is suspended upon the "intention" of the celebrating priest to do what the Church does, so that the intention of the priest *not* to do this vitiates the sacrament ; and then she reminds her people that, though sin is "extirpated" in the Justified, it may ever recur, and that, therefore, they must continually resort to these sacraments, which confer grace "*ex opere operato*," and even, *when they are justified*, they must still, for themselves, render penal satisfaction to the Law, and that even, when they have passed into the eternal world, her coffers must be filled, to secure her intervention in the deliverance of their souls from purgatorial fire, a fire which differs, only in duration, from that of Hell. Thus does she strive to keep men under the constant influence of her incantations, making promises, which she herself declares are not performed, giving her children, when they ask bread, a stone, and, for a fish, a serpent. By such traffic, if *she* be the *gainer*, *immortal souls* are the *losers*.

To defend such a Church as this, is a task, which we envy no man. We remember the Church of Rome in the truth, the purity, and the charity of her ancient day, but, when we look at her, as she is seen in the Decrees of Trent, in the Creed of Pius, in the advocacy of Moehler, in her practice and worship,

* Conc. Triden., Sess. VII., Can. VIII., De Sacramentis.

† Conc. Triden., Sess. VII., Can. XI., De Sacramentis.

the exclamation arises, "How is the gold become dim ; how is the most fine gold changed !" Would that she would do what Moehler declares the part of a madman, "*go in search of her self*;" for, it is madness indeed, if she imagines that she is identical with her ancient self. Seeking to return to those days of her golden existence, and using, for this purpose, the guidance she now disowns, she will be received by Him, who "remembers the kindness of her youth, the love of her espousals," and she will then find herself, side by side, one in love and communion with that Church, whose position of true Catholicity her advocates fear, while they studiously endeavor to conceal it and overwhelm it with contempt.

SOCIALISM.

- ART. II.—1. *The Life of Charles Fourier*. By CH. PELLARIN, M. D. New York : Dewitt & Davenport, Tribune Buildings, 1848.
2. *The Organization of Labor and Association*. By MATH. BRIANCOURT. Published at the same place, 1848.
3. *Love in the Phalanstery*. By VICTOR HENNEQUIN. 1849. Same publishers.
4. *Concise Exposition of the Doctrine of Association*. By ALBERT BRISBANE. New York : J. S. Redfield, Clinton Hall, 1847.
5. *French Ideas of Democracy and Community of Goods*. North American Review, Oct. 1849.
6. *Democracy*. London Quarterly Review, July, 1849.

WE have placed at the head of this article, a few, among the very many sources, from which we have gleaned the materials for the following reflections. And sad though the concession may be, and humiliating to the aspirations and conceit of human pride and glory, it is, nevertheless, one which is forced upon us at every step in the process of investigation, how utterly hopeless, and unsatisfactory, and inconclusive, are all mere human speculations, as to the tendency or ultimate results of all social reforms, and especially of those now in progress. The whole social fabric is so wonderful, so mysterious, and at the same time so simple and so quiet in its going forward, that we are hardly conscious of its importance, its bearings, its incomprehensible and inappreciable checks and balances, until its movements are disturbed, its elements confounded, and its multifarious and indispensable offices interrupted.

And it is this wonderful simplicity in the organization of the social machinery, which so readily invites every new experimenter to undertake the remodeling of its construction, the recasting of its proportions and relations, with as little hesitancy or distrust, as he would take down an old chimney or a wornout clock. It is the recklessness and the ignorance of these senseless, stupid manipulators upon the work of the Almighty, which give them their unblushing assurance.

Men do not seem yet to have learned the very first lesson in regard to the works of the Creator, of which social relations, and social progress, are some of the most wonderful and mysterious. They do not yet seem to feel that it is man's duty to learn in humble submission, to labor in faith, and to wait for the early and latter rain, to "be still and know that I am God, and that there is none else beside me."

There is, perhaps, no trait in human character, which, to an impartial observer, is so obvious, so constant in its operation, and at the same time so utterly subversive of all hope of good, as the daily and hourly struggle going on between the laws of God and the devices of man; between offending, self-willed, and short-sighted humanity, and the Creator, the Redeemer and Sanctifier, the Upholder and Protector of this erring world. There are essentially but two systems, or theories, in regard to social regeneration, which the world has ever known; the one religious, the other political or philosophical; the one resting in obedience to the Supreme Law-giver, the other basing itself upon its own strength, and looking to the results of its own vain speculations; the one founded in faith, the other in sight; the one leaning alone upon the arm of Omnipotence, the other standing up in its own puny impotence, and exclaiming, of the beauty of the earth, and the majesty of the heavens, and the symmetry and symphony of the universe, "Lo, all this have I done for myself!" or, what is equally absurd, "All this is accidental and perpetual!" These men you shall hear prating largely of Philosophy, of Progress, of Reform, of Regeneration; but if we listen to their mode of operation, the processes by which these wonders are to be wrought out, we are transported backwards to the plains of Shinar, and Babel itself shall not be able to comprehend the variety of tongues which their voices utter. And their experiments are as unsuccessful as their theories are unreasonable, ending always in loss, and confusion, and overwhelming despair. Such is the sad tale which all history reads us, and which leaves little hope, from present indications, that the social and political reforms now going forward in the old world will be able to redeem our race from its acknowledged evils.

We believe, indeed, in social reform and in political progress, as we believe in the general advancement of the race, in physical, moral, and intellectual culture. We know that such is the will and the purpose of the Almighty. But this is a problem which can only be accomplished in one mode, that is, in simple, childlike obedience to the will of the Supreme

Lawgiver. There is, in our belief, no other name given under heaven, and among men, whereby we can be saved. And believing this, we must be allowed to avow it, and to teach it in the fullest, most undisguised manner; but we hope always to be able to do this in that spirit of humility and teachableness which such a faith demands.

One of the more remarkable traits of modern reforms is the principle, so to speak, of what has been sometimes called *comeouterism*, or separation without rebellion. The idea of distinct and concurrent organizations, for carrying forward the same general object, and in the same field, was esteemed, until a comparatively late period, a gross absurdity; too much so, to be seriously entertained by sound minds. *Imperium in imperio*, is indeed a phrase known to antiquity, but which was nevertheless supposed to involve a direct solecism.

This process of separation is one which finds no parallel in nature, it has no pattern in all the works of the Almighty. In all animal and vegetable life, in the succession of the seasons, in the motions of the earth or of the planetary system, and in all the works of creation, we find the most perfect symmetry and unity, a model of that catholic spirit and organization which the fragmentary form of modern civilization seems to have studiously departed from, and, in its own self-sufficient wisdom, set up a model of its own. Whether, upon the whole, it will fare better, or eventuate more favorably, than did the war of Satan and his angels, or the experiment of the builders of Babel, remains to be seen. Certain it is, that this principle, if principle it may be called, which is based upon mere personal preference, has been carried so far, even in our favored New England, that the most sagacious and far-seeing of these separatists begin to recoil from the consequences of their own doings.

We beg leave here to make a brief extract from the published works of the Rev. Orville Dewey, D. D., who, although not now a resident of New England, is of the same school of separatists, and whose testimony upon this subject will by them be esteemed reliable.

"I allow," says this writer, "that the multiplicity of sects, in this country, is some bond for their mutual forbearance and freedom; but the strength and repose of a great establishment, are, in some respects, more favorable to private liberty."

We have quoted this authority, not because we intend to advocate religious establishments of any kind. We have no faith whatever in any such thing. Not that the contact

between religion and the State is calculated to fetter or impede the latter, but that it saps the life and energy of the former. But we have been painfully impressed with the correspondence exhibited, at the present hour, between the divided state of Christianity among us, and that declaration of our blessed Lord, a family, a state, or a kingdom, divided against itself, cannot stand. And it has sometimes seemed to us, that the efforts at association, which are so constantly going on in this country and elsewhere, might spring from the consciousness, among the people, that the Church was not doing her proper office, in uniting, in one bond of brotherhood, all nations, kindreds, and people. And whether, upon the whole, this constant disposition to separation among us, into indefinitely minute fragments, may not proceed, more from impatience of restraint, and a want of proper appreciation of the duty of obedience, than from any thing else, is a serious inquiry, and one that may hereafter demand grave consideration. And if one who has tried the principle of separation, till he has gone quite out of the pale of Church orthodoxy, has, by his own reflections, and what he has seen of the working of the system, become satisfied that this process of freedom of opinion ends in tyranny and oppression, it is time, perhaps, to pause in this mad career of separation, and to ask himself, whither this *ignis fatuus* will be likely to lead, and what shall be the end of these things.

This process of separation has already gone so far, and its principle, and the belief of its perfect propriety has become so unquestioned among us, that it is difficult to find minds so trained, as to comprehend the importance of any thing like organic life, in the religious or social organizations under which we live. Every man comprehends, readily enough, the absurdity of having two or more supreme and concurrent legislatures in the State, or of having a similar organization in colleges and schools, and indeed in every thing but the Church. If they attempt any social reform, like the temperance society, they seem, readily enough, to appreciate the propriety of having regard to superiority and subordination in all its departments, and a oneness of life and organization running throughout the entire operation. But in regard to Christianity, it seems to be supposed, it may be just as successful in reforming and regenerating social existence, when scattered over the surface of society in dead fragments, riven from the common life of the Church, and even when divided and subdivided, again and again, and literally warring against itself, as when it presents one unbroken, one undivided front, armed at

all points against the infinite devices and temptations by which she is everywhere beset from without. But not so her enemies. They see and feel that she is thus made weak, shorn of her authority and her strength; that her respect is thus taken from her, and she becomes a scorn and a scoff, a humble suppliant, to be spurned at by a bold, and daring, and profane world.

But while we admit that it does seem to us that the Associationists perceive wherein the Church, in her present fragmentary and divided state, fails to do her proper office, it is obvious they have only made the matter more hopeless, by setting up a new schism, by inculcating a new and bolder heresy than was attempted by their predecessors. We do not, indeed, comprehend how the principle of this scheme is essentially different from that of Independency or Congregationalism. We know not, surely, why every Congregational Association in New England, whether more or less orthodox in doctrine, might not, at once, be converted into a Phalanstery, by a simple vote of the majority, provided only that the majority were suitably imbued with the importance of the doctrines of Fourier and St. Simon, as they now are of those of Calvin and Socinus. Upon the acknowledged basis of Congregationalism, any association, which professes a belief in the Christian Scriptures, may justly claim to be a portion of the visible Church of Christ. And being such, they may regulate all their movements by the mere vote of the majority. Their worship, their order and discipline, their ministry, are all under the absolute control of a simple numerical majority, from whose decision there is no appeal and no escape, but in a new separation. So that Socialism and Congregationalism, in their principles and order, are essentially alike. But at present, we admit, and rejoice in the fact, that in their creeds and their practices they are very far apart. How long this will be the case, it is impossible to know.

It has been, certainly, with no little of distrust, as to the benefits to be attained, that we have approached this subject. It may perhaps be true, that the doctrine of Reserve, put forth by the Oxford Editor of Froude's Remains, which teaches that some truths may lawfully be kept back, in our public teaching, such as would not be understood, and would therefore be liable to perversion, through ignorance or misapprehension; it may be true that that doctrine is applicable to this subject, if to any. But we do not so understand the duty of public teachers, even the ministry of the Church, much less that of Reviewers and public Journalists. Their maxim should be, to disguise nothing, to declare the whole truth.

We know, indeed, that there are some sores in the body politic, so deep and disgusting, that it is in vain to think of cure by any resort to the probe or the lance. The great hope is in the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, the recuperative energy of nature. It is true, doubtless, of the body politic, as of the natural body, that superficial eruptions are at once an indication of healthy life at the fountain, and at the same time a means by which that healthy action of the fountain is kept up and perpetuated. And it may be true also, to keep up the figure, that the sounding of unnecessary alarm will be more likely to do injury to the patient, than to relieve the malady. But when disease has progressed to a certain point, it becomes necessary to obtain relief speedily, or the case becomes desperate. And when we trace the progress of Association, in all its forms and developments, from the New Christianity of St. Simon, through the theory of universal harmony of Fourier, to the utter abolition of property, in the Communism of Proudhon, Louis Blanc, and their associates and coadjutors, and reflect that the influence of this system has already become too powerful in France, both for the monarchy and the Church, and that its friends boast that it is formidable in other European States, it seems to us that we are justified in treating even this utter absurdity, as it certainly is, as not unworthy of notice. It is the standing text of communism, that all private property is theft. "He who takes," says Proudhon, "a larger share than his neighbor, defrauds that neighbor, and must be compelled to restore what does not belong to him." And this spirit of spite, and envy, and hatred, against all the possessors of extensive property, is far from inert or unimportant, even in our own republic, although its operations are more covert here perhaps than in Europe.

We do not indeed suppose that the advocates of Association have any serious intention—certainly they cannot have any rational expectation—of ever being able to reduce their absurd theories to actual practice. It is, we apprehend, rather a covert war upon the existing order of things, than any well defined and practicable system in itself considered. It may possibly be true, that the founders of these systems, and whose names they long bore, were entirely serious in their pretensions. But it requires no great sagacity to perceive, that if they were serious, they could not have been wholly sane men. It may be true, perhaps, to some extent, that all reformers are enthusiasts, and this species of enthusiasm is not unlikely to produce a kind of idiosyncrasy, bordering upon monomania. But the insanity of these men was of a very different charac-

ter, unless we suppose them to have been, in part at least, mere impostors, low and vulgar hypocrites. The objection to this latter exposition is, that mere hypocrites are not likely, as a general thing, to infuse a sufficient degree of earnestness into their teachings to give them an existence, beyond that of their founders. And we think it but a fair deduction, from what we know of the founders of sects, religious and political, that the followers are far more generally obnoxious to the charge of insincerity and duplicity, than are the founders of those sects. This is, we think, especially true of socialism, communism, and all the varieties of Association. The idea of subverting the dynasties, and reforming the political fabrics of Europe, seems not much to have occupied the mind, either of St. Simon or Fourier. And if either, or both, expected any such result, it was expected as a consequence of the ultimate development of their principles, in a succession of generations, rather than as an end specifically aimed at, or immediately to be desired.

But the Associationists of this day, the Red Republicans of the French School, the followers of Louis Blanc and Ledru Rollin, care little for reforms, which are only to be accomplished in the slow progress of ages. They have prodigious little regard to the development of results, which are only to be felt by the unborn generations of the future. They look to the present hour, and are content to let the event trammel up the consequences, and are ready to jump the life to come. They desire men to break down barricades, to besiege the Tuilleries, to take and hold possession of the Luxembourg, to overawe and finally to disperse the Chamber of Deputies, and constitute and convene one more in accordance with their own spirit and temper. They have no taste, and no time, for forming phalanxes; for settling questions of industrial philosophy; for estimating the probability and computing the process of paying off the British national debt, by means of the eggs which might, and inevitably would, be produced, in the phalansteries, when the entire population of Great Britain should be distributed into 600,000 of these Associations, every one of which should keep 200,000 hens. For such absurd speculations they are content to let Fourier stand responsible, while they will use his name, and the skeleton of his scheme, for other and far different purposes.

They care nothing for the equal distribution of property. They have, in fact, no belief in any such mad scheme. And they care little for the abolition of the marriage relation and the consequent introduction of universal license and concu-

binage. They are, in fact, men of too much sagacity not to know that this must inevitably be the consequence of the annihilation, or great relaxation of the conjugal tie; and we do not believe that even these men, with all their recklessness and ferocity, are quite prepared to cut down all the restraints and protections of female purity, and introduce at once the disgusting state of utter prostitution.

And still you shall find these same socialist leaders parading the streets of Paris, at the head of a *sans-culotte* mob, bearing upon the waving folds of their uplifted banners, such significant inscriptions as these: "*A bas la famille*," down with the family! "*La propriété est un vol*," property is robbery!

Neither do we believe that the Red Republican leaders in France, who are almost to a man professed socialists, have any belief in the fitness of mere stone masons, who have not the remotest knowledge of the history, or the wants of the country, to become at once members of its legislative assembly. And still this was done in the case of citizen Nadaud, who, although a resident of Paris, and not known perhaps to a solitary one of his constituents, was caused to be returned to the New Assembly, for the department of *La Creuze*, a remote country district, where indeed stone cutting was a regular employ, in their extensive quarries. And this was done through the agency of the socialist committee. The same thing was, in effect, brought about through the same agency, which extends, by a kind of secret order, throughout all the departments of France, in the case of three or more sergeants of the army, who were returned to the New Assembly by constituencies, who, in fact, knew as little of them as they did of the inhabitants of Central Africa, or the mountains of the moon. *Commissaire* and *Rattier*, two of the number, were returned for the two great departments of which Lyons and Strasbourg are the capitals. And sergeant *Boichot*, who was actually under arrest for mutiny and insubordination at the opening of the polls, which was indeed his only claim to be brought forward, and the only ground upon which he was brought forward by the socialist clubs, and who was wholly unknown, except as a violent exciter of sedition, this wretch stood *fourth* on the list of representatives of the metropolis, by the votes of 128,000 persons.

In short, it is an acknowledged fact, upon all hands, that in France the Red Republicans, the Associationists, the Socialists and Communists, are but equivalent terms; and they constitute, at this moment, the uncontrollable majority of the French republic. And yet these men have no serious pur-

pose of reducing their absurd theories to practice. The theory of Association is indeed as hopeless, as to build railroads in the moon, or to make a lantern of the dog star! No man, in his senses, at least, no well informed man, for a moment believes any such thing. And still the promises and pretensions which these leaders put forth, no doubt have some weight with an infuriated mob, who are proverbially bereft of all sense, unless it be the sense of self-love, and its offspring, impatience of restraint. But, that the leaders of this movement have any serious purpose of an attempt to hold society together, upon any such plan, is too absurd to be supposed. The language of M. Guizot, is the universal sentiment, almost, of all those without the craft; and for the credit of humanity, one would hope, it might always be upheld. The "Social Republic," says Guizot, "is at once odious and impossible. It is the most absurd, and at the same time the most mischievous of all chimeras. But we must not presume on that. Nothing is more dangerous than that which has strength to reach what it is impossible to hold."

But, as we approach this dire chimera a little nearer, and inspect its pretensions somewhat more narrowly, we shall find that it possesses within itself the seeds of its own dissolution; and that, like all monsters, it is denied the power of reproduction. We are not inclined to doubt that M. Fourier was perhaps sincere, and seriously desirous of improving the condition of his race. But we believe, nevertheless, that he was so far excited by zeal, and so far enfeebled, and his powers so far impaired, by a morbid sensibility, at frequent disappointments, that he finally became distinctly a monomaniac; and that he went down to his grave, neither more nor less than a feeble, heartless misanthrope, a disappointed, insane old man, without near kindred, without sympathy, and without hope. However melancholy this view of his case may be, it is perhaps the most charitable one which can be taken of it, both for his credit as a philosopher, and his sincerity as a man, and a nominal believer in Christianity. Any other view must involve him either in the most stupid, the grossest of all imaginable absurdities, or else in the publication of the weakest falsehoods, the vainest, most idle dreams, which ever infested the brain of any mortal man.

As we follow out this investigation, it will become sufficiently apparent, no doubt, that socialism is, essentially and intrinsically, anti-Christian and pantheistic in all its principles, and equally so in all its practical developments. There is perhaps less, in the history of the Count de St. Simon, to

induce us to attribute his vagaries to positive and well-defined monomania, than in the case of Fourier. He began life as a soldier, and was, for many years, an officer of considerable grade, and some pretension, in the French army. He served in this country, during the last years of our revolutionary war, under Count Rochambeau, and was present at the siege and storm of Yorktown, as we learn from the article in the North American Review. As early as 1790, he entered into financial speculations, for the avowed purpose of raising funds to carry out his strange enterprises. He studied the arts in the polytechnic school, or under its professors, and then studied medicine in the best schools in Paris, and traveled extensively. He wrote upon politics, ethics, philosophy and the arts, and to close his eccentric career, put forth what he very modestly denominated the *Nouveau Christianisme*, or New Christianity, containing an exposition of his religious views. The leading features of his scheme are, that St. Simon was the veritable Saviour of mankind, the one chosen from the foundation of the world, to be the regenerator of his race, and before whom all other prophets and priests, even the Messiah, must bow. It seems to have been a kind of Mahomedanism in its religious teaching; but its reforms lay mainly in the line of industrial regulations, which promised to bring all mankind upon a level. These views would of course commend themselves to the indolent, the dissolute, the reckless, and the abandoned and hopeless of all kinds, from whatever causes. The new Christianity proposed to abolish inheritances, to divide property numerically among the whole population, educate all children at the common expense, and equally, until some particular tendency, or aptitude, should be developed, and then for the profession or pursuit thus indicated.

This doctrine had made very considerable progress, during the life of Fourier. And although the founder deceased, in 1825, soon after the publication of his New Christianity, in 1831 this sect numbered, among their supporters, the *Globe*, and some other newspapers of influence and with extensive subscription lists. They had, at this time, numerous assemblies, and had already split into many subdivisions, rallying under different leaders; but all sufficiently liberal towards the *esoteri*, and equally reckless and denunciatory against the *exoteri*.

As Fourier himself often went into their assemblies, and made very free comments upon their doctrines and practices, it may not be amiss to listen to his testimony, as his followers

will regard him as a reliable witness, and all must admit that he had great advantages for forming correct opinions upon these subjects, where his judgment was not perverted by any hallucination. The truth is, no doubt, that Fourier did possess too much penetration and discrimination, not to feel, at once, the absurdity of a great portion of the St. Simonian doctrines, and too much sense of justice, not to abhor much of its economical and moral spirit, and too great sincerity to disguise his sentiments towards them, or their measures. He is represented by his biographer, (p. 67,) as saying, "Their rough hewn dogmas are pitiful, yet they have an audience and subscribers." It is probable that Fourier saw clearly the absurdity of other idiosyncrasies, although ranging somewhat along the same line with his own, for he is most justly pointed and severe against the teaching of the St. Simonians. *Mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur.*

His biographer, (p. 76,) says of him, "After having been to one of the meetings, [of the St. Simonians,] Fourier wrote on the 28th of January, [1831:] "I was present at the Simonian preaching last Sunday. I can't conceive how these sacerdotal buffoons can get such a numerous following. Their doctrines are not receivable; they are monstrosities to make one shrug; think of preaching the abolition of property and inheritances, in the nineteenth century." And yet this same Fourier put, among the fundamentals of his own theory, a kind of partnership in property, among eighteen hundred people, which is, if possible, more absurd and impracticable, than the utter abolition of all property. It is impossible to separate the two systems, and, in practice, they have already commingled and coalesced.

In the appendix to M. Pellarins' pamphlet, p. 155 *et seq.*, we have Fourier's views of St. Simonianism, very much in detail. And as the author of the *Nouveau Monde Industriel* has some followers, in this country even, and in high places too, it may not be amiss to know what he thought of cognate systems. "To give you an idea of the weakness of their dogmas," says M. Fourier, "they pretend, that the late economist, St. Simon, was inspired of God, that there are three revelations, that of Moses, that of Jesus Christ, and that of the economist St. Simon. Is not this making systems with an axe?" And yet Fourier complains, that the Reviewers of his system brought the same charge against him of assuming to be inspired. And it is very obvious, from his own account of his system, if system that may be called, which consists of mere

fragments, and from the testimony of his biographer, that this charge, as against Fourier, was altogether well founded.

But he says farther, (p. 157,) "I do not conceive how any one can find credit in Paris, with such weak doctrines. They discussed and argued about confession, which they defended; and I would willingly bet, that of the eighty present, not one goes to confession, except from speculation in hypocrisy. They themselves believe no more in St. Simon, than in the Alcoran." After detailing many of their inconsistencies and absurdities, which will compare well with those of his own school, he adds, "It is impossible not to think, that the St. Simonians have laughed at these follies." "Such are the tactics of the Simonians, always a tutelary mask, a sympathetic gasconade. If you should let them have their way, if you depended on their simulated protection, you would soon be sunk by that very protection, which is a Judas' kiss." "They are not yet strong enough to persecute, and their general way is to flatter the man they wish to stifle."

Can it be said, then, that in denouncing the leaders of the last, or more properly the three last, French revolutions, the socialists, communists, and every species of Associationists, with the Red Republicans for their common bond of union, as mere pretenders, make-believe-adventurers for personal advantage, who have no serious purpose of reducing their industrial, or social theories, to practice, who are, in fact, Puritans by profession, and pirates in practice, and hypocrites in every thing; can it be said, that we thus judge them harshly? We do not intend to be more severe upon them, than simple justice requires, and we trust we have not exceeded the measure of recrimination, which they deal out to each other. And it is a saying, no more trite than just, that when rogues fall out, others may expect the disclosure of some precious truths! But we have one more testimony from M. Fourier, as to the benefit to be expected, in the final success of the theory of St. Simon, and we beg our readers to apply it, *in totidem verbis, mutatis mutandis*, to the entire scheme of Association, whatever guise or name it may assume.

"If the St. Simonian system should be organized," says Fourier, "you can be by no means sure *that any amelioration of the working classes* would be the result. The only certain effect would be, *to concentrate, in half a century, all the estates, capitals, dominions, mills, manufactories, in the hands of the new priests.* When the Simonians should have possession of every thing, they would know well how to TREAT PEOPLE, as all theocrats have treated them, from the

priests of Egypt and of Hindostan, up to those of the Roman church, who, at Rome, pillage every thing, make a monopoly of every thing."

Verily these men, when speaking of rival theories in reform, seem to comprehend well enough, where all such experiments, on common principles of humanity, must end. It is passing strange that they do not perceive, that the same thing is equally true of their own theories. If St. Simonianism, or Fourierism, could supplant Christianity, to-day, throughout the whole world, which is of course impossible, does any sane man suppose that mankind would enjoy more liberty? or more comfort? that their labors would be lessened, or their enjoyments multiplied? It seems scarcely possible that any sane man can be so absurd.

We know, indeed, that the advocates of these social reforms do not generally, in terms, propose to supersede Christianity, but only to graft a new and better system of social relations, and social operations, upon the present order of the Church. This may sound plausible enough, perhaps, to those who have already departed so far from the corporate life of the one Catholic Church, as to have wholly lost all just appreciation of its indispensable necessity, in order to perpetuate sound doctrine, and to keep up the life of God in the soul, through a succession of generations.

We say it with no spirit of vain-glorious exultation, but in pain and sorrow, that in looking back upon the history of New England, for the last fifty years, and recollecting what strange vagaries have, from time to time, taken possession of the Churches, and the Pastors, and how constantly, but almost imperceptibly, there has been kept up a manifest departure, in the very fundamentals, from the faith once delivered to the Saints, and which has nowhere been maintained so pure and undefiled, as within the pale of that one Church, which is the Body of Christ; in recurring to these monitions, which everywhere come upon the ear, from the past history of New England, we say, it would not surprise us if many, among the sects, or indeed most, with the exception of those bodies which have maintained either Episcopal or Presbyterian government, would, ultimately, fall in with one or other of these industrial, or social reforms. It seems to us, as we have said, wholly consistent with the doctrine, and with the order of these Church Associations, (for in conscience we can call the whole body of the Congregationalists nothing more,) that they should do so, at any time. We hope, indeed, for better things, but the lessons of the last few months admonish us to dread the

worst. The orthodox Congregationalists even, who contend so stoutly for their own soundness in the faith, seem to us to have no common bond of union, unless it be a succession of negatives, which are mere dead lumber. Generally they are not Unitarians, and again they are not Trinitarians, in the sense of the early Councils, or the four first Creeds of the Church; but extensively and positively, they are Sabellians! Then again, they are not Roman Catholics, they are not Catholics at all; their systems are not branches of the One Holy Catholic Church, or of the visible Church of Christ upon earth which the early Creeds define; but dogmatically and *positively*, their members are Calvinists, belonging to the invisible Church, or they were so sometime! They have no ministry but a self-constituted one, coming down, in unbroken succession, not from John Robinson even, who was once a Priest in the English Church, but from some distinguished personage, *who was himself* a LAYMAN. They affect to ridicule the succession of the ministry from the days of the Apostles, but they are very strenuous to preserve it, by succession, in their own self-constituted Associations! But we have no disposition to pursue this parallelism further. We have now done with St. Simonianism. We shall resume the subject of Socialism, in a future number, and examine it somewhat more in detail.

LADY ALICE, OR THE NEW UNA.

ART. III.—*Lady Alice, or the New Una.* A Novel. D. Appleton & Co., New York and Philadelphia, 1849.

IN introducing this remarkable book to the notice of our readers, we beg them to understand, that it is not our intention fully or formally to review it; and therefore we shall say little or nothing about the plot of the story. We presume that most of them are somewhat acquainted with a production which has had already a very wide circulation, and has excited no little attention. In some quarters it has been highly eulogized as a most interesting, and even captivating work of fiction. It appears to us to be characterized throughout by unnaturalness, and the descriptions to be drawn out often in tedious detail.

The three prominent personages are, the lover, (Frederick Clifford, a Roman Catholic,) the lady Alice herself, and her uncle, the Rev. Herbert Courtenay, both belonging to the Church of England. These are evidently the author's standards of excellence. The two former, and especially the second, are represented as sustaining extraordinary trials, which are not so much disciplinary for their *personal* good, as vicarious and satisfactory for delinquences *not their own*. This appears from parts of the story itself, (p. 73, near the top,) and is distinctly avowed by the author, in the last paragraph of the Preface; and it seems to have a favorable bearing, whether intended or not, on the doctrine of meritorious penances, and acts of supererogation. He acknowledges that Clifford's conversion "proves" his own "private persuasion." It is therefore fair to infer, that *generally* and on *important topics* at least, he expresses his own sentiments through the medium of the hero and heroine of the tale. And this accords well with the lofty character in which he evidently intends to invest them. "The ideal perfection and purity, the innocence and strength which he has attributed to them," and which for himself he expressly disclaims, are chiefly moral, and in practice; and must not be confounded with the opinions, thoughts, and feelings, the whole intellectual and spiritual nature, which they are delineated as possessing and cherishing. The disclaimer is itself an endorsement of their excellence.

The book contains descriptions and illustrations which

would seem to be more in accordance with the medical profession than that with which rumor has connected the author. And it is probable that most readers of delicate feeling will regret the introduction of some. It is impossible, also, not to be struck with the fact, however much it may be regretted, that ideas are often presented in detail, where most minds would have been content with an indirect allusion, and when, in general, the course of conversation or current of the story, did not require their introduction at all. Numerous illustrations of this, will immediately occur to the reader. At present, let it suffice to inquire, where was Clifford's "ideal perfection" when he asked the lady Alice "tenderly, are you quite fit to dress yourself?" adding, "you are so very young that you might accept my assistance." (P. 8.)* This *very young* girl, to whom the "pure and perfect" Clifford offers his services as dressing-maid, was *only* seventeen years and two months old, and the would-be-attendant at the lady's toilet was really six years older, though his appearance, being somewhat like that of *imberbis Apollo*, "you would hardly have guessed that he was turned of twenty-three!" (See p. 6, beginning of Chap. ii, and p. 11, end of Chap. iv.) The conversation took place in July. The only plausible apology for such a proposition would be her supposed state of exhaustion, and the impossibility of obtaining more suitable aid. To urge a six years' difference of age is preposterous, and would be rightly regarded by most young ladies as insulting.

The improbabilities and extravagances which abound in the book are really amazing. *Mademoiselle Louise de Belmont*,† (the illegitimate grand-daughter of a "strictly virtuous" (!) Italian "model," who poniards fatally a too bold artist whom she had accommodated in his studio,) refuses to marry the man whom she deeply loves, Augustus, the brother of Frederick, though urged by the strongest consideration that can weigh on a woman. Young and beautiful, she agrees to marry an old German Count, but draws back at the very moment that the ceremony is to be performed, and yet passes publicly, for a long time, as his wife, and bears his name. While in this extraordinary state of supposed wedlock, she courts, incognita in a gondola, the same Augustus; and though masked, easily gains his affection, and induces him to marry her, with the conditions of his not seeing her face, and of their parting instantly on the performance of the marriage

* The references are to Appleton's cheap edition.

† Alias *Madame von Schoenberg*.

service, not to meet again, "it may be for years," until she pleases! And yet Augustus is very well bred, very well educated, very wealthy, and very sensible. The author speaks too of "the predominance of the moral sentiments in his organization, and" of his "high habitual regard for what was due to his own character, as a Christian and a gentleman," at the very time that he describes him as about "to keep his assignation with the fair unknown," her object being equally unknown with herself. And, moreover, he coolly tells us, that this predominance and regard "stood him instead of real self-government!" (P. 78.) Truly, one would like to know how the *want of self-government* is compatible with the *predominance of moral sentiments*, and a *high regard* for one's character as a *Christian*; and how such an *assignation* can be made to harmonize with the latter.

ALICE, the "perfect, the pure, the innocent," in consequence of a forced oath, consents to pass for a man, and both in dress and manner shows off the exquisite finely, being "attired in the highest style of French fashion." Very young, very beautiful, the veriest model of feminine delicacy, she maintains herself in Italy by drawing and painting;—does not hesitate to resort to the extremest means of improvement, however revolting to a female;—takes the very first rank as an artist, both in design and execution, speaking at the same time all the cultivated languages of Europe, and being in other respects most highly accomplished;—lives as a young man on the most familiar terms with her lover Clifford, while she completely deceives him as to her identity, though distinguished for his perspicacity, he all the while supposing that she had perished at sea;—after dining with him at a public hotel, and drinking more wine than she could well bear, visits her own and his family;—shows them her fondness for needlework, freely and unnecessarily displaying to them her talents in drawing and music, in both which they all knew Alice to excel, and only one of whom, the sister of Clifford, is able to detect her disguise, and she is easily persuaded not to disclose the secret;—talks to "dear Mr. Clifford in a low, sweet voice," of "unwittingly touching the chord of some painful memory," and of having a great deal of the woman in (his) mind as well as in the delicacy of (his) frame;—speaks to him of his loss of Alice;—to his remark, accompanied by "a tender smile, I can't help thinking what an exquisite woman you would make, laughs," and tells "with a witty simplicity, a *petite histoire*," of having been "at Paris more than once taken for a woman in disguise;"—argues with Clifford himself, and others, at a public table, on the

feasibility of a woman's passing for a man and deceiving everybody;—and, to cap the climax, pretends to be a Carnival mummer and then a Russian princess in St. Peter's at Rome, on a grand pontifical festival, entering with apparently the deepest devotion into the service, she being all the while an Anglican Church woman! And all this tissue of impracticable hypocrisies is represented as effected by the guileless "innocent," because she will not herself tell, nor allow her dearest female friend to tell, what would oblige her to break a forced oath, (her friend being under no such obligation,) while it would ensure her highest earthly bliss! *Credat Judæus Apella!* And will the author expound to his readers, how these difficulties and most palpable incongruities are to be done away or diminished by talking of the story as "half an allegory!"

A man who can write and publish all this, supposing of course that people of common sense will not laugh at it as beyond comparison more absurd than any fairy tale, will most likely feel no embarrassment in "doubting whether" a drowning girl, "conscious that she is sinking, would claim" a man's "aid by a faint shriek, if she had not observed him devoutly kiss a jeweled reliquary which he had taken from his bosom, and by that mark of piety had become inspired with confidence!" (P. 10.) Old Davy Dean's stern and inflexible rigidity dwindles into downright insignificance, when compared with this young lady's hesitation to have her life saved by any man who was not a devotee!

"We must use human means, Sir," continued Butler. "When you call in a physician, you would not, I suppose, question him on the matter of his religious principles?" "Wad I no," answered David—"but I wad though: and if he didna satisfy me that he had a right sense of the right-hand and left-hand defections of the day, not a goutte of his physic should gang through my father's son."

Passing over the frequent hyperbolical representations of elegance of dress, splendor of furniture and ornament, offensive delineations of female beauty, (such as "floating golden hair like an archangel—eye large as a prophet's—lips controlled by a divine purity,")* from which the author of the Arabian

* The author manages certain protuberances of "the perfect mould of a beautiful head, and the faultless oval of a face," with considerable dexterity. For example: "*The delicate shell of an ear, which it would have been a sin to hide—the straight nose, harmonizing so perfectly with the face that you must have made an effort to observe its Phidian root, and the refined carving of its delicate nostril.*" One is almost tempted to ask whether queen Mab may not have played hide and seek with some of her maids of honor within the grottoes, smooth as the most transparent specimen of conchology and tinged with the pearl's own essence, of those openings, the sides of which were carved with so refined a nicety. The nose, particularly, has always been a hard feature for romance-writers and poets to deal with.

Nights might delightedly take a lesson, and which seem to prove what the author is capable of imagining, rather than what he has actually seen; we request attention to one or two indications, selected from multitudes, of sympathy with certain forms and ceremonies of worship, and also with certain doctrines which mark very definitely an attachment to the extreme of what has sometimes been called Puseyism, (whether correctly or not we shall not stop to discuss.) And we beg it to be borne in mind, too, that the selections were not made with any view of exposing the ultraism of the book, but are those which happened to present themselves on looking it over, and are confined to the earlier part.

"The ancient altar of stone, ascended by steps of the same material, had a front embroidered with gold and colors on white silk, its altar-cloth of crimson velvet not less richly wrought, and its pall of fine linen and lace. Its six massive candlesticks of silver still remained, and were filled with huge wax candles ever lighted at the hour of service. The duke, indeed, held lands on condition that this was not omitted."

This last remark, it might be said, is apologetic; but why introduce at all what may seem to need apology? Such a defence is inadmissible.

"A grand painting of the Nativity—a master piece of Cignani, was the altar-piece. Here, night and morning, entered in solemn procession a youthful choir, stoled and surpliced, and preceded by cross, thurible, and lights. Here matins and even-song were chanted, and the prayers intoned by Herbert Courtenay, who had a genius for music and a passion for that of the Church." (P. 14.)

Courtenay is represented by the author as a Church of England clergyman of the Oxford School.

Let us take a look at another Anglican chapel, in which this Church of England clergyman is a prominent actor.

"It was a long wainscoted room, with a ceiling carved in oak. It was adorned with large pictures of family scenes from the Old Testament. At the further end, upon a dais elevated by three or four steps, stood the altar, dressed with dark-green velvet embroidered in crimson and gold, and a cambric covering with a deep fall of costly lace. It sustained a massive crucifix of gold, wax-lights in golden candlesticks and flowers in precious vases. Suspended from the ceiling by silver chains, three lamps of the same material lighted the length of the chapel, and threw a soft clear light, as upon all the pictures, so upon a fine *Marriage of the Virgin*, by Guercino—the altar-piece."

Straight and crooked—long and short—prominent, turned up, and pug—Roman and Grecian—are the common, but unpoetical, epitheta. We have read of some distinguished personage, whose landlady, as she said, could never *get over his nose*, for which he humorously gave as a reason, that *it had no bridge*. The renowned favorite of queen Anne,

—"*As folks declare,*

Did alway toss proud nostrils to the air."

It is a comfort to read that the incomparable "Alice had a straight nose." Clarinelle's "was the *reverse* of aquiline, but it was *charming*."

The reader ought to be informed that the marriage service is about to be celebrated in the chapel so described.

"The child" (Alice) "kneels alone on the cushioned *prie-dieu*,* and having said her prayer, kneels on, looking at the altar-piece."

"And now Herbert Courtenay, in the new and appropriate vestments with which the duchess had supplied the vestiary, stood at a lectern of antique form wrought in brass," &c. "The youthful choir sung 'Thanks be to God; they confessed; were absolved,' &c. "Thus prepared, all voices joined in the *chanter* creed; followed the *cadenced* suffrages, the *thrilling monotone* of the collects, the harmonious close of the *Amens*!"

We have heard of "very *genteel* worship," and our author tells us that in this connection took place one of "the *sacramental* acts of human life." (Pages 17, 18.)

Now let us glance at one of the doctrines of the author, which are evidently designed to accord with those of a certain school. Edith, who before the morning just alluded to, had eloped with her lover, held with him the following conversation. Not one syllable is lisped which might seem to imply that its dogmatical bearing is not in entire agreement with the author's theological system.

"If you are afraid of temptation, you should seek to strengthen yourself against it.' 'How?' 'You have been confirmed?' 'Yes.' 'And made your first communion afterward, I know.' 'Well?' 'Why not renew it? Why neglect now that means of grace?' 'Well, I can't say, (evasively,) that I am much tempted since I have loved you, Edith. You are my guardian angel. All I want is to have you always at my side.' 'True strength, dear George, comes from a higher source.' 'What a little saint it is!' thought D. 'Epiphany morning, there will be an early communion in the chapel *on my account*,† because it is my birth-day; and Lady, &c. are to receive with me. They are not my blood-relations at all.' 'And not your father?' 'Nor my husband,' said Edith, looking at him, and speaking in a very low voice. 'For that word's sake, dearest Edith, I will be there.' Which happened accordingly." (P. 15.)

We make no comment on the *motive* and *feeling* which is represented (and without a word of censure) as leading to this communion. We will only remark that the reader of Lady Alice cannot be surprised—although, if he has any right feeling, he must be shocked—at the frequent connection of (sublimed and spurious) devotion with bad passions of our fallen nature. This naturally leads us to notice another characteristic of this publication, namely, the union of the sensuous with the devotional. And this we regard as one of the most objectionable and revolting features of the book. If, in order

* The reader who does not understand French, may be gratified to learn that this means a sort of desk to kneel on at prayers.

† Alice uses the same language—"partook with me, and *in my behalf*, of the bread of life." (P. 88.) It would really be in character with the associations of opposite things, which occur in various parts of the book, to say, that the author seems to regard such communions in the light of a *benefit* given especially to the principal actor.

to throw a clear light on this characteristic, we are compelled to introduce into our columns matter which may well be thought out of place therein, we plead the law of necessity, unconscious of being the offending party.

"On the morrow (after the communion mentioned in the passage before quoted) the flowers and lights are in all the palace of that princely race, to mimic on a northern night the sunshine and fragrance of a tropical noon; while the saloons are filled with a brilliant throng, little mindful of those matin sanctities, but intent to participate with what is, after all, a part of our nature, in the joy of a *mysterious commemoration*. For if worship be the union of man with his Maker, pleasure, rightly understood, is a bond of humble sympathy with our own kind. And in this sense, as there is a time to pray, so there is a time to dance. In her enchanting ball-dress, Edith rests a white-gloved hand on D'Eyncourt's shoulder; and she is young enough to be pleased with his uniform, which he becomes. His hand clasps a slender, rounded waist. This is before all the world; yet she looks in his face with the most unembarrassed smile;—in a moment they are whirling among the waltzers—'God has made every thing beautiful in its time.'"

Leaving the author to explain what "mystery" this dancing "commemorates," the reader cannot fail to perceive that the *whirling waltz* and the *clasp of the waist* are among the things that God has made beautiful in their time. And yet this divinely *authorized*, if not *instituted*, "pleasure before the world," leads to the same pleasure in private, and is soon followed by elopement. Yes, the saintly one, whom the learned, observant, and sagacious Herbert Courtenay represents as "having never forfeited the grace which she received in baptism," (p. 13,) elopes! "What piety enjoined in such a case," having been "already learned of" this same spiritual guide and casuist, "to whom, under the seal of confession, this secret had been imparted by both." (P. 16.) If it had been this writer's intention—which most certainly it is not—to give a practical illustration of the wicked abuses to which (as every reader of history knows) auricular confession has always led, he could hardly have succeeded better. Will our Church take warning, and by strong expression of disapprobation frown on this evil, or will she wait till the mischief is developed and the practice authoritatively recommended?

The author does more than apologize for Lady Edith, when he calls her "*error pardonable*," reminding us that "there are weaknesses which a woman would be 'less perfect' if she wanted." (P. 17.) This is bad enough, but what must any chastened Christian mind think of what immediately follows? "She threaded the intricacies of her embarrassing position with the certainty of a somnambula; or of a human spirit which has not forfeited by sin the mysterious guidance of its awful Familiar—the Spirit of God." (P. 17.) This associa-

tion is revolting and shocking. It is wholly at variance with a proper acquaintance with the nature of sin, as shown in Holy Scripture and felt by every true Christian. It fully illustrates how fundamentally erroneous and practically mischievous is that miserable system of divinity—a system at war with our standards—which inculcates on young people who have the good fortune to have been baptized in infancy, that they need only maintain the innocence that has been sacramentally secured to them. The peccadilloes which in high fashionable life can hardly be avoided—the indecencies of the waltz, with its various movements, positions developing the person, and manipulations, even if followed by clandestine engagements and elopements, are quite in harmony with the preservation of this most dangerous theory of baptismal grace. “God hath made *every thing* beautiful in its time”!

This abominable union of the sensuous with the devotional runs through and disgraces the book, which, as a whole, is a bold avowal that God and the fashionable world can be equally well served, and both in the very highest degree, whatever the divine author of our religion may have said to the contrary.

In this connection we may introduce what is perhaps the most curious sentence in the novel. It is set off under the name of philosophy. Far be it from us to deny its claims to the venerable appellation, for since the time of Locke and Newton, to say nothing of Bacon, and his old instructors, Cicero, Aristotle, and Plato, philosophy has become a mere Proteus, whose form you can mould as you please. It is perfectly pliable, that is, good-natured, (like some of the characters in this book,) or plastic, that is, susceptible of being shaped into what form you may like best. A popular philosophy, doubtless, and not the less acceptable! The author, observing that “a philosophical theory on amusements is a great want at present, in the absence of such a thing” undertakes to supply the deficiency. Hence the following most lucid definition, the innocent simplicity of which must recommend it to every unsophisticated mind. Before introducing it, we would remark, that the author seems to entertain a very sincere respect for the dance. In a representation of its “history in a series of paintings,” which makes part of the description of a “new ball-room, angels are charming Adam into his deep sleep,” (p. 85,) of course, by a lulling dance! But the definition.

“The dance [is] a formalization (immemorially) of that vague and irrepressible sentiment which, apart from definite wishes or individual preference, attracts the sexes to each other, combining it with art into a series of harmonized and regu-

lated actions, subjecting it to the obligation of concurrence with an influence that unites the simplest of sensuous, with the most refined of intellectual pleasures, and which thus permits it to be manifested unconsciously by the most modest, and enjoyed by the most pure—it is really as essential in its time and place as prayer (not for all alike, but) to maintain, as a general thing, the healthy tone and cheerful decency of social intercourse."

Did ever any one before write such a paragraph as this? What a sentimental, transcendental, æsthetic, intended—by a most amazing misnomer—for a harmonized "philosophical" definition of "THE DANCE!" What wonderful mystery can possibly be hidden within the profundities of this greatly desiderated "theory"? May we, who never dance, venture to explore, while we confess our want of experience?

The author's definition of *the dance*, then, so far as an uninitiated novice can discern, is to this effect. It consists of two parts, *SENTIMENT*, *severed* and *combined* in the manner and degree stated in the definition, and *INFLUENCE*, *uniting* the two sorts of pleasures therein mentioned; the former, (that is, the sentiment,) which in itself is vague and irrepressible, being obliged to concur with the latter, (the influence.) This sentiment is formalized, that is, we presume, wrought out into form and shape. Brought into this state, "it" (the dance or the sentiment, it is not clear from the language, which,) is "manifested unconsciously by the most modest," whether in the polka, waltz, or any other gyration or gallopade. It is certainly a happy circumstance, that these "most modest" dancers "manifest" the aforesaid "formalization" or influenced sentiment "unconsciously," and that it is equally "enjoyed by the most pure." How this thing, so "unconsciously manifested and enjoyed," how such an "immemorial formalization of a vague and irrepressible sentiment," can be "really as essential in its time and place as prayer, to maintain a healthy tone of social intercourse," is, to a plain man, to say the least, impossible to be understood. It would seem that dancing was originally neither more nor less than a natural manifestation of excitement acting on the physical frame, from whatever cause produced. The author's idea, that it has any reference to "a sentiment which attracts the sexes to each other," is willingly left to his own mental "formalization," in the confident belief, that where it originated it will remain, in silent repose, like a multitude of other imaginings, too deep or too difficult to be drawn up to the light of day. When Mr. Newman felt himself puzzled with some question arising out of his language about the real presence, he remarked, with great *naïveté*, that if people would ask hard questions, they must expect hard answers; and, of course, his was so hard as

to be unintelligible. Our philosophical novelist leaves the author of "development" far behind. The subject is simple, the definition inexplicable. But, seriously speaking, how melancholy is the thought, that a mere pastime for children's recreation, which some men and women of fashion have abused to excite and cherish the worst of passions, should be mentioned in connection with the sacred intercourse of the soul with God by prayer! Comment on such an association is not only superfluous, but would be impertinent.

We are aware that some of our readers may be disposed to put the question, and we freely grant not without a right feeling, "Why exhibit, with such particularity, matters of this sort, which seem inappropriate in a Church Review?" We answer, with the same feeling, and with a deep sense of the responsibility implied, because it is a duty which devolves somewhere or other, to place erroneous views and their practical developments directly before the eye of those concerned, in order that they may shun the contagion, or, if they will not avoid the deleterious atmosphere, that they may not perish without due warning. A useful notice of such a publication as that before us, must go somewhat into detail. A merely general one would be good for nothing. A writer, who unites the worship of the world and the service of God—who associates dancing and prayer—who, with the utmost coolness, suffers his prominent characters to put together strict virtue and naked women, yielding naturally enough to the temptations of their position—who represents illegitimacy and deceit in connection with goodness, purity, and perfection—would not scruple, if the usage of fashionable society required it, to apologize for the practice of dueling. The author may think that he avoids such an imputation by *denouncing* "modern dueling," in his "*vindication of knightly chivalry*;" but the connection in which his language is placed shows what is its natural bearing. A reprint of what he has voluntarily published, will enable the reader to judge for himself. We will only inform him that the duel takes place early in the morning after the night on which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper had been administered to the "apparently dying Clifford." The Earl Stratherne, Lady Alice's half-brother, is one of the principals. Whether it be incidental or not, the fact is, that the *communion* and the *duel* are brought together.

"Whether the removal of one of the grave responsibilities which have hitherto attached to the actions of the higher classes in Christendom, can take place without endangering a principle that has hitherto separated the Gothic civilization from that of the East, and of pagan antiquity—the principle, namely, that the individual, though subject to the state, is never resolved into it—merits the consideration

of moralists and students of the higher politics. The reconciliation of the law of chivalry with the law of Christian love, is so little difficult that they may indeed be said so to oppose, as mutually to sustain each other—that is to say, they are, as it were, the polar manifestations of one living principle, now exhibiting itself as meekness, and now as self-denying courage; here showing the lamb-like nature, and here the lion heart; prompting, in the same individual, forgiveness of injuries and generosity to foes, and resistance to oppression, the defense of the oppressed. And, without confounding, in this vindication of the knightly character, (traditional though now it be,) any apology for the false code of honor and the miserable custom of modern dueling, it may be affirmed, unhesitatingly, that ‘God gave not men swords in vain,’ and that He meant them to be so used as to secure the awful seriousness of our life in this world, militant from the beginning to the end.”

It is quite consistent with this to make Lord Stratherne reply “gravely” to the question—“You don’t mean to throw away your fire, I take it?”—“Certainly not.”

Let us now, as the last particular to be noted, turn to Clifford’s conversion. The reader must keep in mind that Frederick Clifford is the very paragon of perfection. Four years before “he might have been turned of twenty-three,” “there was nothing that he could not do, no *tour de force* whatever that he could not execute,” if we take the word of his future sister-in-law; and from the author’s account of him, you can think of nothing that he does not know. His versatility of talent shows itself in devising and assisting to perform “a ballet” or *Ondine* “formalization,” (p. 66,) in reading Persian poetry, in “clapping” into his presence “China and Hindoo” servants, and in converting sound Protestants of the Anglican Church and Oxford School to his own favorite popery. (P. 89.) Frederick Clifford is the beau ideal of perfection. Herbert Courtenay, the uncle of Lady Alice, who had “taken care that she should never be prevented by ignorance from joining in Christian worship,” (p. 27,) is so learned and accomplished, that a distinguished Italian ecclesiastic, “and able diplomat,” had expressed a wish to know him. Here—at the expense of an episode—we must show what sort of Christian worship good uncle Herbert had taught his niece to join in. The scene is a Romish cathedral at Milan; the principal personage, a professed member of the Church of England. “The lady was at the *benitier*. She dipped the tip of her finger in the holy water, crossed herself in the usual way, and moved on.” The good seed had fallen on a kindly soil. “A priest was saying low mass. A bell announced the consecration. The lady instantly knelt,” and afterward “crossed herself twice.” She behaves, doubtless, in all respects, in accordance with her teacher’s instructions, and of course secures the praise of Clifford, who had watched and followed her.

"Do you know that I am surprised to find you so good a Catholic?" "A daughter of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of England should be a good Catholic." "But I should not have expected her to conform so exactly to our usages. Had not I known who you were, I should have taken you for a devout and well-instructed Milanese." "My uncle Herbert has taken care," said Alice, "that I should never be prevented by ignorance from joining in Christian worship."

Now, while it is clear that the enthusiastic religionist had been initiated by the Church of England divine into the devotional usages of the Romish communion, whose services she evidently estimates higher than those of her own Church, and for which she does not scruple to leave the instructions of its ministers, (p. 29,) it may be doubted whether any pains had been taken to teach her Presbyterian, or Methodist, or other anti-Romish forms. As we do not know whether the careful uncle regarded these forms as properly belonging to "*Christian worship*," we must be content to remain in doubt.

The Rev. relative to whom lady Alice is so much indebted, visits Clifford, and a short conversation takes place. The host refers to his own agency in having converted his "tutor to the Church of Rome," (it might be expected that such a man would be "wiser than his teachers,") and with a charming simplicity tells his guest, "I want to see if the same arguments will have a similar effect on yourself."

The doubt expressed by the visitor is really most influential, and throws a flood of light on the result. "I fear I should scarcely listen to them with the same bias toward conviction." (P. 89.) The author does indeed deserve the honest thanks of every lover of truth for this intimation. Almost any thing may be admitted where there is an accommodating bias, and not one man in a hundred can rid himself of bias. Courtenay shows a true knowledge of human nature. The argument between him and Clifford is short and miserably imperfect. Bossuet and Claude, or Chillingworth, would have been amused at such a discussion. In a minute or two the tables are turned; the confident Romanist begins to doubt, and the result is, that he requests a list of books on the controversy, which he promises to "get and begin reading to-night." This is quite a pleasant illustration of his eagerness, and a plain confession of his ignorance. While the preparations would naturally lead the reader to expect a calm and dispassionate development of the great argument between Romanism and true Christianity, there is in fact nothing that is worthy of the name. It is all comprehended within a single page, and might be regarded as the most perfect mountain-deliverance imaginable.

But still this may be a very superficial view of the matter.

The profundity of the argument may have been accommodated to the depth of error to be drawn out and removed. The "conversion" chapter may, after all, be a clever illustration of the author's consummate ability to adapt his logic to the degree of difference between the religious systems of the disputants. Viewing it in this light, it is, most probably, the master-piece of the book. Where the quantity of error to be removed is comparatively little, it were folly to waste a great amount of effort. Alice, we are told, "accepted the dogmas of Clifford's faith apparently nearly as himself. She did not consider the doctrine of his Church heretical, nor its worship idolatrous." (P. 88.) On the contrary, she did not scruple to "leave the English chapel immediately after even-song, without waiting for afternoon sermon," in order to arrive "in season to take her seat in the Royal French Church," there to join in Roman Catholic devotions. (P. 29.) To the remark, "You don't scruple passing for a Roman Catholic, and I can't see how you differ from one," she replies,—“So long as I am living beyond the jurisdiction of the Church of England; but the instant I set my foot on the British soil, or so much as on a British deck, I am, as ever, an Anglo-Catholic. I love and revere the Apostolic Church of Rome, and in these countries I avail myself, without scruple, of the means of grace which it offers.” (Pp. 139, 140.) This accommodating spirit is wholly at variance with the condemnation of Romanism, which appears everywhere in the standards of the Church of England. But Alice was a ready pupil of her gifted uncle, and her training does him infinite credit. Courtenay's Anglicanism, and Clifford's Romanism, correspond in so many particulars, that a transition from one to the other is quite natural. One illustration of such correspondence is abundantly sufficient to show this.

"The frigid reasoning," says Clifford, "which refuses the mother of God a relative worship, such as Catholics universally render her, necessarily checks the pious instincts of the heart." (It is probable that the ancient idolators who "made cakes and burned incense to the queen of heaven," thought and felt in the same way.)

"The worship of the virgin," said Herbert, 'is a beautiful and poetical feature of medieval Christianity, with which I am not inclined to meddle. Being not commanded, either directly or by inference, in the sacred books received by Christians, and not practiced in the earlier ages, it clearly has no claim to be considered an integral element of our religion. It seems to be a part of natural piety, carried, as I think you will allow, in some instances, to a superstitious and hurtful excess.' Clifford slightly started. 'My very thought!' he said to himself. 'You have no interest,' he added aloud, 'but that of truth. Certainly, without candor, it is impossible to be truly wise.' (P. 90.)

The wisdom herein contained certainly does not lie on the surface, and in the unfortunate absence of any intellectual bucket to draw with, we are reluctantly compelled to leave it at the bottom of the well. Clifford's love for Alice doubtless predisposed him to compliment her uncle's candor and wisdom, and to open his ear to instructions, the practical bearing of which was so agreeable. After all, it is evident that his conversion is no radical change from Popish errors, as, in his first letter to Mr. Courtenay, he only expresses his conviction "that the position of the Roman communion is untenable in England." (P. 98.)

Perhaps it will be said, in palliation at least, if not in vindication of the author, that it would be unreasonable to pronounce sentence upon a book from the sentiments and conduct of the characters therein depicted; that such a procedure would result in the condemnation of some of the best standard writers; that even Shakespeare could not pass such an ordeal; and that sacred Scripture itself contains many delineations of vice which can never, without the greatest unfairness, be regarded as indicative of its general character and tendency. Without questioning in any degree the truth and importance of the principle, we maintain that the cases are not parallel. The exhibitions of sin and error in the Bible, are well known to be in direct opposition to its leading characteristic, and stand forth as solemn warnings. They are examples of instruction, inculcating lessons of that truth and holiness with which the whole book so eminently abounds. The improprieties and indecencies, if you will, which occasionally soil the fair pages of Shakspeare, do sometimes indeed merit severe reprobation; but they are abundantly redeemed by the general character and tendency of those matchless productions, which, while they inculcate sound morals, exhibit sin in all its deformity, and, by their profound knowledge of human nature and inimitable excellence in developing and representing it, mark that master mind as the commanding genius of the world. Most of the false sentiments that appear in the great English bard, are uttered by those whom he does himself expose to the reader's scorn. Sir Walter Scott points out this characteristic of the immortal painter of men and manners, when, to the remark, "We have Shakspeare's authority for saying, that wine is a good familiar creature, and that any man living may be overtaken at some time," he makes his heroine reply, "Ay, but he places the panegyric and the apology in the mouth of the greatest villain his pencil has drawn."

But the apologist for Lady Alice cannot urge this plea.

Sentiments even grossly objectionable are advanced by some of its prominent persons, and conduct which, so far from being capable of vindication, ought not to be mentioned without reprobation, is coolly described at length without one word of censure, either in the immediate connection or elsewhere. We maintain that the tendency of the book is bad, and, but for overwrought extravagance, would be worse than it is. An author has no right to publish a work of improper or even doubtful tendency, and he cannot logically shield himself from censure by denying that he has advocated what bears such an imputation. And yet, from the benefit of even this flimsy pretext, this writer has excluded himself, by the eulogies that he has passed on the principal personages of his book.

In concluding this notice, there are two points to which we are particularly solicitous to direct attention, as we are apprehensive that there are indications among us by no means of doubtful character, which show the expediency, if not the necessity, of bringing them clearly before the Church.

The reader of *Lady Alice* cannot fail to be struck with the prominence given throughout to the external and the sensuous in public worship, and especially in the ornamental arrangements of the chancel. Indeed, this is so carried out to an extravagant degree of correspondence with the gorgeous decorations which set off the most pompous occasions of the Roman ceremonial, that the imitation becomes perfectly contemptible, if not disgusting. The author has overshot the mark. If his representations of certain chapels connected with the English establishment did truly describe any places of public worship under that establishment, it would be quite time for diocesan interference. But few readers will be disposed to regard them in any other light than creations of an excited imagination, luxuriating with unbounded license in that absorbing thought of exterior fitness which seems to predominate in his mind over almost every other consideration. It would be easy to fill columns with quotations to this effect. It is the topic on which he delights to dwell, and therefore he makes occasions to introduce it repeatedly. Indeed, after reading the descriptions in pages 41, 87, 88, one is tempted to ask in all seriousness—are these meant for descriptions of what really exists, or are they, with other similar things in the book, to be comprehended within “the Allegory” mentioned in the Preface? Be this as it may, we are furnished with sufficient evidence of the importance attached to such matters by the general tenor of the book. The chancel is the ornamented sanctuary, and the communion table is the sacred altar on

which is "celebrated the *august sacrifice*, (p. 147,) the great and tremendous oblation *in the holy Eucharist* of which the fathers speak." (P. 42.) The author should have said the fathers of *the fourth and following centuries*.

The evident bearing of all this is to inculcate a mistaken or Romish view of the Eucharist. No doubt the general tendency of the age is to disregard positive institutions, and thus to disparage the sacraments of Christianity. But it is an important question—is this the best way to counteract such tendency, and to effect what is so desirable, namely, a holy and religious regard for those divine institutions as elements of the Gospel of Christ, and means and channels of His grace? And we are compelled to answer in the negative. Truth is not to be gained by running from the extreme of one error to the extreme of another; from carelessness and cold disregard to childish superstition. Whatever gray, wise medical heads may think of the homœopathic principle,—*similia similibus curantur*,—the theological faculty will certainly pronounce it anti-puritan. The "position" laid down by Cartwright and opposed by Hooker, "is, that *evils must be cured by their contraries*." And the extravagances which show themselves, in our day, among *a few* ultraists, may well suggest the inquiry, have they not, by the natural tendency of extremes to meet, gone back, in no slight degree, to the Puritanism of Elizabeth's reign, and in defending the farthest remove from Presbyteranism, and by introducing a system excessively ceremonial, run unawares into the very regions which, of all others, they would have wished to avoid. "The cure of the Church infected with poison must be done with that which is thereunto as contrary as may be," said the *old Puritan*; and so says the *modern ultraist*. Now, "we," says the *really wise man*, "we are contrariwise of opinion, that he which will perfectly recover a sick and restore a diseased body unto health, must not endeavor so much to bring it into a state of *simple* contrariety, as of *fit proportion* in contrariety unto those evils which are to be cured. The first thing, in skillful cures, is the *knowledge of the part affected*; the next, of *the evil which doth affect it*; the last is not only of the *kind*, but also of the *measure of contrary things*, whereby to remove it. They which measure religion by dislike of the Church of Rome, think every man so much the more sound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to seem more large."* To apply this to the case in hand, we have only to

* Hooker, Book IV, Section 8, Vol. I, pp. 457-8. Oxford ed., 1793, 8vo.

substitute Geneva, or some such name, for Rome. *Mutatis mutandis*, judicious Hooker's arguments are opposed to absurd extravagances in all ages, and of course to ultraism in ours. And here we cannot but stop and ask, whether,—by extraordinary elevations of the platform of a chancel; by profusion of symbolical and mystical ornaments; by substituting a closed altar, whether made of wood or stone, for a holy table; by scrupulously employing the former name and scrupulously avoiding the latter; by carefully turning the face to the place where the divine presence is supposed especially to be, whenever in public worship this can be done; and by so constructing the prayer-desk to be occupied by the officiating minister that he must so turn;—there is not at least some danger that a clergyman may, unconsciously, indeed, and with the best of intentions, but yet effectually, present to his people erroneous views of the Lord's Supper, and prepare for the reception of the notion of a *corporeal* presence, which the Church of England, in the clearest possible terms, expressly repudiates.* *Obsta principiis*. Let those who would avoid the rocks of Scylla, beware of the whirlpool of Charybdis.

The other point suggested for consideration, is the danger of suffering any approach to simulation in religious profession. By this remark it is not intended to charge this, even indirectly, on the work before us. The feelings, aspirations, and doctrinal views of its leading *dramatis personæ* are quite clearly developed, and, if we perceive in them more of the artistic and poetic *sentiment* of religion than of its uncompromising and consistent *principle*, we must give the author credit for an honest exhibition of them. His *religieuses* are "passionately fond of dancing" and the gaieties of high life; and, as "Lord Maltravers observed, Lennox house is the centre of *fashion* as well as of *piety*." His Anglicans make no attempt to conceal their *sympathy* with the Church of Rome, and, indeed, do not scruple to acknowledge a *preference* for some of its peculiarities;† and his convert remains, in a good degree,

* In a notice appended in the English Prayer-Book to "the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper," it is stated, that "the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven, and *not here*, it being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one."

† The passage on which this remark is founded contains a "development" of *opinion* and *purpose*, so felicitously brought out, that we cannot forbear giving it to the reader. The conversation is between the two lovers:—"Perhaps I do wrong to say such things to you; but does not your own ritual seem tame and naked after ours?" "If my mother," said Alice, "were not so beautiful and interesting as the mother of one of my friends, I should still love her a great deal more. But our rite too is beautiful. I own," she added, her eyes gazing into his with

a Romanist. These personages evidently show what they are in religious profession and faith. But an honest openness of character, making the whole man translucent, as it were, cannot be said to appertain to them. It is Alice herself who affirms the Jesuitical axiom that "*the divine result hallows the indispensable means*," (p. 124 ;) and although her remark is limited to "art," the lady's practice on *this* and various *other occasions*, proves that she did not intend to confine the application of so convenient a principle to the use of the pencil. "The sentence of society," she tells us in another place, "is too dreadful not to be avoided by *every innocent concealment*," (p. 71 ;) and the author represents her as "forced to become a *guileless deceiver*." (P. 141.) Into what extravagance of dissimulation she permits herself to be carried, has been before stated, and it needs no argument to show the inconsistency of her course with the apostolic direction *to be true in all things*. And further, although it may be conceded that the prominent persons in the fiction do honestly avow their religious convictions, it is nevertheless very evident that they are not candid and conscientious members of the Church of England. If there can be any such thing as denunciation, in plain language, not to be mistaken, of certain erroneous doctrines and mischievous usages of Rome, it is undoubtedly to be found in the religious standards of that Church; and these, its members are presumed to regard as authoritative, and its ministers as binding. To embrace and cherish such doctrines, and to pant after, or cling to, such usages, and at the same time profess to regard her as a spiritual mother, and to feed both soul and body at her fountains of life, is neither honorable nor honest. That we have among us some individuals—it is believed that the number is small—who are desirous of approximating nearer to the Church of Rome than the principles of the English reformation and the doctrines and practices settled by the English reformers would allow, is unquestionable. And that within a few years there have been

childlike fearlessness, "that I weep sometimes over the wall of Zion that is broken down, and when I can't help seeing the marks of the spoiler in the very sanctuary. And there are those, dear Frederick, who are doing something more than weep, who are beginning to rebuild. Even I hope to aid, one of these days, in so holy an enterprise."—"To think of all the wonders of religious art, once existent in England, which a barbarous fanaticism has destroyed!" "Yes," said Alice, with an expression of sadness succeeding to the animation of the moment before; "but it is better, don't you think, dear Frederick, to break the beautiful windows, than to pervert holy doctrines and rob us of the consolations that God intended us to have?" "And who, Alice, do you think, has done so?" "I was thinking," said Alice, rising to go, "of my own Church. I mean, that *she* has suffered worse things than the defacing of her sanctuaries." P. 27. The last remark is clearly explanatory of the former.

wishing to enter the ministry of our Church, with Romish possessions and preferences, is matter of history. If some d-be-reformers desire to merge our constitutional peculiarities into an Erastian latitudinarianism, others again are no desirous, by the help of a different latitudinarianism, to r the advocacy of transubstantiation, and other errors emned in our Prayer-Book. Let us plainly denounce any opt to show that such an all-embracing accommodation is xatible with the plain and undeniable meaning of our lards. It is not true. The honest man, who holds the rines and likes the usages of Rome, will not belong to a ch which likes neither, and pointedly condemns some of . An outward accommodation to prevailing views and tices, while in positions which seem to require it, with urpose of exerting influence in an opposite direction, is of the worst developments of Jesuitism. It is doing or ing to evil that good may come, and will be as truly ed by an honorable mind, as it is plainly condemned by POLIC AUTHORITY.

ART. IV.

CHARTER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COMPANY,

AND

KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

WHEN King Charles, the Martyr, bestowed a franchise upon a Company, mercantile in character, but missionary in design, he little thought that he was planting the germ of Republicanism in the New World. Beholding the project that was then forming in the English Church to extend Her borders over his dominions in the West, with the favor of a truly Catholic mind, he willingly added the weight of his prerogative to an enterprise which, it seemed, must draw down a benediction from Heaven. Had he foreseen that his gift would be perverted to a disloyal purpose, that in a few years the parchment which contained merely an act of incorporation would be sold into the hands of his enemies, and, borne over the ocean into the wilderness, would be set up as the constitution of an independent State, he would have hesitated ere he allowed the great seal of England to stamp it into life. But could he have looked further into futurity, and beheld the rising England of the New World perpetuating the glories of the Mother Country, protected by the laws of the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans, and enlightened by the religion which St. Augustine professed, doubtless the pious monarch would have furthered the schemes of the uneasy Puritans, and rendered their secret intrigues unnecessary.

We who are only in a transition state, can see how good is finally to come out of evil. The Church is grasping in Her embrace the great empire of the West, and Her garments are unstained by the blood of the aborigines, while Her reputation is untainted with the guilt of disloyalty. Puritanism has been working for Her advantage. Fraud, violence and cunning; enterprise, daring and self-sacrifice; the vices and virtues of the Puritan-pilgrims, have prepared the way for the nobler, the only true Christianity. From the bigotry of a few have arisen the blessings of the many. The guiding wisdom of Omnipotence is now discernible beneath the shallow surface of human fanaticism. Regeneration, the voice which waked the pagan slumbers of the Old World, was to be the genius of a new creation here. The painted

savage was no longer to tread his forests in the simple majesty of his nature and strength. His shrill war-whoop was to be echoed back by the thunder of cannon, and his native cunning was to become powerless before the art of civilization. His woods were to be prostrated, his game annihilated, and his wigwam deserted; and he himself was to be driven before a power he understood not, further and further towards the setting sun, until the waves of the Pacific received the last remnants of his race, and his existence had become but a name. A new day was to dawn upon the West, a day carrying with it all the blessings of Christianity. There was to be there a new Heaven and a new earth, and the Cross of a true Faith was to be erected upon every spire, and reflected back to the sky by every lake and stream.

Such is the philosophy taught by the true understanding of the past. We search in vain for a reason for the bloody traces of civilization, unless it can be found here. The greatest achievement of art is but a poor equivalent for the happiness of a single family of savages, if it reaches no farther than the external and material world. A civilization which is crimson with blood and reeking with fraud, would be but little worth, if it comprehended nothing beyond the creations of steam and the magic of the telegraph.

We propose to make some inquiry into the origin of the most energetic colonization the world ever beheld, that of Massachusetts Bay. That this subject has been curiously distorted alike by doctors of law and history, the sequel will show, and we think that our examination of the original authorities will prove that we are indebted for the groundwork of this fair New England picture, not to the magnanimity of Puritanism, but to the zeal of the English Church. Of the historians who have dealt with this subject, Grahame and Bancroft occupy the most false and partisan attitudes. Grahame, educated in the narrow school of the Scottish Kirk, possessed a mind so warped by prejudice and so infected with bigotry, that his prolix history is false alike in fact and principle. He beheld the world through a Calvinistic mist. The most depraved exhibitions of Protestantism had attractions for him, and with incredible assurance he can assert that those fanatics, the Brownists, were the most loyal of the English people, as well as the most pious, virtuous, and courageous.* He magnifies the virtues of the hardy pilgrim, and distorts with equal complacency the faults of the govern-

* Vol. I, p. 180, 2d edition.

ment towards which the pilgrim displayed not disloyalty merely, but rancor and malice. He sneers in execrable taste at James I, for assuming the style of "sacred majesty:" forgetting the anointed character of the Princes who then sat upon the throne of England; and also that not a successor of John Knox "beats the drum ecclesiastic" in his beloved Kirk, who does not appropriate to himself with scrupulous care the title of "reverend." He carps at such "heathenish customs" as the drinking of healths, but passes over the atrocious crimes of Puritanism with gentle rebukes. He sees nothing excellent but in some form of dissent. He belongs to that class of Protestant writers who consider worldly prosperity as a sign of heavenly benediction. He fully believed in Cromwell's maxim, that the Lord's people are to be the head and not the tail, and that any means are justifiable to obtain this head-ship. A malignant hater of the Stuarts, a bigoted enemy of the Church, a zealous apologist for the crimes of Puritanism, and with all this neither an impartial, or thorough, or truthful relator of facts, he was totally unfit for the high office he assumed of teaching the world by examples. He wrote not for the world, but for New England; not for the New England of the present, but for that which has long since passed away. And he had the bitter mortification of living to see the America he so much worshiped, repudiate his gift and accept a more genial offering from one of her own sons.

As Grahame sees nothing excellent except in sectarianism, so Bancroft acknowledges nothing to be bad, unless it emanates from kingly institutions. He hates the Stuarts because they used, but more because they had, prerogatives. It is not the tyrant merely, but the KING, which brings out the venom of his pen. Radicalism, pure and unadulterated, that species of radicalism which beholds nothing bad in the many, and little that is good in the few, seems to be the ruling impulse which animates his labors as a historian. To have gained his approbation, a King must have undermined his throne, and a Bishop have broken his crook. The walls of a ballot box are large enough for his philanthropy, and that species of liberty which consists in compelling the few to submit to the many, *brings down* his apotheosis. A "press free even to dissoluteness," is one of the merits which he claims for an advancing civilization.* As he writes not to let the past speak for itself, but to bend it to support his own theories, so he does not

* Vol. II, p. 270.

scruple to identify himself with any party or system, however contradictory, if he can thereby promote his own ends. With the Quakers he can "*thee*" and "*thou* ;" with the Puritans he out-Puritanizes Cromwell ; with the Anabaptists he can kiss the dust under the feet of Roger Williams with a more superstitious reverence than the humble Papist in a better spirit bestows upon a nail-paring of St. Peter ; and with those noble missionaries who bore the white lily and the cross among the terrible warriors of the Five Nations, he can condescendingly become a hero and a martyr. These do not contradict his favorite philosophy. But, on the other hand, whatever is good and holy in the conservatism of the Church, and whatever adds strength and grandeur to the pyramidal structure of civil and social communities, meets from him with untiring assault. And thus it is with this writer that an apostolic faith becomes mouldy tradition ; that a kingly government and a loyal obedience are transformed into tyranny on the one hand and slavery on the other ; and that a gradual scale of social order is distorted into an odious antagonism between the few and the many. His hatred of loyal old England is the characteristic of his work, and he seeks with unbecoming eagerness opportunities for digression, in order to indulge in his favorite theme. So far is he carried away by this hostile spirit, that he perpetually violates the rule of the *res gestae* in his descriptions and illustrations, without making any allowance for the circumstances of time and place. Thus, in describing the treaty of Utrecht, he refers those of its provisions relating to the slave trade in favor of England, to the promptings of bad hearts and unscrupulous avarice, rather than to the faults of the time.* By the light of a clearer day England was the first nation to repudiate the system which preyed upon helpless Africa, and as if to show her shame for the past, she has gone to the other extreme. This is merely one instance of many, and we have not space in this connection to go more into detail. The candid inquirer who is unaffected by that worst of all cant, the cant of New Englandism, will judge for himself, in spite of common school falsehoods, and fourth of July hyperboles. He will not allow himself to be coaxed or threatened into the support of popular errors, even though they should be stamped with the counterfeit of truth by judicial decisions,—and doubtless his convictions will gain fresh strength, as he proceeds, that the history of the Western Republic is yet to be written. In the meantime let us calmly

* Vol. II, p. 232.

review the character of the enterprise which led to that most important event for Europe and the world, the settlement of Massachusetts Bay.

The discoveries of Cabot had given England a title to the North-Eastern coasts of America, and her people were in possession of a field which afforded ample room for the most active enterprise. But no individual effort was sufficient to overcome the obstacles in the way of colonization, and combination was finally resorted to as the only feasible method. The signal failures of Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia, seemed to prepare the public mind for those huge monopoly companies which shortly after engrossed nearly the whole of British America. King James divided all that part of North America between 34° and 45° of latitude, into two grand divisions, the Southerly of which he bestowed upon a London Company, and the Northerly upon a Company formed in Plymouth and Bristol, (1606.) The forbidding nature of the soil and climate of New England was not at that time known. On the contrary, that territory being within the same parallels of latitude which comprise the Southerly parts of France and the more Northerly of Spain, was supposed to be as fertile in soil and as mild in climate.* And this natural supposition became highly colored by the accounts received from adventurers. The romantic voyage of Gosnold particularly, made under the favorable influence of the summer solstice, (1602,) raised the expectations of the public and excited the warmest hopes. His discoveries seemed to have revealed a land where beauty and plenty struggled for the mastery. As he entered Massachusetts Bay, he beheld it "encompassed all around, even to the very sea, with sweet smelling woods," and many "monstrous fishes" sporting in its waters. Further on, the earth was splendid in its gay mantle of green, interwoven with berries and flowers; the woods teemed with "living creatures and wild fowl," who fearlessly made their homes in "these ends of the earth;" the air sparkled with the plumage of beautiful insects and birds; while the landscape was musical with the distant sounds of running waters, to whose medicinal springs the halt and maimed might repair, and "leave their crutches upon the adjoining trees." Besides, who could tell what mines of precious ores lay hid in the bowels of the earth?†

* Gorges, in his Description of New England, accounts for the coldness of its climate "partly by reason of the nearness of the sea, the mounting of whose waves break the reflection of the sun beams."

† Hubbard. Neal. "The country of the Massachusetts," says Capt. Smith, "is the paradise of all those parts; for here are many isles all planted with corn, groves, mulberries, and salvage gardens."

Such were the visions of the Northern Company, mingled with hopes of the advancement of religion, the enlargement of the empire and the increase of trade, when King James, an ardent lover of colonization, with royal munificence bestowed upon them the Northerly part of his dominions in the New World. Yet the attempts made by this Company to settle their territory were only partially successful. The stern band of Robinson alone, disgusted with their quiet condition at Leyden, where they suffered the evils of exile without any of its glory, founded by singular chance the famous colony of New Plymouth, in the territory of the Northern Company. Even the exiles of Leyden were influenced by the prevailing spirit of the times, and some fancies of suddenly acquired wealth cheered their farewell to "dear England," and mingled with their hopes of Heaven.* But failures could not discourage the ardent love of adventure which actuated all classes of society. Ship after ship spread its white wings for the West, freighted with ambitious dreams of vast wealth and growing empires. The subject assumed a new charm when the sea opened to view the great variety of its finny inhabitants, equally pleasing to the eye and the palate. Hooks and lines were a more simple apparatus than charters and monopolies, and were within the reach of the poorest subject. The humble treasures of the ocean, if not so precious, were at least yielded with more readiness than the gold and silver of Mexico and Peru; and the wondering eyes of the natives soon beheld the promontory of Cape Ann covered with stages, upon which were cured the vast numbers of fish that seemed to leap from the sea at the command of the English fishermen.

Encouraged by this new source of wealth, and jealous of the violations of their monopoly, the Northern Company resolved to strengthen themselves by obtaining a fresh grant from the King. A new patent passed the seals, (1620,) reorganizing the company as the council for the affairs of New England, the corporate power of which was to reside in Plymouth. This "Grand Council of Plymouth" was no longer a mere company of merchants; it was composed of the great men of the kingdom, whose resources it was supposed would enable them to overcome readily the obstacles of nature, and whose names would be sufficient to inspire trespassers with awe. The designs formed by this Council were in the high-

* Winalow's Brief Narrative, and Morton's Memorial. What profits do you intend, asked James of the Pilgrims, when they applied for a charter! and on being told *fishing*, replied, "So God have my soul, 'tis an honest trade; 'twas the apostle's own calling."

est degree magnificent, but were wholly unsuited for the wilderness, and they illustrate very forcibly the little progress that had then been made in the principles of colonization. It is impossible, however, to predict with certainty, what would have been the result of their undertaking, for their plans were frustrated by Sir Edward Coke, at that time Speaker of the House of Commons, and champion of "the liberties of the people." The aged lawyer, who was opposed to all monopolies, was especially hostile to the Council of Plymouth, and had sufficient influence to cripple their resources. They advanced no further in their plans than to send over Capt. Robert Gorges, with "a modest and prudent priest,"* who was to superintend the affairs of religion in the colony, and aid in protecting the poor natives from the wrongs and abuses that were already practiced upon them by adventurers. But although Gorges was created a Lieutenant General, endowed with a principality of three hundred square miles, and invested with large powers of office, he soon threw up a commission which had more of name than substance, and returned home in disgust, (1623.)

Thwarted so soon in the extensive scheme they had formed for the establishment of a royal province in New England, the Grand Council abandoned an undertaking which originated in imagination, rather than reason. The failure of this enterprise must have had a chilling effect upon the romance of colonization, but it opened a door for schemes of a more humble and practicable nature. In the same year in which Gorges returned home, some merchants in the West of England, who had fished for cod and bartered for furs in the region of Massachusetts Bay, conceived that a colony might be planted on that coast, "to further them in those employments."† Such an expectation was not unreasonable. It appeared not only feasible, but prudent, to leave the supernumeraries of the fishing vessels, when the season was over, at some eligible point on the coast, where, until the next season commenced, they might barter with the Indians, and, by moderate cultivation of the soil, produce fresh provision for the ships when they again arrived. A company on this basis was readily formed, and a capital of £3000 subscribed. But the time had not yet arrived for the colonization of Massachusetts Bay, and after repeated disasters, this company shared the fate of its predecessors, (1626.)

* Mr. Morel. Grahame says that he had the office of a Bishop. Does he mean that he was consecrated by the "Grand Council"?

† White's Brief Relation.

But now began to arise a new motive for action. The success of the Jesuit missions in every part of the globe was the subject of general wonder and remark. The disciples of Loyola had penetrated the wilds of America, and reached the sources of the Ganges, while the enemies of Rome were ridiculing holy-water and scoffing at relics. A rational fear began to be entertained that the pagan world, with its countless inhabitants and vast wealth, would soon acknowledge the sway of the Pope, while Europe was disputing whether he was the Man of Sin, against whom are directed the awful denunciations of the Holy Apostle. The reproach conveyed by reflections of this nature accompanied the enthusiast in his daily walks, and furnished ample topics for discussion in his social visits. The honor of the reformed religion appeared to be at stake, and why could not an effort be made to redeem its character?*

This subject had often been debated at Dorchester, a town which, from its maritime spirit, had been the source of much commercial adventure to America; and among its most active supporters was John White, a priest of the English Church.† By his zeal, the cause of missions was united to hopes of gain, and though a connection so unnatural could promise but feeble results, yet funds were necessary for a trial of the scheme, and these could only be obtained by the inducement of profits. The gallant band of "knights, gentlemen, and merchants," which embarked in the project, six only in number, procured from the Grand Council of Plymouth a grant of territory extending from three miles north of the Merrimac to three miles south of the Charles, rivers, and east and west from the Atlantic to the *South Sea*, for New England was then supposed to be, like the Mother Country, an island. Having thus laid a sure foundation for the intended work, they "imparted their reasons, by letters and messages, to some in London and the West Country," (1627.) Although the disasters of former companies were still fresh in the public mind, yet such was the love of adventure then rife in the commercial world, that many capitalists offered to subscribe, if proper persons could be found "to undertake the voyage." Inquiries were accordingly made, which led to a negotiation with "Master Endecott," one of the patentees, a man "well known to divers persons of good note," and who "manifested

* Mather. "General Considerations for the Plantation of New England." Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.

† White, though not an ultra Churchman, conformed, says Wood, "both before and when Archbishop Laud sat at the stern."

much willingness to accept the offers" that were made to him. The ready compliance of Endecott was a happy omen. Of moral reputation, and well acquainted with the forms of business, he appeared equally fitted to superintend the cause of missions, and to protect the interests of trade. No further difficulty was experienced in obtaining subscribers to an enterprise which was to raise up "a new colony upon an old foundation," and, in the summer of 1628, Endecott was despatched to New England, with a handful of servants, to lay a basis for future operations.*

But one thing was wanting to give completeness and unity to this Company with a double aspect. Composed of persons some of whom had in view the eternal welfare of the Indians, and others their own temporal gain, there was danger of imperfect action and misunderstandings, in the prosecution of objects so dissimilar. To obviate such difficulties, and to quiet their title, which, owing to the former grants of the Grand Council, was somewhat clouded, they determined to obtain a royal charter of incorporation. King Charles, generally unfavorable to the government of distant colonies by mercantile companies, was impressed with the novelty of a design which comprehended the enlargement of his empire, the extension of the Church, and the advancement of the national commerce. Puritanism had not yet expressed itself as a separate spiritual system, and a successful mission would redound to the glory of the Church and the honor of the throne. With such generous expectations, "a patent was granted, (March, 1628,) with large encouragements every way, by his Most Excellent Majesty."†

The appointment of officers, in the first instance, was reserved to the crown, and Matthew Cradock, who was more largely interested in the enterprise than any other stockholder, was nominated the first Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company. The accounts received from Endecott, whose expedition had been sent out as an experiment, were of an encouraging nature. He had planted his little colony at the head of a noble harbor, of easy access from the sea, and central among the tribes, who were expected to resort thither for barter and instruction. Measures were at once taken to conduct the affairs of the Company with vigor. The shares of the stockholders were proportioned, and new subscriptions were obtained. A reinforcement of planters and laborers

* Chalmers. White's Brief Relation.

† White's Brief Relation. Hutchinson. Mather.

was procured, and the services of several missionaries were engaged. Experts were enlisted who were skilled in minerals, and throughout all the operations of the Company, the same double aspect of religion and worldliness was curiously exhibited.* Letters of instruction were addressed to Endecott, advising him of these proceedings, and urging upon him, in singular connection, to promote the commercial and fishing interests of the Company, and to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the gospel. From these instructions it appears that they placed little confidence in the morals of Endecott's servants, who were much addicted to drinking, smoking, and swearing, and whose example they feared would have a bad effect upon the Indians.† Thus early was experienced the absurdity of carrying on at the same time, and by the same Company, the sale of gin and the spreading of the gospel.

In pursuance of the plans of the Company, three hundred persons, among whom were four missionaries, and several gentlemen who were to act as Endecott's council, sailed from the Isle of Wight in the month of May, and arrived safely at Salem in the latter part of June, 1628. But Endecott soon found that his situation was not devoid of difficulty. In his despatches to the Company, he loudly complained of his interloping countrymen, and of their irregular trading with the Indians. His own authority being insufficient to check such violations of their monopoly, he begged the Company to take the subject into consideration, and to use some speedy means for suppressing the evil. Alarmed for the security of their rights, the stockholders determined to petition the King for a renewal of the royal proclamation of 1622, which forbade persons to intrude upon the franchise of the Plymouth Company, and in the month of Nov., 1628, their petition was granted, "with other beneficial clauses."‡ To this point we are able to bring the early history of the Company, without discovering any claim made by its members to rights or privileges of a sectarian character.

But a new source of trouble soon arose. From the earliest organization of the Company under the charter, its mercantile seem to have predominated over its missionary interests. Out of a dozen or more meetings of the corporation and directors, not more than one or two had any reference to religious purposes. The stockholders seemed always more

* Early Records of the Company. Prince.

† Letters to Endecott. Johnson.

‡ Hazard. Early Records of the Company. Prince. Hubbard.

anxious to secure good sailors, fishermen, and mechanics, than zealous missionaries; and, while they sent out the former by hundreds, they commissioned but three or four of the latter. Still there were members of the Company who kept steadily and earnestly in view the chief end of the plantation. Differing in their religious sentiments at a time when such differences began to invade the family circle, as well as the district and parish, when even Abbot, the Primate of the Church, was infected with the growing distemper, and gave open encouragement to Puritanism, unanimity of opinion could hardly have been expected among the candidates for the post of missionaries. The question of conformity or non-conformity was therefore an indifferent one to the Company at large, provided nothing was done which could give offence to the King, and that no opportunities were afforded for "moving needless questions."* In accordance with these views, their ministers, Bright, Higginson, Skelton, and Smith, represented all religious classes then of weight or importance in the kingdom; but, while Bright was a conformist and was accepted without hesitation, Smith, who was a separatist, was obliged to enter into bonds not to disturb the colony or injure the Company by "his rigid principles."† In conformity with this politic course, the agreements entered into between the Company and the missionaries, bound the latter to no forms of worship or principles of faith. They were required to minister to the savages, and to give religious instruction to the servants of the Company; provided this was done, their employers would be content. And, as if to put this question beyond all cavil, the Company, in their letter to Endecott, declare, "as for the manner of exercising their duties, we leave that to themselves."

The emigrants who accompanied the missionaries were as opposite in their views. Some were conformists, others non-conformists, others separatists, and others of no religion at all. Their motives for emigration were as different as their opinions were heterogenous. Of the first class were John and Samuel Browne, who were sent over by the Company to aid in administering the oath of office to Endecott, and to assist in his council. Being gentlemen of fortune, and patentees, they were specially recommended to Endecott, by the Company, as persons entitled to "his favor and furtherance."‡

* Letter to Endecott.

† Hubbard. Hutchinson, &c.

‡ Letter of Instructions, May, 1628. Hazard.

But Endecott, in the discharge of his arduous duties, "had corresponded with the Brownists at Plymouth, who satisfied him that they were right." The scurvy had broken out in his little colony; and they supplied him with a doctor, who was not merely skilled in medicine, but was also a zealous controversialist. In three months he not only drove the scurvy from Naumkeag, but with it banished every vestige of the Church.* Endecott, perhaps out of gratitude, fell a ready victim to the wiles of this cunning leech. He repudiated, without difficulty, every rule of the Church in the formation of his religious society, and modeling himself upon his neighbors at Plymouth, put it to vote whether the missionaries sent over by the Company should be the spiritual instructors of the Company's servants.† Although in his last letters from the Company he had been particularly reminded "that the propagating the gospel was the chief thing they professed above all," yet he and the missionaries, with the exception of Bright, who soon withdrew from so unpromising a field, entirely neglected their duties. The religious affairs of the colony fell into the hands of a small faction of thirty, who signed a confession of faith drawn up by Higginson, in which, though they "covenanted" to be faithful towards their children and servants, they made only one cold allusion to the Indians.‡ Thus early was the charter of the Company robbed of its sacred character.

The Brownes, astonished at these sudden developments, and unable to check them, met every Sunday, with their friends, to listen to the beautiful language of the English Liturgy. But with the intolerance and tyranny characteristic of the sect which he had lately joined, Endecott cited the brothers to appear before him to answer to a charge of sedition. The defendants might well have declined to notice a summons at once insulting and illegal; but waiving all considerations of this nature, they appeared before the governor and avowed it as their belief that the course he was pursuing had a tendency towards the lowest forms of sectarianism. For themselves, they declared their determination to adhere to the Church of England. This prediction, which was afterwards remarkably fulfilled, had no weight with Endecott, who, finding that their resolution was unalterable, and making use of the power that was confided to him for far different purposes, forcibly seized upon their persons, and, notwithstanding the prejudice to their property, sent them compulsively to England.§ An

* Prince. † Hutchinson. ‡ Neal. Mather. § Mather. Hutchinson. Neal.

outrage so gross and palpable, could not pass without notice, although the victims found, on their arrival in London, that the Company had changed its character. They immediately petitioned for redress, and umpires were chosen, to whom the whole affair was referred, (Sept. 1629.) But nothing further appears to have been done. The charter, as originally bestowed by the King, had passed into new hands, and great lukewarmness was manifested towards redressing wrongs with which its present proprietors could have but little sympathy. Indeed, their treatment of these unfortunate gentlemen was, in the sequel, both wicked and contemptible. Fearing lest they should appeal to the King, they obtained possession of their private letters, and after violating the sacredness of their seals, voted to keep them to be made use of against the writers, as occasion should offer.* With this hold upon their actions, they openly treated their complaints as "slanders."† But it seems that they were sensible of the imprudence of Endecott's conduct, although their ears were closed to the voice of justice. In their letters to the plantation, they rebuked the overseer and the ministers for "undigested counsels too suddenly put in execution." For, said they, such proceedings may have "an ill-construction with the State, to which we must and will have an obsequious eye."‡

In the meantime, by a striking coincidence, Endecott's conversion to Brownism had been followed by the perversion of the charter. It was at a meeting of the stockholders, at Mr. Goffe's house, in London, (July, 1629,) that that extraordinary proposition was made, which entirely altered the complexion of their affairs. Several puritan gentlemen, of birth and fortune, alarmed at the suspension of Abbot, and at the measures which were adopted to suppress that disloyalty to the Church which he had been the chief instrument in fostering, determined to transport themselves and their families to the New World. Virginia was closed to the enemies of the Church, and they therefore decided to make application to the Massachusetts Company. But aware that such a movement, undertaken for such an end, would endanger the safety of the charter, they determined to make the removal of the corporation an indispensable condition of their own emigration. With the charter in their hands, three thousand miles away from the Star-Chamber and the King's Bench, they would feel com-

* Early Records of the Company.

† Letter to Skelton and Higginson, in Hazard.

‡ Early Records of the Company.

paratively safe. On sounding Cradock, the governor of the Company, they were pleased to find that he was not averse to the scheme, though from a different motive. Such had been the complaints of Endecott concerning the violations of the Company's monopoly, that it appeared for the best interests of the stockholders, that the corporation should transfer all its power to the plantation, since its presence on the spot would do more to prevent trespasses, than royal proclamations or empty threats. Cradock therefore assumed the difficult task of rendering this proposal palatable to his fellow corporators.*

Assembled at the house of the Deputy Governor for the transaction of their ordinary business, the General Court were astonished to hear from Mr. Cradock a proposal that the charter and the corporation should be removed into another hemisphere. His proposition was couched in artful terms. To the speculators, he urged this scheme with all the force of one who cared more for his speculations than for the law; and addressing himself to those members of the Company who were touched with the disease of Puritanism, he represented how, "for certain weighty reasons," such a movement would redound to the interests of true religion. An idea so novel, for which there existed no known precedent, excited much debate. The chief opposition to the measure came from those who were largely interested in the pecuniary success of the Company, but who had no desire to leave the comforts of civilization, for doubtful prospects in the wilderness. Is such a transfer legal? If so, how are the interests of those who do not choose to leave their native country, to be adjusted? But small returns have been received for the great outlays that have been made; is the Company, after all this expense, to surrender its mercantile character, in order to become an engine of sectarianism? These embarrassing questions could not be disposed of in one session. A committee was therefore chosen to advise with counsel, and to report at the next meeting of the Court; and in the meantime, members were desired to consider secretly of the proposal, and "to take care that the same be not divulged."†

Fortunately for the success of the scheme, the counsel consulted by the committee was Mr. White, a puritan law-

* Chalmers's Annals. Early records of the Company. Hubbard. Prince, &c. This is the most obscure point of this intrigue, and the only point about which there is any uncertainty.

† Early Records, &c. Hubbard. Hutchinson. Prince.

yer, who was a member of the Company, and favorable to the wishes of the applicants.* "Great stress was laid upon his opinion;" and fortified as it was with the influence of Winthrop, Johnson, Dudley, and other distinguished persons, whose names were now for the first time divulged, it broke down the weight of opposition.† In the month of August, "after a warm debate," the question was put, whether the corporation should be removed to Massachusetts, or in other words, whether the charter of the Company should become the constitution of a State, and was decided in the affirmative by "a general rising of hands." Thus the charter passed into the hands of the Puritans. But the decision was not unanimous. Some regret perhaps might have been entertained, that a franchise, royally bestowed for a godlike purpose, should so speedily be perverted. Perhaps in some solitary breast a pang of sorrow was felt, that not one of those pagans, whose lands they were appropriating, whose game they were wasting, and whose simple fisheries they were destroying, had been taught to chant a Christian paean.

Such generous emotions, however, if they existed at all, were soon drowned in apprehensions of pecuniary loss. The minority, doubtful of the operation of the transfer, or still fearful concerning its legality, proposed that the government of the Company should wear a double aspect; and that while "the government of persons" should be established in Massachusetts, "the government of trade and merchandises" should be continued in England. Great resistance was made to this project, and the division was carried to such a length, that it was found necessary to obtain the intervention of counsel, committees, and umpires. Even Cradock himself appears to have favored this amendment to his proposition, for he was chosen one of the committee on behalf of "the adventurers," to treat with the committee on behalf of "the planters," for thus the two parties were designated. Finally, after a long and heated negotiation, it was agreed that those members of the Company who remained in England should retain a share in the stock and profits, for the term of seven years, and that at the end of that period the capital of the Company, with such accumulations as had accrued, should be

* Grahame says that *eminent* lawyers were consulted, and afterwards wonders that such ignorance of the principles of law should have been displayed. The truth is, that the parties interested made all this show about counsel, in order to dissipate the scruples of the timid.

† *Early Records, &c.* Hutchinson.

divided among all the stockholders, in proportion to their respective interests.*

Such was the inglorious end of a noble franchise. The salvation of the red-men was made to yield to the interests of Puritanism. The new corporators, who effected this fraud upon the King and the Church, had weightier objects in view than the propagation of the gospel. Their aspirations soared above the humble horizon of the charter, and they would not discern the melancholy truth, that thus to alter its original purpose, operated in fact to rob the Indians. Nothing obscured their mental vision but ceremonies and bishops. The hope that brightened the future with them, had for its basis the abolition of surplices. If they could stand in prayer instead of kneeling, if they could do away with the sign of the cross, if they could elevate the pulpit above the altar, if they could degrade saints' days and revive the Jewish sabbath, if they could clothe the ministry in black instead of white robes, what mattered it to them how many victims they crushed under the wheels of their Puritan Juggernaut?

Prejudice and ignorance, ever inseparable, have done much to obscure the true character of the charter; and it is a common error to believe that the franchise bestowed by Charles the First upon the Massachusetts Bay Company, was intended as an immunity to the Puritans;—that from the beginning the corporation enjoyed the same uninterrupted character. To combat this general idea is an easy, but may prove an invidious task. It can never be grateful to men to learn, that those whom they have been accustomed to reverence for a particular action, are the rather open to censure. And certainly, unless it can be shown that the charter was perverted to purposes far different from those intended by the King, the subsequent treatment of the Company by the crown, was censurable and undeserved. To vindicate the honor of Charles on this point, a brief inquiry will suffice; and it will be admitted that the law and facts agreeing, together furnish a conclusive theory.

The title of Europeans to the New World rested upon discovery. This is a principle which all civilized nations acknowledge. It derives its force from divine laws, for civilization must necessarily have preëminence over Nature, whenever the two come in contact. It reaches not to the pillage of the natives, but gives only such territorial rights as are not inconsistent with justice and equity. If the claims of prop-

* Early Records, &c. White's Brief Relation. Prince. Hutchinson.

erty are recognized by the aborigines, it would be gross injustice to interfere therewith. If their laws and customs are in the main fair and equitable, there can be no justifiable plea for intrusion. How far interference may be defensible, depends upon the circumstances of each case. Vattel justly complains of the Spaniards that they tried the Inca of Peru by the laws of Spain ;* but had the Peruvians been a people living without law or order, the Spaniards would have been open to censure, if they had neglected to substitute order for chaos. Such is the fostering care that Nature claims from Art.

The title of the aborigines to the soil in America has been questioned. Whether, according to the definition of property given by Locke, such an occupancy of land was maintained by them as barred the claims of Europeans, it is not worth while to inquire. But waiving this view of the question, so harsh and inequitable as regards the rights of savages, the better opinion seems to be, that the relation existing between the aborigines and Europeans, gave "to the government of the latter, by whose subjects or authority the discovery was made, the title to the country and the sole right of acquiring the soil from the natives." Consequently, "the nations which established colonies in America, assumed the ultimate dominion to be in themselves, and claimed the exclusive right to grant a title to the soil, subject only to the right of occupancy in the Indians."† This qualified dominion therefore over the territory of New England, vested by right of discovery in the English crown, in trust for the English people; and the laws of the kingdom, so far as they were applicable to the condition of the country, became immediately in force.‡ Every Englishman who fixed his residence there, continued to be an English subject, owing allegiance to his sovereign, and bound by the laws of the realm. And the obligation was reciprocal. The oath of coronation bound the sovereign equally in every part of his dominions. He could not grant rights in America forbidden by the laws he was sworn to execute, nor could he establish political and religious systems inconsistent with those erected by Parliament. The oath so forcibly expressed in the ancient formula, "*qui il gardera et meintenera lez droitez et lez franchises de seynt esglise*," would never permit such an use of his prerogative as might

* Le Droit des Gens, B. II, ch. 4, § 55.

† 3 Kent's Com. Vol. III, p. 379.

‡ Salk. 411, 666, 2, P. Wms. 75. Blackstone's Com. Vol. I, p. 107. 16 Pick. Rep., p. 115.

endanger her best interests. Holding all discovered countries as trustee for the benefit of his people, he would commit a fraud upon them did he carve out valuable rights therefrom, and bestow them upon a small sect whose avowed principles were hostile to the laws of the land. His custody of national property extended not to absolute ownership. He could only grant those rights and privileges which flowed from him as the fountain of honor and justice. And if his object had been to set up in his dominions a franchise unknown to the law, he must have had recourse to Parliament. For in Parliament alone rested supreme power.*

Those writers therefore who argue that the charter was expressly intended as an immunity to the Puritans, are supported neither by law nor fact. They can show no power in the King to offer such a premium to dissent, nor were the subsequent acts of the grantees consistent with such a theory. They did not emigrate with their wives and children, nor did they publish to the world a declaration which would have been read with wonder and perhaps with admiration. On the contrary, all their religious enthusiasm was solely directed into the channel of propagation; and when the overtures of the Puritans were made for the purchase of the charter, they met them with caution and secrecy.

The argument is made complete and triumphant by an examination of the charter itself; and in a question so important, on the correct decision of which depends our capacity to judge of future events, a brief inquiry into the nature of this famous franchise will be pardoned. Was the charter of Massachusetts Bay the organization of a mercantile Company, or the constitution of a Puritan State? There are five characteristics which distinguish corporations from all other legal bodies. First, they are perpetuities, have perpetual succession, and of course power, express or implied, of electing new members. Secondly, they may sue and be sued, grant and receive by their corporate names, and, in general, do all such acts as may be done by natural persons. Thirdly, they may purchase and hold lands for the benefit of themselves and their successors. Fourthly, they must have a corporate seal. Fifthly, they may make by-laws, or private statutes, for the management of their affairs, provided they are not contrary to the laws of the land, for then they are void. These are the distinguishing features of corporations, and their powers are granted "for the advancement of religion, of learning, and of commerce."†

* 1 Kyd 61; Cro. Car. 73, 87.

† Blackstone's Com. I, p. 487.

Their property is subject to taxation, unless specially exempted, and their members are not discharged from their allegiance or loyalty. Their charters give them, on certain conditions, anomalous powers and rights; but they do not remove one duty that they owe in their corporate or individual capacities to their fellow subjects, to the King, or to God.

The application of these principles to the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company will afford a sure key to its character. We find in that instrument no grants of powers sufficient for the establishment of a State; no authority to levy taxes, without which a government would be lifeless; no authority to assemble the representatives of the people, without which it would be impotent; no authority to erect courts of judicature, without which it would be lawless. In short, neither in the executive, legislative or judicial branch of government, is one power granted, one right yielded, or one office created, sufficient for political purposes. But in its true design, as an act of incorporation simply, the charter is admirable and complete. It did not operate to create a provincial government, but it organized a mercantile Company, conferring upon the stockholders the right to plant a colony. It granted all the powers which were necessary for the successful pursuit of commercial business. It confirmed the sale made by the Grand Council of Plymouth, of lands, waters, ports, havens, fisheries, mines, minerals and precious stones; reserving, however, to all English subjects, the right of exercising "the trade of fishing" upon the coast, and the necessary easements connected therewith. It granted even the royal mines of gold and silver which were supposed to lay "hid in the bowels of the earth," reserving only to the crown one-fifth part of the ore which might be obtained. It gave to the Company a corporate name under which to have perpetual succession, and by which to plead, prosecute, and answer all suits, quarrels, and actions, of what kind and nature soever. It gave to the Company a common seal, "to be used in all their causes and occasions," and full authority to break and alter the same. It settled the nature of the government of the Company, providing therefor a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and a board of eighteen Assistants or Directors, any seven of whom, with the Governor or his Deputy, were to be a quorum, whose frequent meetings might tend to the better management of the Company's business. It provided for four annual assemblies of all the members or Freemen of the Company, who, so assembled with the Governor and Assistants, were to constitute "great and general Courts." It

granted to these Courts the power of admitting new members to the franchise, of commissioning such officers as should be found necessary for the management of their business, and of making such regulations for the benefit of their plantation, as should not be repugnant to the laws and statutes of England. Lastly, it provided that oaths of office should be taken by the Governor, Deputy, and Assistants, for the due and faithful performance of their several duties.

Having thus organized the Company, the charter proceeds to mention more particularly the objects contemplated by the corporators, and some peculiar privileges which the King "of his especial grace" bestowed upon them. It was made lawful for the Company to convey to their plantation in New England, any loyal subjects who were willing to proceed there, together with such foreigners as would live in allegiance to the English crown. They were further authorized to transport shipping, armor, ammunition, provisions, cattle, merchandise, and all other things necessary for the well-being of the plantation, the defence of its inhabitants, and their trade with the natives.* And for "the further encouragement" of the Company, the charter remitted all taxes upon their property in New England for seven years, and also upon any merchandise exported or imported thence, to and from England, for twenty-one years, reserving only the usual five per cent. custom upon such merchandise due according to "the ancient trade of merchants."† It secured to the loyal servants of the Company who should inhabit the plantation, and to their children born there, the liberties and immunities of English subjects to as full an extent as if they were resident at home; and to the better attainment of this end, provided that the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance should be administered by the Governor and any two of the Assistants, to all persons who should at any time proceed to the plantation. For the peaceable and religious government of the colony, in the hope that the example of its inhabitants might win the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God, which "*in our royal intention and the adventurer's free profession is the principal end of this plantation,*" the charter granted full authority to the Company in England to

* These two privileges were, in general, controllable by royal proclamation, and the charter operated as a license under the great seal.

† This was an ancient revenue belonging to the King for two reasons, viz: because he allowed his subject to depart the realm, and carry his goods with him; and because the King is bound to maintain all ports and havens, and to protect the merchant from pirates.

establish a magistracy for their planters and servants, to make rules and ordinances, and to impose "fines, mulcts and imprisonments, or other lawful corrections, according to *the course of other corporations*" in the realm. Finally, for the special defence and safety" of the colony, it granted to those officers of the Company who were employed to manage their affairs in New England, full authority to resist by force of arms, all military invasions or other attempts made against the safety of the plantation and its inhabitants.

Such was the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company. As a legal instrument its symmetry was perfect, its details minute, its scope expansive and free. Nothing appears wanting for the successful prosecution of missionary effort or mercantile adventure. But viewed as a political constitution, it becomes at once confused and objectless. The distinction between the Company and the plantation is destroyed, and the relation of each to the other must be a source of endless speculation. What are the powers of the executive? Where is the legislature, and where the judiciary? How is the government to be supported? For the property of all corporations is liable to taxation by Parliament, and by-laws levying money on the subject by a corporation, are void.* Merge the Company in a people, and how can the latter assemble four times in each year? Erect the board of directors into a Council of State, and what limits their power, or defines their relation to the King? It will hereafter appear how awkwardly the charter fitted the purposes of government when the transfer was made;—how taxes were levied by the Assistants against the consent of the Freemen;—how the Assistants, irresponsible, usurped all the powers of government, so that their tyranny led the people to clamor for a *magna charta*;—how the corporate seal was entirely cast aside;—how the quarter-yearly meetings of the Company were disused as impassable customs, and how the General Court was consequently resolved into a representative and parliamentary body.

The legal character of corporations being ascertained, a rule of law applies which restrains any abuse of their privileges. Corporations can have no other rights than such as are "specifically granted." Being mere creatures of law, established for special purposes, their powers must be confined to the operations prescribed by their charters. And the Puritan-pilgrim had no sooner established his system in Massa-

* Case of *Quo Warranto*, Treby's Arg. 29; Sawyer's Arg. 42; *Player v. Vers*, T. Ray. 328.

chusetts, than it became necessary for him to set up some defense for an act which was "in contempt of the laws of England." Thrusting aside the two oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, for the administration of which the charter expressly provided, he assumed that the true construction of that instrument gave him liberty to regulate his ecclesiastical affairs according to the dictates of his own conscience.* Notwithstanding penal laws were in force at this very time against the insane fanaticism which threatened both Church and State, and soon accomplished their overthrow, it was insisted that the King had given a portion of his subjects liberty to set up in his dominions a religion utterly opposed to the national Church, to himself as the head of the Church, and which was soon to prove itself unfriendly to the monarchy itself. But however inconsistent such a construction of the charter was both with law and fact, it was equally opposed to common sense. For it is absurd to suppose that the King, knowing the applicants for this franchise to be Puritans, a sect proverbial for its turbulence and disloyalty, not only gave them a charter, but bestowed upon them special marks of his favor. It is insulting to common sense to assert that Charles intended to encourage a plantation by the remission of its taxes, the avowed object of which was the establishment of a religion, that since the days of Queen Mary had been striving for the overthrow of the Church he so dearly loved and venerated.

Weak and untenable indeed are all such arguments. They will not bear the most superficial examination. In fact, Grahame, the modern champion of Puritanism, has unwillingly abandoned these ancient strongholds of the New England fathers, venerable from their age and associations. He wanders into the law in search of some technicality which may aid an unsound theory, and drags up a maxim, in its legal acceptation equally the dictate of common sense and equity, which declares that in cases where the import of a contract is doubtful, it shall be construed most strongly against the party from which it proceeds.† The application of this maxim cannot help his cause. Though "drawn out of the depth of reason," it will be found that a critical inquiry into its meaning will limit its application to cases of "ambiguity of words," or where such an exposition is necessary "to give them lawful effect."‡ Is there any "ambiguity of words"

* Cotton's Bloody Tenent. Mather. Neal, &c.

† *Verba ambigua fortius accipiuntur contra proferentem.* Bacon's Maxims of the Law, No. 3.

‡ Kent's Coma, Vol. II, p. 556. Chitty on Cont., p. 21.

in the charter of the *Massachusetts Bay Company*? Was the establishment of Puritanism necessary for missionary effort among the Indians, or for the successful prosecution of trade and commerce?

We might, were it necessary, pursue this discussion still farther. We might show how such a mode of construction can seldom be resorted to in contracts where the King is a party. We might ask under what denomination this anomalous corporation must be classified, and in what manner it was to be visited. Since there are only three classes of corporations aggregate known to the common law, ecclesiastical, eleemosynary and civil;—since the first of these must be composed of spiritual persons of whom a Bishop is visitor;—since the second are instituted upon principles of charity, such as hospitals and colleges;—and since the last are created for civil purposes only,—where is this monstrous phantasma of Puritanism to find either place or fellowship?

As a question of law, then, the charter can have no such construction as the Puritan-pilgrim contended for. It stands upon the same ground as do all other instruments of a similar nature. It supposes the corporators to be good and loyal subjects, whose desires are bounded by the acquisition of wealth, and by the moral improvement of the heathen, for whose benefit it was chiefly designed. It implies that “the true Christian religion of the realm shall not suffer any prejudice for want of certain expression.”* It assumes that the men who thus receive at their sovereign’s hands such signal marks of favor, can have no intent to abuse his kindness. It takes for granted that those “loving subjects,” which are surrendered to the management of the Company, will be confirmed in their allegiance, and not taught principles destructive of all honor and loyalty. Finally, it expects, that in the wilderness thus to be peopled with Englishmen, the true English heart will expand, and that, should clouds and darkness gather about the throne and Church, a steady and cheering light from New England will beam across the Atlantic, with healing on its wings.

It was in the face of such generous hopes, and contrary to all law and authority, that the missionary charter of *Massachusetts Bay* was converted into a political constitution. Had the corporation remained in England, the visitatorial power possessed by the King’s Bench would have easily remedied

* In the royal grant of Maine to Gorges, in 1639, these remarkable words are used, showing the real intent of the King, and his sense of the doings of the Puritans of *Massachusetts*.

any perversions of its franchise. But, as we have seen, the infusion of Puritanism into the Company was followed by a vote to transfer the charter. Puritan lawyers were readily found who sanctioned the legality of the proceeding, and an act which was begun in secrecy and doubt, was consummated in unhesitating violation of the law. "The whole structure of the charter presupposes the residence of the Company in England, and the transaction of all its business there," said a late distinguished jurist, and he but echoed the truths of history.* Would it not have staggered the purpose of the Puritan-pilgrims, if they could have foreseen, that among all their descendants, no jurist, historian, or moralist, would be found to justify—we wish we could say applaud—this their greatest exploit?

The caution which marked every step in this transaction, saved the aspiring emigrants from interference. They refused while in England to separate from the National Church; and when they left its shores forever, they bequeathed to "their dear Mother" an address so pathetic and humble, so modest and gentle, that it is difficult to believe they were the same unhappy children who afterwards "loathed the milk they had sucked from her breasts." We have not space here to consider whether this famous address to the "Reverend Fathers" of the Church was a purely hypocritical offering dictated by policy, or a sincere tribute to the Catholic Faith, forcibly extorted from them by the influence of the home and country they were abandoning. We must hurry on to the events which followed the transfer of the charter, and ascertain whether Charles, whose bounty had been so singularly perverted, suffered the Company to proceed in its own way in Massachusetts, and beheld unmoved the establishment of a Puritan State on the ruins of a noble Church mission. Eighteen months passed away from the departure of Winthrop's fleet, before his attention was specially called to New England. During this period he was too much engaged with abuses of greater moment, which were slowly creeping around the footstool of the throne itself, to give heed to the transatlantic doings of a small company of malcontents, who departed with all the stealth of guilt from the kingdom, bearing with them a franchise which belonged to the Church. But this negligence, if it were so, was soon rebuked. Three victims of

* Story's Comment. on Const. of U. S., Vol. I, § 67. See Kent's Com. II, p. 36, n. Bancroft thinks that Henry Vane, who ousted Winthrop from the office of Governor of Massachusetts, was of the same opinion. Vol. I, pp. 353, 384.

New England tyranny, Sir Christopher Gardiner, Thomas Morton, and Philip Ratcliff, all bearing marks of personal outrage and indignity, suddenly presented themselves before him as supplicants. Without manifesting any signs of guilt, or fear of the consequences, they boldly charged the Puritan State with want of allegiance to the King, and with violating the rights of the subject. Their stories are briefly told. Gardiner had been a great traveler, and claimed to be a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre. His adventures seem to have unfitted him for the quiet pleasures of domestic life, and the wilderness had more charms for him than the city. But though he had wandered as far as the remote corners of the Turkish empire, probably the most unpleasant event of his life occurred not many miles from Boston. In 1630 he was sent to New England by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to protect the interests of his patron from any intrusion by the Massachusetts Bay Company; but, making use of the questionable finesse often employed in more important diplomacy, he gave out that he forsook the world in order to lead a godly life. Unhappily for his safety, he claimed descent from that Bishop of Winchester, who "was so great a persecutor of good Protestants;" and perhaps more unhappily for his reputation, his household was graced by "a comely young woman," whom he called his cousin, but who was suspected to be, "after the Italian manner," his concubine.

Whether this suspicion was real or pretended, it is difficult to say. It was enough that he was considered a disguised papist to make him an object of dislike, and all his advances towards friendly intercourse were consequently repelled. He manifested no unwillingness "to take any pains for his living," and offered, on many occasions, to become "a member of the Church."* But his sincerity was distrusted, and his offers were declined. Finally, the suspicion in which he was held increased to such an extent, that his safety was endangered, and he fled from Massachusetts and placed himself under the protection of a party of Indians near Plymouth. The fellowship which was denied him by his countrymen, he found among the savages, who steadfastly resisted all attempts of the Puritan government to secure his person. But the assistance of Plymouth having been obtained, an older experience in the savage heart enabled the Governor of that colony to suggest an expedient which proved successful. Temptation, to the man of untutored passions, is almost identical with ruin. A

* Hubbard. Winthrop's Journal.

reward was offered for the capture of Gardiner, and the Indians yielded to bribery what they had denied to menace. Shall we kill our guest? asked the corrupted savages. By no means, said the Plymouth Governor; bring him to us alive, if you would secure your reward. But, returned they, *the Massachusetts Indians say that we may kill him*. No, was the reply of the humane Bradford, watch your opportunity and take him alive. When the astonished Knight saw that his late friends had become transformed into unrelenting enemies, he endeavored to escape. But accidentally losing his canoe, his musket, and his sword, he had nothing to keep them at bay but a small dagger, which they soon beat out of his hands, so that "he was glad to yield." The treatment he had received was so rough, that "his hands and arms were swelled very sore." He was carried an unresisting captive to Plymouth, and soon found his way to a prison in Boston. His papers were confiscated and his private letters opened; and it did not cause an amelioration in his usage, that "a little private note book," which by some accident slipped out of his pocket, contained the day on which he was reconciled to the Pope, and the University in which he "took his scapula and degree." It was soon ascertained in what relation he stood towards Gorges, which afforded an excuse for sending him a prisoner to England.

But the afflictions of Gardiner were mild compared with those suffered by Thomas Morton. This man, an attorney of Clifford's Inn, arrived in New England in 1622, and was subsequently concerned in the company that endeavored to establish a trading post at Mount Wollaston in 1625, so named in honor of Captain Wollaston, who was at the head of the enterprise. Finding that the project was unsuccessful, this gallant Captain began to draft off his servants to Virginia, where, to use his own words, he "could turn them to better account," by selling them as slaves.* Against such sordid villainy, Morton, a partner in the concern, protested, and excited the men to revolt, who, having turned adrift the officer appointed to carry out the nefarious scheme of their patron, abandoned themselves, in the true revolutionary spirit, to wanton excesses. They named their fortress Merry Mount, and reveled unrestrained in the spirituous liquors which a corrupt civilization had designed for the weaker heads of the Indians. They taught the savages the use of fire arms, contrary to an

* Neal. Bradford. Hubbard, &c. This species of kidnapping was not uncommon in those days. See Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. XXVI, p. 607.

obsolete proclamation of King James, in order to avoid the trouble of providing their own food; and they capped the climax of their enormities when they erected a May Pole on "Merry Mount," around which to dance and sing. All these scandals were beheld with pious horror from the neighboring Plymouth rock, and by the zealots at Naumkeag. Endecott, the director of a colony whose general morality, to say the least, was questionable, visited "this school of profaneness" in 1628, cut down the May Pole, and changed its name to Mount Dagon. But Morton, unawed by this trespass, continued an establishment which he doubtless found profitable as a trucking post. The combination of all the plantations, shortly after, to effect his ruin, was equally futile. Plymouth, which had the chief part in the alliance, existed only by sufferance, as he probably knew; and he was enough of a lawyer, also, to know, that even had he been within its imaginary jurisdiction, he was not amenable for trucking fire arms with the Indians, since the proclamations of the late King, not declarative of any law, died with him. He therefore despised its menaces, resisted the formidable Standish, *vi et armis*, and when sent a captive to England, returned again the next year, not only unpunished, but unrebuked. But the arrival of Winthrop's fleet brought a more powerful and less scrupulous enemy. Having been detected in the act of taking a canoe from a party of Indians, he was arrested by order of the Court of Assistants, "set in the bilbowes," and afterwards confined until he could be again sent a prisoner to England. In the meantime his property was confiscated to discharge his debts and the expense of his passage, and his house was burnt to the ground, "to satisfy the Indians for the wrongs he had done them."* Such was the retribution paid by Morton for unjustly taking a canoe. Had the wrongs inflicted by the Puritan State upon the Indians, been weighed in the same balance, where could it have found gold and silver sufficient to satisfy the claims of justice!

Neither Gardiner nor Morton were in any way connected with the Company of Massachusetts Bay. They were free English subjects, amenable only to English courts of justice. The injuries, therefore, that they suffered in their persons and property, were the fruits of unlawful tyranny. But with Philip Ratcliff the case was different. He was a servant of

* Prince. Winthrop's Journal. Hubbard. Morton was the author of the ludicrous story of the "New England Brethren," told in Butler's *Hudibras*. See 1 Sav. Winthrop, p. 24, n. 3.

Cradock, the former Governor of the Company, and was convicted of uttering "scandalous invectives" against the government, and "the Church" in Salem, (June, 1631.) Of the nature of these "invectives" we are ignorant; but as his chief offense consisted, according to Morton, his fellow sufferer, in demanding payment of his wages while sick, we may suppose that in the suffering caused by disappointment, he inveighed against a Company which had undertaken to build without first counting the cost. Perhaps he was a humble follower in the path already trodden by the Brownes. But, however this may be, the punishment inflicted upon him by the Court of Assistants, was utterly disproportioned to his offense, and probably made him insane, since he was afterwards called a "lunatic."* To impose upon a poor man already in want, a fine of £40, to whip him, to cut off his ears, and then to banish him from the limits of civilization into a wilderness, all these were surely exhibiting the worst phase of a Star-Chamber Court; since they were the exercise of the grossest tyranny, without even the color of justice.

Such were the men whom a short voyage changed from malefactors into the victims of malefaction. Much indignation was expressed at the outrages which they had suffered; and as they mingled their complaints against the Company, with charges of "separation from the Church and laws of England," an order in Council issued (Jan. 1632) directing an investigation. But the complainants were not sustained. The principal stockholders of the original Company, who still resided in England, having been summoned before a Committee of the Council, it was argued by them that the charges preferred against the corporation could only be proved by witnesses from the plantation; that they were on the point of despatching provisions and merchandise thither, and should suffer great loss if these voyages were delayed to wait the issue of a prolonged investigation; and that the faults of the directors, "if there were any," ought not to be charged upon the members of the Company, but should be reserved for future inquiry. This defense, artful, because it insinuated the residence of the Company in England, dishonest, because the voyages they were planning to Massachusetts had partly for their object the transportation of "three famous non-conformist ministers," John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, and Samuel Stone, blinded the eyes of the committee. A favorable report was made, and the Lords in Council thereupon declared that the Company

* Letter of Edward Howes to J. Winthrop, Jr. 1 Sav. Winthrop, p 56, n.

should not be held responsible for the acts of "*particular men*," which "in due time were to be further inquired into." And the defendants were assured that they "might go cheerfully on with their present undertakings, and if things were carried as *was pretended when the patents were granted*, his Majesty would maintain the liberties and privileges of the Company."⁶

But suspicions were now awakened that could not be wholly allayed. The attention of the King, which had been hitherto absorbed by affairs of a nearer interest, was now divided by the sorcery that was peopling New England. Complaints poured upon him thick and fast, and the frequent emigration of persons "known to be ill-affected" towards the civil and ecclesiastical establishments of the Kingdom, was vouched in as corroboratory evidence.† A year had scarcely elapsed from the first order in Council, when a second order issued, (Feb., 1633,) requiring the stay of all ships about to proceed to Massachusetts, the production of all their passenger lists, and directing Cradock, the first Governor of the Company, to exhibit the royal charter.‡ Hitherto the removal of the corporation had been unnoticed, and this command to produce the patent filled the agents of the Company with dismay. The discomfiture of trans-atlantic Puritanism and the ruin of the colony appeared alike inevitable. Fortunately for both, the charges made were so exaggerated by prejudice and enmity, that they could not be proved. The Company was not simply accused of resolving its charter into a constitution, but of open rebellion and want of allegiance. The accusation was not that the franchise had been perverted from its true missionary purpose, but that under its protection an utter separation from the English Church had been violently effected. Such charges, which only served to disguise the real mischief, were easily disproved; for the Puritan State had not yet lost all sense of loyalty in the selfish gratification of independence. Her agents could point the King to the letter from the *Arabella*, wherein the departing pilgrims prayed for the prosperity of their "Dear Mother," the Church of England, and promised to "enlarge her boundaries in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ." They could easily demonstrate the absurdity of rebellion on the part of a band of emigrants, without resources, and in a wilderness surrounded by savages and wild beasts. To produce the charter was indeed impossible, since it was three thousand miles away; but even this difficulty was

* Winthrop's Journal. Neal. Hazard, &c.

† Winthrop's Journal. Neal. Hubbard, &c.

‡ See 1 Hazard, p. 341.

smoothed over by a promise to transmit the order forthwith to Massachusetts. These arguments, united with a plausible suggestion, that to encourage the plantation "would be very beneficial to England," since it was a country rich in natural productions and afforded masts, cordage, and naval stores,* gained the Puritan State another victory, and emigration thither was suffered to continue, though narrowly watched. The King even expressed anger at charges which seemed to dwindle on investigation into calumnies; and he threatened to punish those persons who thus "abused his Governor and plantation." But the calm was momentary and simply caused, by revulsion of feeling. The best friends of the Puritan State felt that it was tottering upon the brink of a precipice, and they privately intimated to the ruling oligarchy that it would be unsafe to attract notice by neglecting the prayers for the King, or differing widely from the ritual of the Church of England.†

One incident grew out of these proceedings, of a peculiar nature. It is related by Puritan writers, that some members of the Council assured the defendants on their dismissal that "his majesty did not intend to impose upon them the ceremonies of the Church of England; for it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to them."‡ On this assertion, so totally irreconcilable with the order in Council, the strongest arguments in favor of New England Puritanism have been founded. But it is obvious that the position cannot be maintained. For the singular inconsistency is charged upon the King of having ordered by charter the administration of the oath of Supremacy to the members and servants of the Company, of having afterwards arrested the emigration of persons to their plantation known to be non-conformists, and then, at the time when he was endeavoring to procure conformity from the Presbyterians of Scotland, of intimating that the encouragement of Puritanism was the very reason why he granted the franchise. The guarded manner in which this assertion reaches us, proves, that if made at all, it was an *ex parte* statement resting solely on the responsibility of certain meddlers, either friendly or unfriendly, it is difficult to conjecture which, to the real interests of the colony. The assurance was not that the King had made such a declaration, but only that such was his view of

* Winthrop's letter to Bradford, 2 Prince, 89-91. Winthrop's Journal. Hubbard, &c.

† Kirby's letter, 1 Sav. Winthrop, p. 103, n. Also letter of Edward Howe.—*Id.*

‡ This assertion is found in Winthrop's Journal.

the matter. Who were these "some of the Council?" What authority had they to compromise Charles in so grave a matter? Were they the two Archbishops, or the Earl of Manchester, Keeper of the Privy Seal, or the Earl of Dorset, Queen's Chamberlain, or Lord Cottington, Chamberlain, or Mr. Secretary Cook, or Mr. Secretary Windebanke, or Thomas Meawtes, Clerk of the Council? These were the signatures affixed to the order in Council requiring the arrest of all suspicious vessels bound to the plantation, and the same names, with one exception, were included in the Royal Commission shortly after established by King Charles for the better regulation of the English colonies. Is it probable that these high officers of State, who were so actively engaged in promoting the honor of their Master, stooped to whisper a calumny against him? And if no calumny, why all this stealth, and why was the royal intention not made known by proclamation, that all might hear and govern themselves accordingly?

On the contrary, when it appeared that this species of emigration continued, that the charter was not produced in compliance with the order, and that complaints were not hushed by the reprimand of the King, more strenuous measures were adopted. A royal commission was issued to several Lords of the Council, (April, 1635,) among whom were the Metropolitans of England, entrusting to them the protection and government of the English colonies. This commission contained the amplest powers of supervision; and the Lords Commissioners were vested with legal authority to establish conformity in America, from the banks of the Kennebec to the shores of Long Island Sound. They could "*upon just cause*" and with the "royal assent," remove Governors, punish delinquents, and constitute tribunals, civil and ecclesiastical. But the chief power entrusted to them, related specially to Massachusetts. Whereas, recites the preamble, we, by virtue of our royal authority, granted unto divers of our subjects liberty "not only to enlarge the territories of our empire, but *more especially to propagate the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ,*" we do give unto you all letters patent and other writings whatsoever, by us or our predecessor granted, and if upon view thereof, the same shall appear unto you to have been *surreptitiously and unduly obtained*, or that any privileges or liberties therein granted are hurtful to the crown, you shall cause the same to be revoked, "*according to the laws and customs of England.*"*

* This important clause both Bancroft and Grahame omit.

Affairs now hastened rapidly to a crisis. The attention of the Lords Commissioners was directed exclusively to the transfer of the charter, and to the equivocal emigration that was rapidly peopling New England. The Wardens of the Cinque Ports were directed not to suffer any persons who were subsidy men to embark for the plantations without license, nor any persons under that degree, without proper evidence that they had taken the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and *were in conformity with the Church of England*. The oath of Supremacy did not necessarily imply conformity, for both Robinson and Brewster, in behalf of the Pilgrims, avowed their willingness to take it, if required.* Thus surely and carefully did the Commissioners proceed, where so much deceit had been practiced. The Grand Council of Plymouth, from whom the Company of Massachusetts Bay derived their territory, were next called upon to declare by what authority and by whose procurement the transfer had been made. They denied all knowledge of the transaction, showing their sincerity by surrendering their own patent to the King, (April, 1635.) They alluded to "the new laws and new conceits, both in matters of religion and temporal government," established by the Puritans of Massachusetts, "whereby they did *rend in pieces the first foundation of the building*," and they prayed the King "to take the whole business into his own hands," requesting only that those persons who had grants in New England might be confirmed in their titles, and "humbly dedicating to the foundation of a Church, ten thousand acres of land."†

The crown was now placed upon its strict legal rights. The franchise had been granted to further missionary effort, and to increase the prosperity of the Kingdom. Neither of these objects had been attained. Not a solitary missionary was laboring among the Indians, and instead of that general prosperity of the Kingdom contemplated by the charter, was a growing Commonwealth devoted to its own interests, utterly foreign in character as well as position, and the endless cause of confusion and complaint. The surrender by the Grand Council of Plymouth was followed by an order to the Attorney General to bring a *quo warranto* in the King's Bench against the corporation, which was accordingly served upon those members who were resident in England. But it seems that they were wearied in defending the wrong, or had become

* See their letter, 1 Hazard's Hist. Coll. p. 245.

† Hazard.

disappointed in their expectations of wealth, for they appeared to the number of fourteen, among whom were Eaton, Saltonstall, Rosewell, Browne, Vassal and Foxcroft, and pleaded that they never usurped "the franchises in the information," nor did "they use or claim any of the same, but wholly disclaimed them." Judgment was accordingly given that they should be wholly excluded from the liberties usurped by the Company. Cradock, the former Governor, alone interpleaded, but he afterwards suffered default. Judgment therefore was entered up against him, that he was convicted of the usurpation charged in the information, and that the liberties and franchises of the Company should be seized into the King's hands. "The rest of the patentees stood outlawed."^{*}

Little further took place. The energies of the crown were required for other and more pressing duties. In 1637, initiatory measures were taken for the reconstruction of the colonies, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges was appointed by the King, General Governor of New England. But the real difficulty of the plan prevented its execution.† In the meantime Massachusetts was continually receiving an accession of numbers from England, which encouraged her to more bold opposition, when again summoned before the Sovereign she had wronged. Two hundred and ninety-eight ships were estimated to have sailed for New England from the time that the charter was granted, down to the decline of the royal cause, and of these one only is said to have miscarried.‡ On board these ships, which bridged the Atlantic, poured the turbid yet vigorous stream of Puritanism that England emptied into her colonies. In 1638 alone, three thousand persons forsook their native land for the sterile soil and ungenial climate of New England.§ Priests apostatizing the Church and flying in disguise, people abandoning the Holy Mother which had borne and blessed them, and nourished them with Her choicest food, present a spectacle sad enough; but how awful does it become when we consider that few of this recreant multitude could have left the Kingdom *without first taking the oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance and producing certificates that they were in communion with a Church which they had abandoned!*

It was not until 1638 that the Lords Commissioners, "calling to mind their former order to Mr. Cradock," and fortified by the judgment of the King's Bench, despatched fresh orders to Massachusetts, requiring the Governor, "or any others in

* Hazard.

† Johnson, B. I, ch. 14.

‡ Chalmer's Annals.

§ Winthrop's Journal.

whose power or custody" was the charter, to transmit the same forthwith to England, and threatening in the event of "further neglect and contempt" to "take a strict course against them." They were the more determined in this course from the fact that the colonial government already considered it "perjury and treason" for the Freemen of the Commonwealth to speak of appeals to the King. The Freeman's oath recognized no country, no Church, no God, but those of Puritanism. The General Court no sooner received this order, than they voted an address to excuse their compliance with a demand founded "*upon pretence that judgment had been passed against their charter upon a quo warranto.*" An ingenious answer was accordingly prepared, wherein the General Court declared that if they had been notified of the *quo warranto*, no doubt they could have put in a sufficient plea to it; that if they should transmit the charter to England, "they would be looked at as runagates and outlaws," that the common people would think that his majesty had cast them off, and that they would for their safety confederate themselves *under a new government which would be of dangerous example to other plantations*. "We do not question your Lordship's proceedings," said they in conclusion; "we only desire to *open our griefs* where the remedy is to be expected. And we are bold to renew our humble supplications to your Lordships, that we may be suffered to live here in this wilderness, and that this poor plantation which hath found more favor with God than many others, may not find less favor with the King." A semi-official reply was returned by the Lords Commissioners through the medium of Mr. Cradock. They endeavored to allay the jealousies and fears which the peremptory demand of the charter had occasioned, declared their only intentions to be the regulation of all the colonies according to their commission, and promised to continue the liberties of the people of Massachusetts as English subjects. They again called upon the corporation to send home the charter, and as an earnest of their benevolent designs, authorized its present government to continue until a new patent passed the seals. The General Court voted to take no notice of this last order; for, said the members in their debates, *it is unofficial*, and the Lords Commissioners cannot "*proceed upon it*," since they can *obtain no proof that it was delivered to the Governor*. And the better to ensure this result, they directed Mr. Cradock's agent, when he again wrote to his principal, *not to mention the receipt of his last letters*.*

* Winthrop's Journal. Hubbard. Hutchinson, &c.

And thus ended the controversy. Puritanism in England had passed from the ideal to the actual, and Charles was called upon to struggle for his crown over the tottering ramparts of the Church. Ought we not to have gentle thoughts of his memory, when we consider that his last wishes for New England were, that the Holy Faith which had rendered the Mother Country glorious for eight centuries, might bless the colonies that had received her name. In his controversy with the Massachusetts Bay Company, he has been represented by popular writers as harsh and tyrannical; but not only have they shut their eyes to the circumstances under which he acted, but they have also forgotten, that had he been a real tyrant, he would have avoided the forms of law, and with a single armed ship have obtained summary redress. In fact, the candid inquirer into the merits of this controversy, will admire the genius of English liberty. He will behold a great monarch defrauded by a portion of his subjects, and resorting for redress, like the humblest citizen, to the courts of law. He will carefully watch each step of this remarkable process, from the issue of the writ to the final decree, and he will look in vain for any abuse of power, or even undignified menace. Calm, quiet, patient, yet determined, is each feature in the curious exhibition. And when the proper tribunal has pronounced at last that a serious wrong has been inflicted by a party of malcontents upon their sovereign, he will find that no pomp or noise announces the royal triumph, but a simple order follows for the surrender of a perverted franchise, and a powerful corporation, the mere creature of law, becomes *ipso facto*, resolved into its primary elements.

We conclude with a single quotation. In their address to Charles II, in 1664, the General Court of Massachusetts made use of the following remarkable language: "The deepest invention of man cannot find out a more certain way of consistence, than to obtain a royal donation from a great Prince, under his great seal, which is the greatest security that may be had in human affairs." What other or happier vindication does the honor of the royal martyr need!

THE POSITION OF CONGREGATIONALISM.

ART. V.—1. *Report of the Committee of the Central Association of Hartford County, on Dr. Bushnell's Book, entitled, "God in Christ."* Published in the Religious Herald, Hartford.

2. *Minority Report of the same Committee.* Published *ut sup.*

WE have felt small concern in reference to Dr. Bushnell's speculations as such. It was plain, that they must be estimated according to their own inherent worth, and the earnestness and standing of their author. On neither ground have they seemed to us to demand any special notice at our hands. We said all that could be said of them, when we declared them to be merely a new combination of old and exploded heresies. In themselves, therefore, they had not the smallest claim to any theological consideration whatever. Neither have we ever entertained the idea that Dr. Bushnell was any further in earnest in his speculations, than simply to gain a degree of notoriety for himself, and to set up a character for originality, profundity, and acumen. His unsurpassed self-complacency, his love of paradox, his paroxysms of effort after new modes of speech, and types of thought, his offer to sign any kind of a creed that could be devised, his quixotic tilt against the established laws of language and of logic, all go to stamp him as a theological *charlatan*, who panders to a diseased love for novelty, palms off pert conceitedness for an earnest-minded love of truth, and mistakes the notoriety of an empiric for the fame of a philosopher. His position was simply that of a Congregational Pastor, who was perpetually told by a small following who "sat under his preaching," that he was "a man of power." Whether, then, we considered his speculations themselves, his apparent character and probable aims, or his position in the world, there was no reason why a Church Review should take any other than the most passing notice of these crude fancies, and newly vamped heresies.

Events, however, often give to things a degree of importance which they have not in themselves; and this has been the case with Dr. Bushnell's views. His triple-headed theological monstrosity has been made the subject of considera-

tion, by a respectable representation of Connecticut Congregationalism, who have decided, after receiving its author's explanations, that it is really no monstrosity at all! It is not, then, what Dr. Bushnell has said, but what the Congregationalism of Connecticut has, in the persons of its representatives, accepted, as involving no fundamental error, and clearing its author from the charge of heresy, that we propose to consider. For, this we regard as a grave matter, and one deserving of the most careful attention. We have little doubt, indeed, that the charge of reviving any or all of the early heresies, which disturbed the Church, would give Dr. Bushnell no other solicitude, than the fear that his reputation for *originality* might be somewhat damaged. Nor can we divest ourselves of the feeling, that many of his brethren would regard such a charge as hardly deserving one serious thought. To such we have nothing to say. But some we trust there are, who may be induced to pause and reflect, when they see fairly stated, this new proof of the downward tendencies of New Englandism. And it is to these, that, aside from the members of our own communion, we would now address ourselves.

Our first step must be to put our readers in possession of certain historical facts. It appears, then, that at some period or another, after the publication of the work entitled, "God in Christ," a committee of five persons were appointed by the "Central Association of Hartford County," to examine its statements, and report whether they found in it fundamental errors. This examination was, however, to be accompanied with personal conference with the Author of the Work, whose explanations were, in consideration it would seem of his extraordinary use of language, to be taken in connection with the Work itself. The result has reached us in three reports; one a unanimous report, and one from the majority and the minority of the Committee respectively. To the Minority report we shall have occasion to refer, but it is with the Unanimous report, and that of the Majority, that we are mostly concerned.

The Committee unanimously reported, that the work of Dr. Bushnell, taken by itself, denied (1) the real Trinity in the Divine Nature, (2) the Personality of our Lord anterior to the Incarnation, and (3) the Vicarious Sacrifice of Christ. The Majority report, accompanying this Unanimous one, denies, however, that, as explained by Dr. Bushnell, his views on these topics contain fundamental errors. And this report being accepted by the Association, binds them to the same declaration, and therefore, as we shall proceed to show, to the support of acknowledged and pestilent heresies.

From this charge, however, are to be exempted two of the Hartford Pastors, who formed the Minority of the Committee, and who, with one other person, we understand, voted against the adoption of the Majority report. We believe we have stated this point correctly, although there is a confusion which is perplexing, in all the accounts, as to the vote of the Association. At all events, with the exceptions just noted, the Association stand committed, as we have already said. The framers of the Minority report—Dr. Hawes and Mr. Clark—occupy a position to which we gladly accord honor and sympathy. While, at the same time, we feel perfectly assured, that all their exertions will not for one instant check the downward progress of Congregationalism, and that they are destined, day by day, to find themselves more and more isolated and alone.

With these remarks upon the facts in the case, we proceed to the consideration of the Majority report. And adhering to that division which the Committee have themselves laid down, we propose to see to precisely what doctrines, Connecticut Congregationalism, as represented in Hartford County, stands pledged.

I. Our first topic is, the Person and Nature of our Blessed Lord. Says the Report,—“Respecting the person of Christ, Dr. B. has been extensively supposed to deny the reality of his human nature; and he does explicitly deny the distinct *action* of his humanity, p. 155. Yet there are many passages, in the course of the discussion, in which the humanity of Christ, as well as his divinity, is acknowledged, or necessarily implied. That Dr. B. acknowledges Christ to be truly God, is not, and cannot be questioned. The title of the book, ‘God in Christ,’ and the course of argument throughout the book, imply it. He does not, indeed, acknowledge the personality of Christ as distinct from the Father, anterior to the Incarnation, neither does he mean to be understood to deny this. He considers it to be among the unsolvable mysteries of the Godhead. But that Christ is truly God, he does most explicitly acknowledge and labor to establish, p. 122. So also does he as plainly acknowledge him to be truly and properly man. He expressly speaks of him as ‘a human person,’ p. 169. He speaks of him as being a man, among ‘other men,’ and yet differing from ‘other men,’ and this not only as he is ‘better,’ but as ‘he is God,’ p. 123. He speaks of him as ‘the divine-human,’ ‘representing in his simple unity,—one person,—the qualities of his double parentage, as the Son of God and the son of Mary,’—‘the holy thing in which our God is

brought to us,—into a fellow relation to us,—our brother, not less than our Lord and Saviour,' pp. 162—4. Such things cannot be truly affirmed of one who is not properly man. Dr. B. cannot be accredited as true and sincere, if he does not believe in the proper humanity of Christ. The only thing in which he differs from the commonly received faith on this subject, as stated in his own language, is, his denying that 'the human soul or nature of Christ is to be spoken of, or looked upon, as having a *distinct* subsistence, so as to live, think, learn, worship, by itself.' He would be understood to say, if we apprehend his meaning, that when Christ is spoken of by the Evangelists, as increasing in wisdom, as hungry and thirsty, as weeping, praying, agonizing, these are not predicated of him as man distinctively; and so also when he is spoken of as hushing the tempest, as raising the dead, these are not predicated of him as God distinctively; but that whatever is said of him is predicated of him, 'in his simple unity,' as the 'divine-human,'—'God manifest in the flesh,'—'the Christ;' insisting that 'the theory of two distinct natures or agencies in Christ,' is virtually denying any real unity between the divine and the human,—substituting collocation and partnership for unity,—so that, instead of a person whose nature is the reality of the divine and the human, we have two distinct persons," p. 154.

The first thing which especially strikes us here, is the ignorance or carelessness of the language of Theology, which both Dr. Bushnell and the Committee exhibit. Thus, at one time our Lord is spoken of as "a human Person;" and then again as "simple unity, one Person." In another place, "human Nature" is used as synonymous with "human soul;" whereas it includes under it, "a reasonable soul, and human flesh." While in another still, it is argued that the theory of two Natures involves the idea of two Persons! All this plainly indicates an ignorance that is lamentable, or a carelessness that is still more so. The erroneous positions, to which we wish to call attention, are the following:

1. The refusal to acknowledge the distinct Personality of our Lord, anterior to the Incarnation, without going so far indeed, as actually to deny it. This is the qualified statement which Dr. Bushnell's explanations enable the Committee to make; and this declining distinctly to deny, is the only abatement, so far as we can see, that saves him from the charge of fundamental error. But what is it worth? How much can the non-committal system avail here? The Committee and the Association either regard the point in question

as fundamental, or they do not. If they do not, why not say so at once, and boldly sanction the positions of the Book, without all this unnecessary explanation? If they do, then what possible difference is there between refusing to confess a fundamental truth, and denying it? At this rate a man may refuse to acknowledge the being of God, and yet by saying that he will not deny it, claim rank as a believer. In such matters, he that is not with the doctrine is against it, and refusal to confess, is tantamount to denial.

And what are the grounds on which Dr. Bushnell refuses either to own or deny? Why, forsooth, that the subject is an "unsolvable mystery!" Unquestionably it is. Unquestionably, every thing pertaining to the Godhead is an "unsolvable mystery." And who ever supposed that the Catholic Creeds, or any of the Dogmatic statements of the Church, were intended to *explain* these mysteries? On the contrary, they are only designed so to set them forth, so to propose them for the belief of the faithful, as negatively to avoid errors, and positively to assert truth; which errors might, very likely, be the attempt to explain mysteries, and which truth would undoubtedly present unsolvable mysteries. If such explanations are to be received on such grounds, we cannot see why Atheism itself, provided only it will content itself with refusing to confess God, must not be accepted. The position, however, be it observed, which is thus accepted, is plain and undisguised Sabellianism.

2. The assertion that our Lord is "a human Person." It is true indeed, as we have already seen, that both Dr. Bushnell and the Association, use the word Person in a very strange and confused way. Sometimes they seem to confound it with Nature, and then to use it in its proper theological sense. The assertion however of a human Person, is Nestorianism.

3. The denial of a distinct human Soul to our Lord. This denial is accompanied, as we have shown, by a manifest confusion of the terms "soul," and "nature." The view involves both Apollinarianism, and the Monothelite heresy. Since if the human soul did not live and act by itself, there could have been in our Lord only one Will.

4. The declaration that hunger, thirst, and in general, bodily infirmities, are not predicated of our Lord, as "distinctively man." For it involves the Patipassian heresy to assert that God suffered, unless it be in respect of that human Nature, which was hypostatically united to the Divine, in the one Person of the Eternal Word. The difficulty here, would

seem in part to have arisen from an ignorance of the *communicatio idiomatum*, or communication of idiomatic properties: a mode of speech, that is, by which the attributes of the Divine and human natures, provided that abstract and not concrete terms are employed, may be indifferently predicated of the one subject, the Person of Christ.

5. The positive denial of the two distinct Natures, and the putting in their place a *tertium quid*, confused and mixed from both, and calling this confused admixture the one Person of Christ. The former part of this view is mere Eutychianism, and the latter, while it partakes of the nature of Sabellianism, is, on the whole, original.

Thus then, it appears, that in those statements concerning the Person and Nature of our Blessed Lord, which the Association have accepted as sufficient, and involving no fundamental errors, and which Dr. Bushnell no doubt considers as his own excogitated verities, there are no less than six old forms of heresy, ages ago considered, condemned, and anathematized by the Christian Church!

II. We proceed, in the second place, to the subject of the Holy Trinity. Says the Report, quoting and accepting Dr. Bushnell's explanations,—“I start with the conception of the one God, different, I suppose, in no wise from the one substance or *homoousion* of the Church; which one God is developed to us, or becomes a subject of knowledge, under the conditions of a threefold personality. I take the Three, therefore, in their Threeness, as distinct grammatical personalities, as they are practically employed in the Bible, acting and interacting mutually towards each other as the Bible represents; only refusing to investigate their interior mystery, believing that in such a use of them I receive in the truest and fullest manner the One God. The Trinity in Unity, as there set forth, I constantly preach in public, regarding it as necessary to the efficiency of the gospel in saving souls. I love this Trinity. I live upon it. Without it I feel that I could not work my mind and heart in the private exercises of my own Christian life.” It must be observed, that in this passage the assertion that the Godhead *exists* “under the conditions of a threefold personality,” seems to be even studiously avoided; and it is only said, that in this way “It is *developed to us*, or becomes a *subject of knowledge*.” Now this, taken in connection with the refusal to acknowledge the Personality of our Lord prior to His Incarnation, seems to us to make out a pretty clear case. What further explanations may be vouchsafed, we cannot say; we take the *ipsissima verba* as they

stand. They declare, that the Godhead is "one substance," which "is developed to us under the conditions of a threefold personality," and that under these same conditions it "becomes a subject of knowledge." Now, this development was made, this knowledge gained, in and by the Incarnation. *Ex vi terminorum*, this conclusion is necessary. And how was it anterior to this? How was it before the time when this threefold personality was developed from, or discerned in, this one substance? Clearly it did not exist.

But this idea of one original substance, afterward distributed or developed into three Persons, is no new notion. If it is understood to imply that the one substance, according to its various operations, is successively presented to us, as Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, then it is mere Sabellianism. If, on the other hand, it means, that at one and the same time, or at successive periods even, this one original substance was developed into three coëxistent Persons, then it is no more than that sophistical argument which Paul of Samosata used to puzzle honest Christians with, and which was condemned by the Council of Antioch about sixty years before the Nicene Synod. We have no doubt ourselves, that this last is the view intended to be expressed in the extract. And the belief that it is so, is strengthened by the peculiar and uncatholic use of the word *ὁμοουσιόν*,—consubstantial,—which, for all we can see, is employed here in exactly the sense in which it was employed by Paul of Samosata, in his famous quibble. We will present to our readers that exposition of the matter which Bishop Bull has gathered from St. Athanasius and St. Basil.

Paul of Samosata, wishing to make capital for himself, and to advance his original views about the Trinity, "started" with the word *ὁμοουσιόν*, and built upon it a notable sophism. He argued that the word, if used at all, involved the idea of one substance, existing from eternity it might be, and afterward developed, or distributed, into the Persons of the Father and the Son. This he very justly concluded was such an absurdity, that if it could really be charged upon the word in question, it would compel Catholics to give up the word, and it might be to abandon the doctrine of the Trinity. The Council of Antioch, however, saw through the trick, condemned the doctrine of the sophism, and forbade the word to be used in any such sense.

And now, marvellous result of being wiser than all teachers, this identical use of the word *ὁμοουσιόν*, and this identical sophism of Paul of Samosata, are gravely revived, as a New

England invention, in this century of progress, and gravely accepted, as a sufficient and orthodox statement of doctrine, by a prominent body of Congregational Pastors! And thus, that view of the Holy Trinity, without which this complacent "I," cannot "work his mind and heart," turns out to be the cunning quibble of one who, for sixteen centuries, has been the scorn of Christendom!

The Catholic doctrine, professed ever by the Church of God in Heaven and on earth, professed even by the Puritan Fathers, in older and more learned days, is this: That from eternity, and irrespective of all human knowledge, and of any ways in which it has been manifested or made known to men, the Godhead has existed in one undivided Substance, and three unconfounded Persons, coëqual and coëternal; the unbegotten and unproceeding Father, the eternally begotten Son, and the eternally proceeding Spirit. In place of this great Doctrine, Dr. Bushnell has propounded, and the Association have received, the following notion: That there is one divine and eternal Substance, which, not from all eternity, but at such time as it is developed to men, presented to their intellects, and taken cognizance of by their knowledge, comes to exist, "under the conditions of a threefold Personality." And this fancy, condemned ever since the Council of Antioch,—this fancy, which does not even come up to the dignity of Sabellianism, and at which Paul of Samosata sneered, which subjects the mysteries of the Divine Nature to the conditions of human knowledge, and degrades that mighty verity on which all others hang, from an objective truth into a subjective conception,—is accepted as a sufficient statement, involving no fundamental error, and entitling him who holds it, to be regarded as an orthodox believer. There can of course be but one step more, and that will be easily taken.

III. We are thus brought to our last topic for examination; the Atonement. Says the Report, again quoting and accepting Dr. Bushnell's statements: "I hold most emphatically the doctrine of justification by faith, and that any and every form of religion which proposes to save mankind on terms of merit or desert, is not Christianity. As regards the ground of justification, I believe that without something done, which in Christ is done, to declare the righteousness of God and maintain the sanctity of law, a free pardon offered to sinners would be nearly equivalent to a dissolution of government. At the same time, I look upon Christ as fulfilling the highest and principal office of his Messiahship, by means of the Incarnation itself, that is, by the revelation he makes of God's

feelings towards us in and through the human state assumed, and the immense power he exerts, or is to exert, in this manner over our spiritual character. He is thus emphatically 'the Life,' the new-creating grace of God, the wisdom of God, and the power. To preach Him in this character is my deepest study, and my intensest love to Him centers here."

Put into plain language, to what does all this amount? simply to this: that by the death of the Redeemer, God's hatred to sin is so evidenced, that the sanctity of law is maintained, and the Divine government is not nullified by a pardon accompanied by no such manifestation; that the great work of Christ is fulfilled, by His revealing God's feelings towards us in His Incarnation, and by the power which this knowledge will be likely to exert over our characters. Now, no doubt, the life of Christ, from the cradle to the grave, is one organic whole, and it is by the merits of the entire, undivided God-man, that our souls are won again to God. But then, in unfolding this truth, Catholic Theology has several distinct propositions which she lays down, and which this statement utterly ignores. 1. That by His Incarnation, our Lord established a real and living union between our humanity and the Godhead; a union which is carried out and continued in that mystical Body, His Church, in whose communion "the Divine Nature," His perfect merits, and the benefits of His Passion, are applied to individuals. 2. That by His Passion, our Lord actually bare our sins, the sins of all mankind, in His own body on the tree, standing in our place, and offering, not indeed an absolute and unconditional, but still a perfect and sufficient sacrifice for us, and purchasing for us the pardon of God, and the gift of the Holy Ghost. 3. That by His Resurrection and Ascension to the Father's right hand, He sent down the Holy Spirit in His Church, to seal His promises, to make effectual His work of Redemption, and to communicate His presence to individual believers. The three great points, then, thus duly adjusted and connected in the Catholic Faith, are the Incarnation, the Passion, and the Resurrection with the Ascension.

Now, the statement accepted by the Association jumbles all these together, distinctly confesses none, and distinctly discredits some. Thus it makes the Incarnation, not an actual union of Godhead with humanity, but simply a revelation of God's feelings; and it decides the work of the Incarnation to be merely the moral and intellectual operation of this revelation on our minds and hearts. And here again we have a subjective conception, put in the place of an objective reality.

By this view, moreover, the Church becomes a school of thinkers, not an Organic Body of living souls.

But the point especially in question is, the Vicarious Sacrifice of Christ. And certainly we cannot see that it is in any sort of sense acknowledged by Dr. Bushnell, or required by the Committee. It must be observed, then, that in the first place, the Incarnation is distinctly placed on higher ground than the Atonement, or at least, that subjective conception of it is, which we have just exposed. It is decided, that the principal office of the Messiahship is discharged in it, and thus the opposite extreme is reached from that older method in Puritan Theology, by which the Atonement was exalted, at the expense of the Incarnation. And now, it being thus thrust down, what is the view of it, which the Hartford Association accept as sufficient? Simply this: that by it the righteousness of God is declared, and the sanctity of law maintained. And to what does this amount? How far does this go beyond mere Socinianism? We confess that we do not perceive any appreciable difference. The entire scheme of the Atonement seems, according to it, to come to this: "God being desirous to rescue man from the consequences and dominion of his sins, and yet desirous to effect this in such a way as might best conduce to the advancement of virtue," fearing to offer a free pardon to sinners, lest the divine government should be dissolved, determined to maintain the sanctity of law, and to declare His own righteousness, by the life and sacrifice of His Son. Now this amounts to nothing. It is no Atonement. It is no Vicarious Sacrifice. Its statements do not in the smallest degree answer the conditions, which the doctrine requires. It is not a whit better than the old demonstration scheme of the Socinians, the pure benevolence theory of Priestly, or the exposition of Taylor, in his *Ben Mordecai*, approved and accepted by Belsham. It has, up to this point of time, been supposed, that in holding distinctively, clearly, and without all doubt, to the doctrine of the Vicarious Sacrifice and the real Atonement, the Congregationalism of Connecticut had some grounds for its self-complacent arrogation of the appellations *orthodox* and *evangelical*. So far as the Association of Hartford County is concerned, those grounds are utterly abandoned.

And now, having seen precisely what forms of Heresy, condemned in all ages by the Christian Church, these Pastors have accepted as orthodox doctrine, let us proceed to inquire how far they have departed, from their once acknowledged standards and confessions. When the Saybrook Platform of

Discipline was adopted in Sep., 1708, there was also adopted the Savoy Confession of Faith, agreed to in Boston in 1680: and this, so far as we know, is the Standard of doctrine for Connecticut. We extract its statements concerning the Incarnation, the Trinity, and the Atonement:

1. "The Son of God, the second Person in the Trinity, being very and eternal God, of one substance and equal with the Father, did when the fulness of time was come, take upon Him man's nature, with all the essential properties and common infirmities thereof, yet without sin, being conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, of her substance: so that two whole perfect and distinct natures, the Godhead, and the manhood, were inseparably joined together in one person, without conversion, composition, or confusion; which Person is very God and very man, yet one Christ, the only mediator between God and man." c, viii, sec. ii.

"Christ in the work of Mediation, acteth according to both natures, by each nature doing that which is proper to itself: yet by reason of the unity of the person, that which is proper to one nature, is sometimes in Scripture attributed to the Person denominated by the other nature." c, viii, sec. vii. This appears to be an awkward way of putting the *communicatio idiomatum*.

2. "In the unity of the Godhead there be three persons of one substance, power, and eternity, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost: the Father is of none, neither begotten nor proceeding: the Son is eternally begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost, eternally proceeding from the Father and the Son." c, ii, sec. iii.

3. "The Lord Jesus" undertook "the office of a mediator and surety," "which that He might discharge, He was made under the law, and did perfectly fulfill it, and underwent the punishment due to us, which we should have borne and suffered, being made sin and a curse for us." c, viii, sec. iii and iv.

Such were the Doctrines which Congregationalism in Connecticut held, one hundred and forty years ago. Such is the standard from which, for nearly half a century,—for almost that period has elapsed, we believe, since Andover, by its Professor, proclaimed that the eternal generation of the Son of God was "eternal nonsense,"—Congregationalism has been declining. Until now, the representatives of those who aided in establishing that confession, the Hartford Central Association deliberately and distinctly trample it under foot, and accept in place of it, the very heresies which it was intended to deny. Now there can be only two ways of accounting for this; or perhaps both ways may have had something to do with. Either theological learning has so run down among the Pastors of Connecticut, in their strainings after originality, and their desire to be considered "among the most *powerful minds* in this or any other country," that they really know nothing of their own standards, or of the history of heresies, and so adopt old errors in the dark; or else the care, and love, and reverence for positive truth, have so gone to the wall, while they have been proclaiming that to be true which each man believes to be, that they are given over to believe lies, and to deny verities without caring whether they are verities

or not. In either point of view, or in both, it is a horrible and a hopeless condition in which they are.

And how has it come about? What are its causes? How can it be explained? There are doubtless many reasons, but we shall suggest four, which we conceive to have been especially powerful and operative.

Puritanism, in New England, started with a principle which, if carried out, could hardly lead to any other result than that which we everywhere behold. Mr. Robinson enunciated it, in his farewell discourse at Leyden, when he informed his hearers that as time went on, changes and improvements would doubtless be introduced into religion, from which he would not have them turn away. It was precisely the modern theory of progress and development, stated after the fashion of the day.

Then again, in the Confession adopted in 1708, theological opinions, and those the opinions of Calvin, were mixed up with Christian verities in such a way as seemed to indicate no distinction between them, either as to their ground of authority, or obligations of acceptance. Both were regarded as standing in the same position. Verities were lowered to the level of opinions, and confused with them as part of one system. And thus, when the opinions fell, the verities shared their fate. These verities, moreover, were always kept much out of view, and always stood to one side, in these Confessions and compilations, which were only occasionally used at any time, and the use of which naturally became more and more infrequent. They never seemed to form a part of the continuous religious life. There was no Service, no Liturgy, in which they were continually presented to, and used by, the people. They were always a sort of unconnected excrescences on the religious character, and thus they easily came to be regarded as dried specimens in Theology, and doctrinal curiosities.

But more than all, the Doctrine of the Trinity, which contains within itself all possible Christian verities, was committed by our Lord, in the Formula of Baptism, to His Apostles and their successors till the end of time. The Succession and the Doctrine thus became correlatives. When the Succession was retained the Doctrine could not be permanently lost; although for a time it might be said that it was *Athanasius contra mundum*. Where the Succession was given up, there, sooner or later, the Doctrine would be lost. Witnesses to this, as matter of history, are abundant,—Germany, Geneva, France, Scotland, and New England. We wish that

the honest and earnest minded among Congregationalists would examine Church History, with a view to this matter.

Such, then, if we may take the Hartford Central Association as an index, and we can see no reason why we may not, such is the condition of the Congregationalism of Connecticut. Such are some of the main causes which have brought her to her low and fallen state. Committed to manifold heresies; speaking with discordant voices; unable to distinguish the verities of the Faith from the opinions of men; subjecting all verities to the conditions of human knowledge; abandoning her own original ground; training up a generation of infidels; making common cause with Antichrist by denying the Son, and therefore denying the Father also; the handwriting of God's finger seems to be upon her, and she has but one more step to make, to reach an utter apostasy! God grant that many of her children may flee from her falling ruins, to safer homes and more secure abiding places!

We will conclude our remarks with a supposed case. Let us suppose, then, that the Committee had decided that there were fundamental errors, that is to say, heresies, in Dr. Bushnell's treatises. It would, under such circumstances, have become necessary to proceed to some judicial acts; to trial, and to discipline. And here we cannot but see, that Congregationalism would have been placed in an awkward predicament, to save it from which, its friends have plunged it into one more awkward still. The alternatives were severe which were presented. On either side there were difficulties, perplexities, and dangers. To give up the charge of error, and to declare that there was no ground for judicial proceedings, was to surrender many of the essential verities of the Faith, and to make common cause with the most fearful heresies. To attempt to judge and to punish, would be only to demonstrate, before all men, the powerlessness and impotence of Independency. For what must have been the inevitable result of a process for heresy?

In the first place, by what standard could the accused have been tried? By the Doctrinal Decisions of the Church, and the two Catholic Creeds? No. For although Puritanism once accepted the decisions of the first four Councils, the idea of resorting to them would now be scorned and scoffed at. By the Savoy Confession? No. For there is not one Pastor in a hundred who believes it. By the Creed of the Association? No. For there is no such thing; since every Pastor, with the aid of his Church members, like the Pope in Council, alters the Catholic Faith to suit himself. We see no pos-

sible standard that could have been resorted to, unless the Association had set themselves to compose one, out of their own theological stores. Now to say nothing of the abominable tyranny of subjecting a man to such a standard, far worse than any tyranny of Papal Rome, we may well wonder what sort of a Confession would have resulted from the combined excogitations of the various Pastors composing the Association. The absurdity of the position in which Congregationalism would thus have found itself, is too evident to require illustration.

And even if some sort of standard had at last been agreed upon, and the independent mind, which all Congregationalism would lend for refusing to submit to the decision of continuous and universal Christendom, had consented to be tried by the whims and caprices of a handful of living men, what possible discipline, that would amount to any thing, could have been inflicted? Dr. Bushnell and his Church-members would still have continued a Church, *totus teres atque rotundus*, as complete and entire, according to the Congregational theory, as any since the Ascension. His office and mission, coming from his people, could not be taken from him by his brethren; and the simple refusal to exchange pulpits, would have summed the discipline of the heretic. What would he have cared for this, so long as its only effect on him was an increase of notoriety? What would his congregation have cared, so long as its only effect on them, was to ensure the uninterrupted hearing of their Pastor's speculations, without the necessity of occasionally sitting through a more orthodox and more stupid sermon? Both would have laughed to scorn a discipline which ended in such an utter farce; and the nakedness of the land would have been exposed for nothing.

Miserable, therefore, as the alternative has been, we can, under the circumstances, hardly wonder that the Association, without probably knowing what they have done, have chosen to incur the condemnation of ages, rather than the laughter of a generation. It is, on all hands, and in every point of view, the most complete demonstration of the original powerlessness, and the wretched decline of the Polity and Doctrines of Congregationalism, that can well be imagined. And we end with the wish, sincere and devout, which we have already expressed, that earnest and honest minds will pause ere they make the final plunge, on the verge of which New Englandism is now trembling, and draw back before they are dashed into the abyss of Apostasy from the Gospel of the Saviour.

ABSOLUTION AND CONFESSION.

- ART. VI.—1. *The Calendar Newspaper*, from March 24, to December 29, 1849. Hartford : Samuel Hanmer, Jr.
2. *The Priestly Office, a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of North Carolina* ; by their Diocesan, the Right Rev. L. SILLIMAN IVES, D. D. New York : Stanford & Swords. 12mo. pp. 27.
3. *Voice of the Anglican Church on Confession*. New York : Stanford & Swords. 12mo. pp. 16.
4. *Confession as held by the Anglican Church, designed chiefly as an antidote to a pamphlet entitled "Voice of the Anglican Church," originally published in "The Churchman," April 21.* By a Presbyterian of the Diocese of New York. New York : E. P. Allen. 12mo. pp. 35.
5. *A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese*. By the Rt. Rev. L. SILLIMAN IVES, D. D., Bishop of North Carolina. 12mo. pp. 79.
6. *The Doctrine of Repentance, being a Review of "a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese," &c.* By the Rev. J. H. HANSON, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Waddington, N. Y. 12mo. pp. 88.
7. *An Examination of the Doctrine declared, and the Powers claimed, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Ives, in a Pastoral Letter, &c. &c.* By a Lay Member of the Prot. Ep. Church in North Carolina. Philadelphia : H. Hooker. 12mo. pp. 105.
8. *The Sacrament of Repentance, a Plain Tract.* By a Minister of the Protestant Church, but a believer of the Catholic Faith. New York : Appleton. pp. 23.
9. *A Voice from Connecticut, occasioned by the late Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of North Carolina to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese.* By the Rev. SAMUEL FARMAR JARVIS, D. D., LL. D. With the approbation of the Bishop of Connecticut. Hartford : Calendar press. 12mo. pp. 50.

It is now matter of History, that the year 1849 was signalized by a movement in our Church, towards the restoration of Sacramental Penance. While we were devoutly commemorating the completion of the three hundredth year of our reformed ritual and worship, the discord of an extraordinary reaction was becoming painfully audible ; and the

year has closed with a tumult of agitation and remonstrance, in the course of which certain parties have completed their treachery, by open apostasy to the Tridentine communion. During the whole of this period of excitement and humiliation, it has been apparent that the Church is generally free from any sympathy with the retrograde principles of the agitators, while "the voice from Connecticut" has been uniform and decided, from the earliest articles of the Calendar, to the conclusive testimony of the venerable presbyter whom the whole American Church delights to honor. May the diocese of Seabury never want sons to maintain its primeval principles against the spirit of innovation, from whatever quarter, or in whatever shape, it may threaten their subversion.

The origin of this movement, and in a great measure its progress, is yet unexplained and mysterious; and it is not our province to trace the history of the matter, or to suggest its probable explanation, any further than facts, now publicly made known, and recorded in documents, render it necessary that we should recognize them. As early as February 26th, 1848, it was more than intimated, in the columns of the Calendar, by a writer who evidently weighed his words and wrote with counsel, that a Religious Order had been founded in our Church, of which a Bishop was the Superior, and of which the results would be dangerous. So cautious and delicate, however, were the allusions of this article, that they were by no means apprehended as pointing to real dangers, and for a time there was caution on the part of the Order itself, and quiet in the unsuspecting Church. The progress of events was nevertheless carefully watched, and on the 24th of March, 1849, the attack was renewed, in the Calendar, with less reserve, and directed towards a more combustible portion of the enemy's works. An explosion was the immediate result, of which the particulars are still so fresh in the minds of our readers, that we may spare ourselves the pains of enumerating them, especially as our present remarks are merely preliminary to our direct purpose. On the 5th of May, the article on Religious Orders was republished in the Calendar, from its pages of the year preceding, with a plain avowal of its meaning, and with the positive assertion of the existence of such an Order in the Church, conflicting with the canonical obedience of several of its members, and evidently attempting to Romanize its literature and theology. These facts are important, in connection with the subject to which we now apply ourselves.

Early in the past year appeared the Pastoral Letter of Bishop Ives, on the *Priestly Office*. Its very earnest tone, and

somewhat equivocal phraseology, seemed to indicate a deep meaning, and a serious purpose, which were delicately approached, rather than fully declared. Our former affection and regard for the amiable prelate who had put them forth, could not relieve us from the feeling that *more was meant than met the eye*, for, as we read, we found ourselves, as it were, pushed to conclusions, which, like the *Ergo* after the major and minor premises of a syllogism, required nothing further, in express words, to complete the argument. For example, the right reverend author deprecates "a vague and general repentance, a repentance not accepted by the representatives of Christ, who alone have charge of the discipline of His Church, or the power to remit and retain sins;" and in this single sentence, taken in its connection with the context, we seem to arrive at the principles of (1) the necessity of a special and particular *confession* to a priest, and (2) of the *judicial* nature of sacerdotal "acceptance," or *absolution*. The language, however, is cautious, and might not seem to others so conclusive; but to all, we think, the sentence we quote must be indicative of the author's distrust of the General Confession, and Absolution of our Communion Office, as sufficient to the spiritual necessities of the penitent, in all ordinary circumstances. At all events, we must observe that in close connection with this official document, appeared soon after, and was circulated by the same parties, the tract entitled, *Voice of the Anglican Church on Confession*, in which, by way of a catena, the teaching of Anglican Doctors and Standard Books was professedly set forth. In reply to this pamphlet, appeared soon after another, from a press in New York, in which, upon a similar plan, the teaching of certain American Standards and Doctors, was arrayed against those of our Mother Church.

We fully recognize our duty, as to *practice*, to be governed strictly by our own canons and rubrics; but to assert that religious principle, and not local circumstances, makes the ground of our differing practices, is to assert that we are dissenters from the principles of the Church of England. This doctrine has received a very general rebuke, and the pamphlet has done nothing in the controversy, further than to illustrate its own impotence and corruption. As Churchmen of Connecticut, we must be pardoned for saying, further, that if ever its principles should be recognized by authority of this Church, in her General Councils, a most solemn compact will be broken, not only with the Church of England, but also with this Diocese, which never could become a party to any thing

destructive of unity in doctrine and discipline, with the Churches of Scotland and England. Little as we apprehend such a result, it may be well to keep it before the Church, that Connecticut became part and parcel of our happy federation of dioceses, on the ground of that all important principle of our Prayer-Book, which is expressed in its preface as follows: **THIS CHURCH IS FAR FROM INTENDING TO DEPART FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN ANY ESSENTIAL POINT OF DOCTRINE, DISCIPLINE, OR WORSHIP; OR FURTHER THAN LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES REQUIRE.** As Connecticut Churchmen, therefore, we rejoice that bane was not left to be counteracted by bane; and that this pestilent poison, and its pestilent antidote, were rebuked together, in the columns of the *New York Churchman*, by a correspondent, in whose vigorous style and critical acumen, were immediately recognized a genius and orthodoxy inherited with the blood of Seabury, by the late able Editor of that journal. Circumstances, which need hardly be particularized, gave great weight to such an article, from such a source, at such a time; the writer was warmly welcomed back to his congenial work of vindicating Apostolic Truth against the assailants of its either flank; and the ephemeral contribution soon fell into its place in the controversy, as a copyrighted pamphlet, entitled, *Confession as held by the Anglican Church*. It killed both adversaries. It convicted the former reply of a double blunder; of a blunder in admitting the professed "Voice of the Anglican Church" to be a genuine exhibition of Anglican teaching, and of a worse blunder in attacking it by an attempt to array the American Church against the Church of England. At the same time it nobly illustrated the correct principle of the unity of the two Churches, by the power with which it vindicated the misrepresented doctrines of our venerable Mother, and showed that they require no apology. We scorn the cowardice and ingratitude that consents to fight a Romanizer, by surrendering to his purposes the honor and purity of the Church from whose venerable martyrs and doctors we have received our faith and worship; and we admire the fidelity which makes common cause with her, and without hesitation gives the lie to her traducers, and goes confidently into battle on this manly issue. It was in this way that Dr. Seabury's reply destroyed the corrupt "Voice of the Anglican Church," proving it to be a garbled and false quotation of Anglican Standards; and nailing upon its front the disgraceful stigma of being "an attempt to make the liberty which the Church allows, a cover for the introduction of a practice which she has plainly repudiated; to repre-

sent the exception as the rule, and to apply to the latter the commendations which were designed for the former, and thus to hold up the Church and her divines as approving and advocating a system which they have solemnly and deliberately renounced."

The state of feeling in the Church, at this juncture, growing out of the articles in the Calendar, created a pressure, under which some explanation of the base work thus annihilated, became absolutely necessary; and accordingly, a young presbyter of North Carolina, the Rev. Donald McLeod, supposed to be the penitentiary of the Religious Order already referred to, felt constrained to avow himself the writer of the Tract, and to represent his Bishop as responsible only for approving his undertaking, and for *appointing* a third person to see it through the press; which third party was made responsible for the more flagrant garblings of which the performance was convicted. But, to tangle the matter still further, Bishop Ives himself, knowing nothing of the purpose of Mr. McLeod to make this avowal, had addressed a *Letter to the Clergy of his Diocese*, in which he repudiated the obnoxious Tract in strong terms, and represented himself as having been induced to adopt it, and authorize its circulation, upon the credit of certain "presbyters of high standing, said to have been consulted in preparing it." At the same time he stamped the work with his indignant disapprobation, as an "unreal and deceptive view of the teaching on Confession, of the Anglican Fathers." As Mr. McLeod's representations were singularly inconsistent with this detailed disclaimer, that gentleman was thus left before the Church in a most painful position; but it was not without exciting some surprise, that his relief was, in a measure, afforded by the Bishop himself, who, in a second letter, addressed to his friend, the present "editor of the New York Churchman," stated that his *Letter to his Clergy* had been written "in haste and under some irritation," and also, that had he known of the acknowledgment of Mr. McLeod, (which however he had not seen,) he would have withheld that Letter. The Rt. Reverend Prelate further said—"I now frankly avow myself responsible for the arrangement by which the Tract was published, and my conviction that no responsibility can attach to the reverend author, beyond its simple compilation. Of this compilation I knew nothing till after it was made. Before publication, however, it *was submitted to me*, and, *under the idea of its entire fairness, received my approval.*" Here then was a very plain case. The Bishop had not taken the pains to verify the extracts, for he trusted

the presbyters associated with him, and they alone are responsible for the shame and reproach of the garbling and counterfeiting. But then the teaching of the tract itself was apparent on the face of it, and *that* the Bishop evidently approved, as coincident with his own, and illustrative of his Pastoral on the *Priestly Office*. For the *teaching* of the Tract then, the Bishop cannot but be held responsible; he did not discover any difference in it from his own views, when he examined it, and authorized it as an appendix to his own work; and we think it follows, that if the Tract was subsequently proved, to use his own words, "A deceptive view of the teaching of the Anglican Fathers," he himself is proved to have suffered from a like *deceptive view*, and to have identified it with his teaching. If a false view of Anglican doctrine squared with his own teaching, surely his own teaching was not real Anglican doctrine.

But while things hung in this mysterious suspense, and confused the vision of almost all spectators, the Diocesan Convention of North Carolina was held at Salisbury, and was there met by their Bishop. By a public act, they declared the Diocese in a "state of agitation and alarm," resulting from the impression that doctrines and practices had been introduced among them, at variance with the Liturgy and Articles of the Church. In concurrence with his Convention, the Bishop then issued a *Charge to his Clergy*, authorizing them, on returning to their flocks, to assure them that "no efforts should be wanting on his part, so long as God should give him jurisdiction in North Carolina, to hinder the inculcation of any doctrine, or the introduction of any practice, come from what quarter it might, not in strict accordance with the Liturgy of our Church, as illustrated and defined by those standards of interpretation, authorized by the Church itself." The Bishop added—"In respect to a particular question which has agitated the Diocese of late, the question of Auricular Confession, I may here express my conviction that the Book of Common Prayer, our Standard of Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship, does not authorize any Clergyman of this Church to teach or enforce such confession as necessary to salvation, and that the only confession which it authorizes, is the voluntary Confession of the penitent, in accordance with the exhortation in the Office for the Holy Communion." Deeply mystified as the whole affair thus became, by the form of a Charge, which seemed to turn upon other offenders, the responsibility which was supposed to belong to the Bishop himself, and to retract, without directly expressing it, the teaching of the Pastoral,

and the purpose of the McLeod pamphlet, the minds of Churchmen generally were disposed to be satisfied with the strong assurances of the Charge, and to look confidently to its thorough enforcement in future episcopal acts. This confidence was strengthened by the announcement that "the Order of the Holy Cross" was dissolved, and by the belief that the Bishop had been, in some degree, the victim of his benevolent efforts, to satisfy and retain in the Church, by means of ingenious theories, the young and disaffected Clergy who composed that Order. That a deep interest in such young men might become almost morbid, might express itself with dangerous latitude, in order to comprehend their deviations from strict fidelity; might, by them, be used only as an *encouragement* to further departures, and might thus involve their patron in strange inconsistencies, seems the natural suggestion of experience and reflection. And, in reviewing these facts, we are inclined to adopt the suggestion, as the most favorable one; as explaining subsequent events most naturally, and as least uncharitable to the Bishop himself, hitherto the object of such general affection and regard.

We deeply regret the disturbance of the composure, which, so far as the Bishop of North Carolina is concerned, was beginning to be settled, by the appearance of another Pastoral, addressed to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese, which severely reprobates not only the action of the Salisbury Convention, but also his own action, in responding to their censures, by assurances of his personal fidelity. Such an assurance he characterizes as *a humiliating act*, for which he apologizes, as the result of a severe illness, under which he was suffering when the Charge was dictated. He asserts that the censures of the Convention were notoriously aimed at himself, as "the chief offender," and thus gives a remarkable comment to his own *Charge*, which turned those censures upon others, and exhibited the Bishop as their severe castigator. He states very clearly his views of the limits in which our Diocesan Conventions exercise their powers, and points out the remedies against false teaching which the Church has established. He then enters on the whole subject of Absolution and Confession, and discusses it in a manner which we can neither commend nor satisfactorily explain. As an exception to the rule of Pastorals; as being virtually addressed to the whole Church, and a Pastoral only in name; as appearing in the form of any other publication, and offered for sale for general circulation, by a New York publishing house, we conceive it fairly open to review. We would only say of it,

however, that it appears to us to be a desperate attempt to reconcile the Bishop's position towards his monastic friends of "the Holy Cross," with his position towards his diocese and the Church, as defined in the Prayer-Book and Ordinal. By the former he is tied and bound to certain statements which he has either made, or allowed to be made in his behalf, by them. By the latter he is held to doctrines and principles which they secretly hate, and wish to destroy. The Bishop is resolved to hold fast to each; and so he boldly cites the Prayer-Book, and our standard divines, to prove, what nobody denies, the doctrine of the Keys, and its importance to the Church; and then leaps to the conclusion, that the Church's doctrine sustains his own. As if there were no proof that his own teaching agreed only with "an *unreal* and *deceptive view* of the teaching, or confession, of the Anglican Fathers," the Rt. Rev. author disavows the imputation of having given up, in his *Charge*, the teaching of his *Pastoral*; and other writings, and solemnly asserts that he "has not retreated *one step*! and will not, for any consideration this side the grave, yield one word or syllable of what he has really taught." As the McLeod pamphlet taught error, and yet agreed with the Bishop's *Pastoral*, we cannot see how this stand can be made good; and if that false view of Anglican teaching suited his purposes, we do not see how he can now appeal to a correct view of Anglican teaching, as equally illustrative of the meaning and intent which lie so near his heart.

But this *Pastoral*, in some respects the most extraordinary communication ever addressed by a Bishop to his Clergy and Laity, contains much besides, to convince the reader of his being committed to practices which may well account for unsoundness in his doctrines. It acknowledges the existence of "the Order of the Holy Cross," and, in part, details the history of its origin, and of his connection with it as its Superior. It admits the vows of obedience, celibacy, and poverty, to be those under which the Society is organized; and also that its *perpetual* members are necessarily *unmarried men*; it implies their unsettled state of mind and dangerous position, when they were thus organized, and enumerates *Sacerdotal Absolution* among the doctrines which they were to unite in promulgating. Now by their fruits they must be judged. It cannot be too much to presume that the McLeod pamphlet contains the doctrine of Sacerdotal Absolution, which the Order of the Holy Cross was bound to "inculcate upon the minds of all within their influence;" nor is it unfair to recur to its identity with the teaching discovered in the *Pastoral* of the

Bishop, on "the Priestly Office," viz. (1) the necessity of a special and particular confession to a priest, and (2) of the judicial nature of Sacerdotal *acceptance*, or Absolution. Now this latter Pastoral is dated at *Valle Crucis*, which the Bishop allows to be the Head Quarters of the Order, and which he so identifies with the Order, that we do not see how one can be *bonâ fide* abolished, and the other remain; and this date confirms our impression that the Bishop has acted under the conflicting influences of inharmonious functions; at Salisbury, against his monks, and at *Valle Crucis*, against his Clergy and Laity. Accordingly, in the *Valle Crucis* Pastoral, the Bishop, who admits and defends the fact that he "never speaks, or writes, against the Romanists," speaks and writes in a very unfilial manner of the Church of which he is a Bishop, and exhibits her as entirely stripped of her clothing of wrought gold, in such a way as to afford great delight to the Romanists, in whose newspapers the Bishop's disloyal concessions are already greedily licked up, and foully spirited back into the face of our venerable Mother. It is impossible for us, after reading this Letter, to consider the Bishop's unfortunate effort as any thing less than part of a movement, of which the Order, and the McLeod pamphlet, and certain practices in New York, were part and parcel, and of which the object, gradually adopted and favored by the Bishop, was the restoration, to our Communion, of Sacramental Penance. This judgment appears to coincide with the opinions of several able reviewers who have subjected it to candid but searching criticism; and omitting other notices which it has called forth, we deem it proper to say a few words with respect to three pamphlets which have appeared in quick succession, at this stage of the controversy. We refer to those of the Rev. Mr. Hanson, of Waddington, Judge Badger, of North Carolina, and the Rev. Dr. Jarvis, of this Diocese. One censure has been audible in certain quarters, which would affect them all, and ourselves also; it is intimated that we have no right to reply to a Bishop's official teachings; but to this we plead the all sufficient example of Law, whose share in the Bangorian Controversy is no disgrace to him, in the Church's esteem, and who is quoted with respect by Bishop Ives himself, but who did not scruple to appeal to the *reason* of Bishop Hoadley's Laity, against the *dogmatism* of their erring father in God. Mr. Hanson has proved, we think conclusively, the first point which we have already instanced, namely, that the Bishop teaches the necessity of a special and particular confession to a priest, or to throw it into Mr. Hanson's own conception of

the subject, the Bishop teaches specific confession to a priest, (either in the face of the whole Church, or in the merciful secrecy of the confessional,) to be an integral and essential part of true repentance. He also appears to us to convict the Bishop of endeavoring to fix this idea of repentance upon the Church's exhortations, so that when the Church exhorts to repentance, she should be understood as exhorting to Sacramental Penance; or to repentance, at least, in the scholastic sense, as including Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction, and involving what is generally understood by the System of Auricular Confession. The "Examination" of Judge Badger is evidently less the work of a theologian than of a lawyer, and hence we regard it as important, chiefly for the light which it throws upon facts, and for the evidence which it contains, corroborative of the opinion that "the Order of the Holy Cross," however insignificant in the number and character of its associates, has become the Bishop's snare in which his foot is taken, "so that he cannot do the things that he would." If, however, it shall yet appear that he has been voluntary in all to which they have committed him, the case is far worse; and we think it prudent to say nothing on this point, save that if the Order be what appears from the Judge's pamphlet, and if the Bishop defends them in their Romanizing practices, the conclusion is irresistible that we do him no wrong, in regarding his own teaching as coincident with that of Mr. McLeod, and essentially Romish.

But we are more than all gratified with the *Voice from Connecticut*, which Dr. Jarvis has put forth, with the approbation of our Diocesan. It is long since any thing has come before the Church with more venerable authority, and we think the work itself will be a permanent contribution to our Church Literature. It is a temperate, but powerful remonstrance, and a dignified vindication of Anglican doctrine. Its historical parts are a rich elucidation of some peculiarities of the American Prayer-Book, and of the relations of this Diocese to the residue of our American Church. It shows the inseparable connection between Absolution and the Sacraments, and the miserable shifts of Rome, in elevating it into a Sacrament, essentially complete in itself; and it fixes, we think, by necessary implication, a severe censure upon the views of the Pastor which it controverts. As it will probably have a wide circulation, we deem it unnecessary to say more than that we are exceedingly gratified to see the campaign of 1849 so effectually closed, by a *Voice from Connecticut*, sustaining and fortifying the position taken by presbyters of this diocese so

early in the conflict, and reviving the principles of 1789, to oppose precisely opposite tendencies. From the same geographical quarters that then complained of the Anglican Prayer-Book as Popish, we now hear complaints that it is Puritan! Connecticut, that would not brook the one outcry then, resents the other now. We trust that the God who was with our fathers, will be still with us, and that his providence will overrule the present controversy, to the illustration of principles that cannot be moved, and to the settling of all parts of the Church, in greater uniformity of practice, and more perfect harmony of theological opinion.

The extraordinary pamphlet entitled "the Sacrament of Repentance," in which the argument is coolly reduced to a mere *petitio principii*, is not otherwise worthy of notice, than as it honestly avows, what the whole movement means. The writer apparently knows nothing of the connection between Absolution and the Sacraments of Repentance, "ordained by Christ himself," but simply affirms the Romish doctrine of Penance, and its absolute identity with Scripture and the Fathers. This, to say the least, is coming to the point.

And this brings us to the point where we are permitted to drop our historical retrospect, and to meet the *Valle Crucis* doctrine on our chosen position, that of the Anglican Standards. The McLeod pamphlet appeals to the English Prayer-Book, and its strong language about Absolution. Shall we therefore give it up, and own that our venerable reformers did not know what they were about, and that they were half Papists after all? Shame on such a craven way of meeting such a foe! No! Turn upon the gainsayers, and tell them flatly that the English Prayer-Book does not suit them at all; that they abhor it, and only pretend to appeal to it; that *the doctrine they have at heart* is refuted by every page of it; and that they cannot use it, according to its rubrics, with any conscience. Why so? Do they say the English Prayer-Book contains the form *I absolve thee*, which the Council of Trent, subsequently to the compilation of the Prayer-Book,* declared to be of the essence of the Sacrament? Yes, but it also contains at least one other form of absolution which it regards as equivalent, and hence asserts that absolution has no sacramental form, and hence is no sacrament; implying also that the strongest form is used *ministerially*, and not *judicially*, and hence conflicting with another fulmination of

* Let it never be forgotten that the Romish doctrine, as now imposed, is a thing which took shape at the Council of Trent, after our first Prayer-Book was set forth.

Trent, which declares absolution, unlike every other priestly function, a *judicial* act, and which pronounces the more ancient forms insufficient, even hypothetically, except they be uttered with a *judicial* intent. The Romanizer knows he does not like any thing in the Prayer-Book upon this subject, except the mere words—*I absolve thee from all thy sins*; nor even there, till he has joined them to the sins confessed by the dying penitent, in order to get the essential parts of a sacrament, and then loaded the form with a meaning which it is no man's prerogative to usurp, for it belongs alone to the Judge who binds and looses by powers inherent, and according to Omniscient wisdom. Throughout the Prayer-Book Absolution is a ministerial act, just as baptism is; and it is administered freely upon a general confession, so that it sustains thoroughly the very doctrine of Absolution and Confession which Trent has subsequently anathematized. It is impossible for any one with Tridentine theology in his heart, to admire the Anglican Prayer-Book, so far as Penance is concerned.

Now then does the Bishop of North Carolina simply regret that the formularies of the American Church are weak, and endeavor to call up his flock to the fullness of doctrine still contained in them, as illustrated by the original standards, from which they do not essentially depart? If he does, he will find no antagonists in us; for little as we admire any thing that ministers to discontent, we admire very much an honest, earnest effort, to teach men sound doctrine in any way. But he is so far gone with the Romanizers, that he by no means does this; but, on the contrary, he lets out his dissatisfaction with the English Prayer-Book in no measured terms. He astonishes us by charging our reformers with conceding *essential truth*, on this vital subject, to "the Lutheran or Puritan mind." And in great disregard of historical verity, he asserts that "the doctrine of Sacerdotal Absolution was cast into the shade, when *its true and proper form* was removed from general use, into the Order for the Visitation of the Sick."* Here then we come at the marrow of the Bishop's doctrine. *I absolve thee*, is the "true and proper form" of Absolution! Why so? It was not so decided by any authority when the Prayer-Book was compiled. It was not so used even in the Latin Churches, till the twelfth century. Why then is this *the true and proper form*, and why was the doctrine of Sacerdotal Absolution *cast into the shade*, when it was left just where it was for eleven hundred years after

* See Pastoral Letter to Clergy and Laity.

CHRIST, throughout Christendom? We can conceive no possible answer, save that the form *I absolve thee* is capable of judicial force, and is so united with confession, in *that one Office*, that a sacrament can be made of it, while in every other place the Prayer-Book unavoidably puts the priest under the subsequent curse of Trent, viz. *Si quis dixerit, absolutionem sacramentalem sacerdotis non esse actum judiciale aut dixerit non requiri confessionem pœnitentis (i. e. confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia) ut sacerdos eum absolvere possit; anathema sit!*

It is true, the Bishop does not always seem consistent with himself, for he adopts, in another place, the opinion that "*it matters little whether the Church's ministers are to be understood as praying or preaching, judging or declaring*, seeing their instrumentality is employed by the Most High in bestowing on penitent believers the gift of pardon."* If this be true, why does he scout the deprecativ and declarative forms, and call the indicative the only "true and proper form?" It will be seen, on referring to the passage, that he guards his admission, with the *caveat*, that it matters little, *provided* such and such a meaning be attached; and this is precisely the way the Romish theologians get over the more primitive forms, which were declarative or deprecativ, in words, but which they assert to have been *judicial* in intent. And it is to be observed, that by *judicial* is meant not a *judicial declaration*, like that of the priests in the Old Law, which is taught by some of our divines, and by Peter Lombard himself: it must be a *judicial collation*, says the Council of Trent, and to this agrees the *caveat* of the Bishop of North Carolina.

We cannot endure the thought that the Anglican Prayer-Book should suffer such an affront from a Bishop of our Church, as to be pronounced *Puritanized* throughout, on the all important subject of the reconciliation of sinners to God. As to Sacerdotal Absolution, (that is to say, the priestly act, in itself considered,) it was not affected in the least by the changes of successive books. As to Confession, which is another thing, it was altered; but it is only by the Romish error of making Confession and Absolution into one sacrament, that the Bishop can at all justify his assertion. The Puritans, who confound the two things, for other purposes, have always asserted that our forms of Absolution imply Romish Penance, and that hence, on that point, we are not reformed at all.

* See Pastoral Letter to Clergy and Laity.

The Bishop is a more discriminating theologian, and because Confession and Absolution are less closely identified in the latter books, he finds the Romish sacrament wanting, and hence calls them Puritanized. He finds the priest an ambassador, but not a *judge*; and hence it is only in the formulary where the priest can be made to seem the reverse, that he recognizes a "true and proper form." Let us see how little the Prayer-Book suffers from such a sweeping censure.

The distinction between the Power of the Keys and the Discipline of Confession, though confounded by Papists and Puritans, is all important to the theologian. The one, involving Absolution with the Sacraments, is divine and unchangeable; the other is an ecclesiastical matter, left to the wisdom of the Church, and subject from the beginning to changes and improvements, not only in the Church at large, but in particular provinces and dioceses.

Absolution may be generally defined as a benediction of the New Law, renewing the baptismal gift of pardon to the penitent transgressor, and making him a worthy partaker of the Holy Eucharist,* so that he may live or die in full communion with the Church. Confession is public or private acknowledgment of sin, in order to the pardon of God, and according to the provisions of the Church. Now as to the former, (Absolution,) we simply state the fact, that, so far from being Puritanized, the Prayer-Book retains the ancient forms of the Church of England, which she used long before the Reformation, to this day; and amongst them, though the least ancient of all, the very forms on which the Church of Rome so strenuously insists. As to the latter, (Confession,) we assert that although avowedly less complete than she desires to become, she has done nothing unwarranted by precedent, or contrary to the mind of antiquity, but that she still retains a very sufficient system of Confession, and a system all the better, because it is free from the nature of compulsory and sacramental Penance. These statements we will now make good, and we do it with the instinctive loyalty of sons, maintaining parental honor against an unfilial invasion.

Sacerdotal Absolution was not cast into the shade by the Reformers. They preserved its ancient forms, and brought it into stronger prominence as they advanced. We speak now of *Absolution*, in itself. In the Ordinal, they preserved the

* The connection between Absolution and the Eucharist was prominent in all the old penitentials, and in the Visitation Office of 1549. Marshall quotes Morinus for the assertion, *it was long before Absolution was in point of time separated from the Eucharist.*

form of its divine institution, and conveyed the Power of the Keys in the very words of Christ: *Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained.* The corresponding form was never in any place but the Visitation Office, and there it stands still. The deprecativ form was in the first Communion Office, and there it stands still. In the second book, the declarative form was added to these, in the Daily Prayer, but not substituted for them; and even that form, pronounced by the priest standing, and added to the former absolution, is far from throwing the doctrine of Sacerdotal Absolution into the shade! Whatever influences had been brought to bear upon them, the Reformers were more than blameless in this matter; for in the system of Absolutions which they thus completed, they suited the forms to the several occasions, with admirable propriety. True, the ministerial agency of the Absolution was prominent throughout; but even Rome had not then condemned the Master of the Sentences, and many of her own divines, on this matter.* As the priest administered baptism "for the remission of sins," so he administered Absolution for the renovation of baptism; but he was no more a *judge* in absolving, than in baptizing. He was, in both, the minister of God's pardoning mercy, certifying and conveying forgiveness to the truly penitent, but leaving the question of penitence to the Searcher of hearts. He said *I absolve thee*, just as he said *I baptize thee*: and, in either case, what was *bound on earth* was only conditionally *bound in heaven*.

On this principle then, a *quasi* Absolution was provided for the daily service, to be used twice a day; and in this the spirit of the old English Breviaries was faithfully carried out. Thus the congregation, at the very door of worship, were reminded of their need of daily renovation, and were not permitted to say *Our Father*, until, after a penitential confession, they had been, as it were, restored to their baptism. But as in a mixed congregation the truly penitent, and those who were designing to communicate, would probably be the few, "the true and proper form" of Absolution, in that place, was precisely the weakest which faith might apprehend, for to use a stronger would be *casting pearls before swine*. It answered its purpose in all respects, suggesting to the impenitent the means of grace, and conveying to the true believer the assurance of remission.

* St. Thomas Aquinas tries to excuse Peter Lombard, but modern Romish writers condemn him, just as they do us. Thus, for example, Dens says, flatly, "*Non sufficit etiam cum Magistro Sententiarum admittere declarationem judicialem.*"

To the latter, it restored the *spirit of adoption whereby we cry Abba, Father*, and hence it was immediately followed by the Lord's Prayer. Thus this *quasi* Absolution was in all respects fitted to its place; and as near as possible, in spirit, identical with the *quasi* absolutions of the Breviary, which are "uniformly in the shape of *petitions* to Almighty God, and include the minister using them, being worded in the first, not the second person." This is the testimony of the Oxford Tract writers, whose words we quote; but what degree of Puritanism would not have been charged upon our Daily Prayer, had its Absolution been precisely similar? The reformers knew what they were about. They ordered the minister to stand when he pronounced even this Absolution, and by minister was then understood the priest; and thus they distinctly made the act a sacerdotal one. But supposing they had not? Supposing this Absolution had been a precatory one, in which before the priest absolved the people, the people had seemed, by their suffrages, to absolve the priest? Oh, what changes would be rung now-a-days upon the names of Bucer, Peter Martyr, and the other meddlers! How every young gentleman whose Deacon's Orders are surmounted by the orders and the cassock of the Holy Cross, would feel himself bound to expatiate on the Puritan and Lutheran mind of the Reformers! But now this is not the case in the Matins and Evensong of the Church of England; but it is the case in the Prime and Compline Service of the Breviary. There, *after the minister's confession, the people say to the priest, "God Almighty have mercy upon thee, absolve thee from thy sins, and bring thee safe to life everlasting!"* There—of course, it is all right, highly Catholic, truly primitive! It is strange how many things are beautiful and significant in the Romish Breviary, which would be abominated in the Prayer-Book. The Oxford writers admire this peculiarity in the Latin services, and explain it very ingeniously. "In the *quasi* Absolution, after the stated confession at Prime and Compline, it is to be noticed," say they, "that the people absolve the priest, *before, and in the same words in which the priest absolves the people*, as if vindicating to the *body* of Christians that sacramental power, (whatever may be its degree,) which might have seemed inconsistent with the special stress laid by Romanism on Sacerdotal gifts."* Why, in the Prayer-Book this would be flat Congregationalism! In the Oxford Tracts, and the Roman Breviary, we trust it may be taken as

See Tract No. 75, pp. 193-225, Am. edition.

an offset to the Bishop of North Carolina's aspersions of our Daily Service.

But while in the service which answered to the Breviary, the *spirit* of the Breviary was retained, so far as Absolution is concerned; the office for Holy Communion, designed for communicants alone, rose to a higher solemnity, and required the Bishop (or, in his absence, the priest) to rise, after the Confession, and to pronounce the Absolution in words almost identical with the Absolution in the old Missals, but in a manner more sacerdotal. The Latin formula is simply—"God Almighty have mercy upon you, absolve you from your sins, and bring you safe to everlasting life;" and the same form, in our Communion Office, comes from the Missal of Sarum,* in which it had been used by English priests for hundreds of years before the Reformation. No stronger form was used even in the Roman Church, until the twelfth century.

But as there were public Absolutions for the faithful, so for the criminal and the lapsed, there was the Law of the leper. If any man was staying away from Holy Communion, because of some secret sin, or grievous impediment, he was exhorted to come to the priest, and "receive the benefit of Absolution, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness." The first Prayer-Book was, if any thing, more qualified, forewarning *the hypocrite* that "the Absolution of the priest could nothing avail him;" but the second Prayer-Book retained the exhortation we have quoted, and it has been retained ever since in the English Prayer-Book, though to remove all occasion of cavil to weak brethren, the form is modified in our own.

Nor, had the reformers any scruple to the form *I absolve thee*, which, though little more than a ritual novelty, in those days, was still Scriptural, and consistent with the Ordinal. So long as its force was not considered judicial, which it was not then decided to be, even by the Papists, there could have been no objection, but prejudice, to its use. Accordingly, in the case of a dying penitent, tempted to the capital sin of despair, and needing a staff to comfort him in the dark valley, the priest was authorized to use this form, if specially requested. As, to an unbaptized penitent, he might say, *I baptize thee*, so, to the baptized penitent, *I absolve thee*.† In either case he

* See Liturgy of Sarum, &c. by Maskell, London, 1844. Palmer also cites an ancient Greek form. *Origines*, ii, 109.

† See this very clearly put by Bingham, who certainly is very moderate. Book xix, chap. ii, 6.

was but the *minister of reconciliation*, and true penitence and faith were the express conditions; but in the last conflict, when Satan often makes his last onsets, and strives to shake the weak soul, by the weak body, there was special utility in bestowing the strongest assurance of faith, "lest for any pains of death," the dying should fall from Christ. Even the non-conformist, Dr. Reynolds, when he came to the shadow of death, felt the need of this strong staff, and begged to receive it, and did so.* Perhaps he took it with a "Lutheran or Puritan mind," but there is no ground for accusing the reformers of providing it, in such a mind; for as Trent had not then condemned "the Master of the Sentences," they were certainly not to blame if they believed with Peter Lombard, that "God alone remits and retains sins, and although He hath given to the Church the power of binding and loosing, He binds and looses in one way, and the Church in another. For He only, of himself, remits sins, Who both cleanses the soul from inward taint, and releases it from the penalty of eternal death. But this He hath not conceded to priests; to whom, nevertheless, He hath conceded power to bind and loose, that is, to *declare men bound or loosed*."† Wherefore the Lord first, of Himself, restored the leper, and then sent him to the priests, by whose judgment he might be declared clean." This was not heterodoxy, even in Rome, before the Council of Trent; but since then, Romish doctors condemn us, and the elder school-men together. It certainly would be hard to find any reputable English doctor, who makes less of Sacerdotal Absolution.

Thus, without any idea of Tridentine subtleties, did the Anglican Church wisely suit "the true and proper form" of her ministrations to the diverse wants and cases which arise in the life and death of faithful men. She had no idea of *special words*, as necessary to Absolution, because she did not regard it as, in itself, a sacrament. The reformers perfectly understood themselves, and at every step kept Antiquity in view; and hence, in our opinion, it is to be regretted that so wise and harmonious a system of Absolution should have been disturbed by our American Reviewers, in the spirit of less genuine reformation. The second form of Absolution is now thrust into the Daily Service, to which it is not at all appropriate, and the third form is omitted; but it should be observed

* See Fuller's account of his death, Church Hist. Vol. III, 231.

† The original words are—"potestatem solvendi et ligandi, id est, ostendendi homines ligatos vel solutos." Petri Lombardi Senten. Lib. IV, p. 377. Paris, 1845.

that the prayer in the Visitation Office, which contains the expression *impute not unto him his former sins, &c.*, is in fact a very ancient Anglican form of Absolution,* (retained from the Penitential of Ecbert, Archbishop of York, in A. D. 731,) and as such may be used with *ministerial* authority, and in connection with either of the other forms, which the rubric allows to be introduced. It must be remembered also, that the Clergy of Connecticut solemnly resolved to conform to the English book, in all cases, as closely as our own rubrics permit. They were not willingly a party to a mutilation, which, by the known laws of action and reaction, has entailed upon this generation a contest with some who sneer at even the originals, and who would alter the old Anglican Standards to suit the more modern standards of the Church of Rome, and the mere caprices of Trent.

Now, as to Confession. Regarding its form as a matter of Christian discipline, and in no wise of divine prescription, the Anglican Church, following the example of antiquity, and using her own lawful powers as an independent patriarchate, abolished the practice of obligatory private confession, which had become scandalous, and substituted another discipline, more like the primitive. In her Communion, she expressed herself, in so many words, as desirous of restoring the "godly discipline which was in the Primitive Church, for putting notorious sinners to open penance," and she advanced as far as the times would permit, towards the object. The requirements of Confession, in the great congregation, as part of daily prayer, may be accounted for, as a further step towards completing her penitential system. Scandalous and grievous sins, by which the offender was self-excommunicated, were subjected to the ordinance of voluntary private confession, to which the exhortation in the Communion Office expressly invited; and finally, at the threshold of Communion itself, after the exhortation to self-judgment, a full and audible confession was exacted of all communicants, in which, while the mouth *confessed unto justification*, in general terms, the heart should be specific, and accuse itself of particular sins, under the terms, *by thought, word, and deed*. Finally, in order to his dying in perfect charity with all the world, and at peace with God, the dying believer is moved "to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter;" and in all these Confessions, appropriate Absolutions are provided. Such is "the sweetness" with

* See the whole in Marshall's Penitential Discipline, p. 222.

which, as Dr. Donne observes, our Church *moves* the penitent, instead of dragging him in chains to the confession of his sins. If then we would manfully turn upon our foes, instead of standing upon a tame defensive, we should take from them the armor, wherein they trust, and divide their spoils. Let us challenge our use of the texts about Remission and the Keys, to be the true, by the testimony of twelve hundred years preceding the Lateran Council, against the usage of three hundred years between that council and our reformation. Let us try the systems by antiquity; by St. Ambrose repelling Theodosius at the Church door, contrasted with a pardon-mongering monk, with his ear against the whispering hole of the confessional, or thumbing the pages of his casuist, to settle how much *satisfaction* is "nominated in the bond." Let us not avoid, but insist upon, the test of Old Testament prefigurations. Do they appeal to the purifications and expiations of the Old Law, as types of the discipline of the New? Let us agree to it. The Old Law had one discipline for the great congregation, and another for the leper. So have we. For the true Israelites, we have the General Confessions, the Ash-Wednesday humiliations, the responses to the Decalogue, and the General Absolutions, which answer to the sprinkling of the people with the hyssop and the blood, and scarlet wool. For the unclean, the lapses, the sore conscience, the plague-stricken soul, we have the exhortation, *Go, show thyself to the priest*; and the priest has the means of grace to receive him, and by God's blessing, "to recover him of his leprosy." But the Church of Rome has nothing for the leper, to separate him from the clean. The law of leprosy, is the law of her faithful. *Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis—saltem, semel in anno—omnia sua peccata!* This is the Lateran scourge, that drives the whole flock, all lepers together, once a year, to show themselves to the priest, and to pay the consideration. The tribunal of penance soon relieves their consciences, but not as He did, who said, *thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace*. That is no place for the broken and the contrite heart; certainly not for him who cries with the Psalmist, *who can understand his errors; cleanse thou me from my secret faults*. Let us then rest so far satisfied with what we have, as to say with gratitude of our condition what Wake said to Bossuet:—"The Church of England refuses no sort of Confession, either public or private, which may be any way necessary to the quieting of men's consciences, or to the exercising that power of binding and loosing which our Saviour Christ has left to his Church."

We conclude, therefore, that the Penitential System of our Reformed Church, although avowedly a mere approximation to the godly discipline of primitive times, is by no means an insufficient one. As a whole, taken in connection with the observance of Lent, and Passion Week, and of other fasts, and seen in the unbroken order of the English Prayer-Book, it has a unity and beauty which compares not unfavorably with the discipline of better days; and we may adopt once more the language of Wake, and assert fearlessly that "as to Penance and Confession, the canons of our Church do perhaps require as much as the Primitive Christians themselves did, and it is more the decay of piety, than any want of care in her, that they are not as well and regularly practised." Would to God our enthusiasts, instead of breeding distrust of the means of grace we so richly enjoy, would set us an example of faithfully employing them! The *spirit* of antiquity was not to magnify the priest, nor yet to multiply crimes and penalties; but only to restore the sick, to elicit genuine penitence, and to prevent scandal. Hence, when public confession became a greater scandal than the sin itself, the Church substituted voluntary private confession, which answered until the thirteenth century. If a Synod of Lateran could establish a compulsory penance then, why could not a Synod of London, after three hundred years' experience of worse scandal than before, revert to the older practice? This is, in fact, the change which was made at the Reformation; and let us thank God for it. The discipline which was thus superseded, had proved a deplorable invention. It failed to elicit genuine contrition, and by the facility with which it relieved the conscience, it tended to the increase of crime. The universal degradation of morals was its natural result, and the corrupt casuistry of the Jesuits its legitimate product. Compare Italy and England. Compare their ecclesiastics; compare their laity; compare their social institutions. In which country is marriage most sacred? In which is property; in which is female purity; in which is human life most inviolable? In which country is there most conscience and most fear of God? In England, Dissent has always obstructed the operation of her system; in Italy, the system of Sacramental Penance is strictly observed. By their fruits, nevertheless, let them be known. Where the Romish system is best carried out, there men are worst. The Confessional is a mere sponge. They go to wash out the old score, and begin anew. The three parts of penitence are no longer genuine contrition, voluntary confession, and honest satisfaction; but, instead thereof, we find the priest

enforcing the sufficiency of a mere Attrition, the necessity of servile Enumeration, and the equivalency of pecuniary Commutation. Is this the system by which sin is made exceeding sinful. Let any one study the *practical* theology of Rome, upon this matter, and he will see that she is—what the Church's Spouse is not—the *minister of sin*. The harlot "wipeth her mouth and saith, I have done no wickedness;" the dog returns to his vomit, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire; but their filth is left with the priest; yes with him who stands daily at the altar, and should have clean hands and a pure heart, and to whom it is said, *be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord*. We use the Saxon of the Scriptures, and let no foppish Romanizer call it coarse. But we beg to remind him that the youthful monk, who would qualify himself for a Romish priest, must commit to memory the rhymes of the blackguard and the flat prose of the stews. Such are the literal qualifications of a Confessor, or "penitentiary," in the Latin Church; and if any one denies it, we will dare him to render into English, before any decent person, a single page of a Tractate, now lying before us, which is the authorized text-book of the Seminarists at Malines. Enough to settle the whole question between us and Rome, with regard to Penance, is the fact, that their system requires of the priest such an intimacy with sins that should have no name, that the reading of their casuistry, even in a dead language, is repugnant to every instinct of a gentleman, to say nothing of the conscience of a Christian.

CHURCH REVIEW.

EDITORIAL

THE present number completes the second volume of the "CHURCH REVIEW AND ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER." The two years which have elapsed since its establishment, will long be marked, as forming an era in the history of the world. On the continent of Europe, events have transpired, and are still going on, less important in their social and political bearing, in which respect they are generally considered, than in their present and prospective influence upon the Church of CHRIST. Italy, France, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Russia, and Turkey, to the Christian eye, which perceives the workings of an Unseen Hand in the commotions of the nations, present a view of absorbing interest. In Great Britain, we witness the steady incursions of a worldly and political policy, upon the power and prerogatives of the Church; and yet, at the same time, the waking up of energies, and the exhibition of a zeal on the part of the Church, which remind us of the scenes of Apostolic days. At home, our own nation presents a growth unparalleled in history, in the vast increase of her population, in her progress in all the great departments of active enterprise, and in her cultivation of the Sciences and the useful and ornamental Arts. The Church, of which we are the humble servants, is already occupying a commanding position in our country; and by her conservative character is winning increasing respect and confidence. In comparison with the feeble efforts employed, her advancement has been in the highest degree encouraging. Especially are we called upon to notice a growing spirit of unity and of cordial attachment to the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, as they are embodied in our Primitive standards, and exhibited in the practical workings of the Church system; nor is it just occasion of surprise or alarm, that, in the vigorous and healthful development of her true principles, a few unstable minds should have passed over, into one or the other of the extremes by which the Church is surrounded.

With the first number of the third Volume, the plan of the Review will be extended, to include a department of "AMERICAN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY," to be sustained by the Rev. Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D. The first paper will be a History of the Organization of the Church in Pennsylvania, from the pen of the late Rt. Rev. Bishop White, and deposited in the hands of Dr. Hawks. These

HISTORICAL ARTICLES will be secured by copy-right for the benefit of the Author. Knowing, as we do, the value of the materials in the possession of Dr. HAWKS, we assure our readers that these contributions will be worth many times the cost of the entire work; and while the arrangement will increase the size of the Review, and impose upon us no inconsiderable additional expense, the price to subscribers will remain as heretofore. We look to the friends of the Review to sustain the effort, by increasing the circulation of the work.

In looking forward to the labors of a new year, we have no change to announce in respect to the principles upon which the Review will be conducted: unless it be a firmer determination, to resist resolutely the introduction of all novelties in doctrine and in practice; to adhere tenaciously to the positive teachings of the Church; and to guard the pages of the Review from every thing like the influence of partisan spirit, views, and measures. It must be obvious that the broad and catholic basis upon which the Review professes to stand, imposes a stronger obligation to observe with great distinctness the boundaries by which we actually are limited, lest that spirit of tolerance and charity, which the Church allows, shall degenerate into a treacherous indifferentism. The teaching of the Review shall be positive, while it is Catholic; and its readers will not, we think, have reason to complain, that it lacks energy and boldness, even if it exhibit none of the blind zeal of mere partisanship. We aspire to making the Church Review an organ of permanent usefulness; by the high literary character of its pages; its pure, elevated moral sentiment; its uncompromising adherence to our primitive and reformed standards; its careful record of the progress of the Church, and of Missionary efforts; its fearless exposure of the errors and heresies of the age, of whatever name; its faithful defense of the great organizations of Society, the Family, the State, and the Church, against the assaults of an insidious and reckless radicalism; and, not least, by its constant inculcation of that which the Church especially needs, a living union with her Living HEAD.

Our list of Contributors, published and unpublished, comprising accomplished Divines, profound Scholars, and able Statesmen, presents a combination of talent such as, we hesitate not to say, graces the pages of no other Quarterly in this country; and the Review enters upon its future career, determined, in humble reliance upon the blessing of Him who has promised to be with His Church always, to win for itself the confidence of all true Churchmen.

In conclusion, we most gratefully acknowledge the assistance of the friends of the Review, in every section of our country, in aiding to extend its circulation; and beg to remind them, that it is still, in a great degree, dependent upon their kindly coöperation.

NEW HAVEN, January 1, 1850.

ART. VII.—BOOK NOTICES.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE INCARNATION of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, in its relation to Mankind, and to the Church. By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A. M., Arch-Deacon of the East-Riding. First American, from the second London edition. Philadelphia: H. Hooker. 12mo. pp. 412. 1849.

We have seen no book recently issued from the English or American press, which is so sure to produce a deep and permanent impression in the Church. It is not, strictly speaking, a popular book; but it is one which will be studied and pondered by earnest and thoughtful minds; and it is one which will, to a considerable degree, mould and establish opinion. It is a book which could never have been written except at the present day; and is adapted to the present state of religious doctrine throughout nominal Christendom. It is a thoroughly learned book. With the ancient Fathers, the heathen Philosophers, and the German theologians, the author is equally at home. He has presented, what we have never seen done so completely before, the doctrine of the Incarnation of CHRIST, in its relations to the various heresies, ancient and modern, concerning it. The INCARNATION, as a great central fact of Revealed Religion, was the stone upon which the Sabellians, the Arians, and the Nestorians stumbled; and the Fifth Chapter, in which he treats of these heresies, and of the early Councils of the Church, is one of great ability and value. Having finished his consideration of the "Unity of Person between God the word, and the Son of Man," he enters upon the subject of His Mediation; of His Intercession; of His Spiritual Presence in His Church, or Body Mystical; of Common Worship, as a Means of Union with the Mystical Body of Christ; of Sacraments, as means of union with the Manhood of Christ; and of Christ as the source of Holiness and Knowledge to Mankind. On these great subjects, involving numerous points, concerning which there is some diversity, and more looseness of view, Mr. Wilberforce writes with great clearness and compactness. He not only knows how to distinguish, but he does distinguish, between what is *objective* and *subjective* in religion; and while his theme is the former, he shows that he does not lack appreciation of the latter. Indeed it is in this very respect that one chief excellency of the work consists; and in which its power on the public mind will rest. It looks at the objective parts of Christianity, not as abstractions, or as bare technicalities, or as the mere arbitrary frame-work of the System. On the contrary, CHRIST's Institutions are presented as living realities, as His own methods through which His perpetual Intercession becomes available to us. He says, "If the Sacraments be thus emptied of their meaning, it is because the present teachings of Christ are not appreciated; and the purposes of His Incarnation are forgotten. And this forgetfulness again, may be traced to unbelief in that real diversity of persons in the Blessed Trinity, in which all creaturely existence has its ultimate root. Thus does a practical Sabellianism, respecting Christ's Person, coincide with that Rationalistic theory, by which the reality of His Sacraments is disputed. And their surrender is fatal to the true doctrine concerning Himself, even as the true doctrine of His nature sets the importance of these instruments in a proper light."

There is one respect in which we feel bound to remark upon Mr. Wilberforce's book. He has looked at the Incarnation objectively, in connection with a certain theory; a theory which, in our judgment, he has pushed quite too far; and which, as our readers will perceive, has certainly involved him in *conclusions* which are by no means to be received. It is fair to suppose that his premises must be false, or his reasoning defective. Thus he uses language like the following: "the Perpetual Presence which he promised to His servants" is "the Presence of His *Man's Nature*;" the "*sanctified humanity* of the Son of God exerts its renewing influence upon the defiled humanity of His brethren;" "that exhaustless grace

which was to be the principle of life to the whole renewed family, had its fountain and well-head in the *manhood* of the Son of God; "that *manhood* of Christ which is the principle of regeneration to all His brethren." And again, "the Sacraments, which are the means of binding us to the mystical Body of Christ derive their efficacy from the influence of His body Natural." Such language recognizes a theory concerning the ultimate cause, and the instrumental method of man's recovery from the effects of the apostasy, which we are not yet prepared to receive. There is a wide distinction between looking at the *Crucos* of Christ, and looking at the *Humanity* of Christ, as the "fountain" of Spiritual life. And there is a distinction between our incorporation into the mystical Body of Christ, the Church, in which we become partakers of the Divine Nature, and subjects of the Holy Spirit's renewing operations on the one hand, and looking upon the *manhood* of Christ, as "the principle of regeneration to all His brethren." It is not a distinction without a difference. It is the question of causality of our spiritual life. It is the Atonement purchased by *Christ*, and rendered effectual through His mystical Body on the one hand, and an Atonement by an incorporation into, and a participation in the virtues of, Christ's humanity on the other. We are not surprised then, to hear the author say, as his system obliges him to say, that "the *soul's* regeneration, like the body's growth, is of course a *protracted* process, which the whole of life is not too long to complete." And he might add, if not completed in this life, may be completed by some purgatorial process hereafter. A conclusion, we say, like this, which sets aside the received doctrine of Regeneration—which confounds Regeneration with Renovation—which conflicts, not only with our Baptismal Formula, but with the great mass of our standard Church theology, must proceed, either from false premises, or from incorrect reasonings. Nor is there any necessity for such a theory. The view of the Church, that we become partakers of the Divine Nature, not independently of, but through membership in the mystical Body of Christ, is a sufficient safeguard against Sabellianism, which overlooks this instrumentality, and makes our union with God a mere union with Deity at large.

Besides, there is another difficulty in the way of Mr. Wilberforce's theory. The office which he ascribes to the *Human nature* of Christ, necessarily invests it with attributes which destroy its identity. And then, it needs but one step more, and that a short one, making the presence of Christ's human nature *material* as well as real; and we have at once a heresy which the Church expressly disowns and protests against.

As Hooker has been appealed to as sustaining this view of Wilberforce, we quote the following language, which certainly cannot be misunderstood. "It followeth, that nothing of Christ which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the soul nor the body of Christ, and consequently not Christ as man, or Christ according to his human nature, can possibly be everywhere present. * * * Neither is the manhood of Christ, that subject whereunto universal presence agreeth. * * * Christ is essentially present with all things, in that he is very God; but not present with all things as man." Book V, Ch. iv, s. 4. It is but fair, however, to say that Wilberforce anticipates the objections that we have urged; and intentionally guards against them. Hooker also says, "Presence by way of conjunction is in some sort presence;" and in this sense he speaks of a *sort of presence* of the human nature of Christ; but he is exceedingly cautious in his use of language, and prefaces his remarks by declaring, "We hold it in regard of the fore-alleged proofs, a most infallible truth, that Christ as man is not everywhere present." Certain it is, that the theory of Mr. Wilberforce, that the humanity of Christ is not only omnipresent in the Church, but present as the fountain of that exhaustless grace which is the principle of Regeneration, finds no support in the teachings of such a mind as Hooker's.

We wish also to say, that some of the best writers in the Church do not feel the force of the objections which we have urged against Mr. Wilberforce's theory; and we have on hand a commendatory review of the book, which we may publish in our next number. Beyond dispute the work is full of deep realities; one

which we earnestly commend to all thoughtful and earnest Christians. We should not be surprised to see the statement repeated, made in a late private letter—"No other work I ever read influenced my mind so much."

A PASTORAL LETTER to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese. By the Rt. Rev. L. Silliman Ives, D. D., Bishop of North Carolina. New York, Stanford & Swords. 12mo. pp. 80.

The object of this Pastoral of Bishop Ives, appears to be two-fold. It is in part to protest against the doings of the Convention of his Diocese, which in his absence had reported through a Committee, "great agitation and alarm, arising from the impression that doctrines have been preached not in accordance with the Liturgy and Articles of this Church; and that ceremonies and practices have been introduced, either unauthorized by the customs of this Church, or in plain violation of its rubrics." Another cause of alarm was reported to be, the existence of a Society, "whose character, rules, and practices, are at variance with the spirit if not with the laws of this Church." Another object of this Pastoral, is to define the Bishop's own position in respect to certain doctrines and practices, and to state the origin and purposes of the Society alluded to.

Whether the Committee on the State of the Church transcended their limits in reporting what they believed to be the facts in the case, we shall not now attempt to determine; much less is it our purpose to allude to personal matters in the Pastoral letter, pertaining to the internal condition of the Diocese of North Carolina. But on the general subjects of Confession and Absolution, discussed in this Pastoral, we cannot hesitate to present what we believe to be the teaching of our Branch of Christ's Holy Church, with distinctness and earnestness. These are subjects pertaining to the Church, and to Churchmen everywhere; and which must and will be met with free and full discussion.

If we understand the Bishop of North Carolina he maintains the following points.

1st. The necessity of private Confession to a priest; not as required by the Church, but necessary by the moral wants of individuals.

2d. The general necessity of such Confession; or its necessity for all.

3d. He considers Confession as inseparable from Absolution, and having Absolution as its great end.

4th. That the priest has power *judicially* to remit sins.

5th. That Absolution confers grace.

6th. That this was the view concerning Confession held and taught in the early Church.

7th. That in this view he is sustained by the authority of the "judicious Hooker."

If we have misstated the Bishop's positions we have read his Pastoral Letter to little purpose.

We cannot in a brief notice examine each one of these points. But we say confidently, and hold ourselves ready to show that the above was not the view of Confession as taught by the early Church, or as maintained by Hooker. It has no support in the standards of the English Church, or our own; but is unequivocally condemned by both.

The early Church did not hold to the necessity of Confession to a priest, either public or private. They did not recommend it *generally*; as Hooker truly says, "Confession was neither looked for till men did offer it; nor offered, for the most part, by any other than such as were guilty of heinous transgressions; nor to them any time appointed for that purpose." Neither was Confession viewed as inseparable from Absolution, even on the part of these lapsed penitents. Hooker says, "it can nowhere be showed that the priest to whom secret information was given did reconcile or absolve any." The end of Confession was chiefly, the restitution of the penitent to his former right in the holy Sacrament; and it was sought also, because of the fervent desire on the part of the penitents "to be helped and assisted with the prayers of God's Saints."

Concerning judicial absolution on the part of the priest, Hooker says, "What

is then the force of absolution? What is it which the act of absolution worketh in a sinful man? Doth it, by any operation derived from itself, alter the state of the soul? *Doth it really take away sin; or but ascertain us of God's most gracious and merciful pardon?* The latter of which two is our assertion; the former, theirs," (Romanists.) And again, Hooker says, "As for the ministerial sentence of private absolution, it can be no more than a declaration what God hath done; it hath but the force of the Prophet Nathan's absolution, 'God hath taken away thy sin;' than which construction, *especially of words judicial*, there is not any thing more vulgar."

On this whole subject of Confession, we believe that the practice of Liturgical Confession to God, as now existing in our public services, with such occasional private examinations as every faithful Pastor is familiar with, may, and ought to come up to the full import of ancient teaching and practice. The infant condition of Christianity among idolaters and heathens, would of course lead to a very careful examination into the qualification of Converts, as is now practiced in all our missionary establishments. But any attempt to introduce the private Confessional, on the ground of primitive practice, is a forlorn hope. The whole subject will be found discussed in another place, where also we are anticipated in some of the remarks already made.

In speaking thus plainly of Bishop Ives' views, we here expressly disclaim all suspicion of his loyalty to the Church, or of his honesty and sincerity. We believe there are men in the Church, few in number, but exceedingly industrious, concerning whom we make no such disclaimer. They stand where Newman stood for years before his open apostasy—traitors—men with a lie in their right hand; "doing evil that good may come;" retaining their position in the Church to work mischief, until they shall be driven from it; men, the unutterable meanness and base hypocrisy of whose position, are only deepened by the injury inflicted upon an aggrieved and insulted Church. But that Bishop Ives has the slightest sympathy with their intentions, is altogether incredible.

COMPENDIUM OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, by J. C. L. Gieseler, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology, and Professor of Theology in Gottingen. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849. 2 vols. 8vo.

An American edition of this work was published by Carey, Lea, & Blanchard in 1836, in Cunningham's Translation, from the third German edition. The present reprint is from the fourth German edition, translated by Samuel Davidson, LL.D.

The object and character of this work are expressed by the title to the Philadelphia edition. It is a "*Text-Book*" for the lecture room, rather than a "Compendium" for the general reader, and was so designed by its author. As a *Text-Book*, for a competent Lecturer, and for students suitably prepared, it might be a serviceable work; but as a work of history, for the ordinary student and general reader, it is comparatively valueless. The text of the author is brief and meagre, a mere skeleton, simply stating leading facts, or subjects, and referring to his copious marginal notes for proof. These notes, given in the original Latin or Greek, and without a translation, though necessarily brief, are selected usually with discrimination. There is another fact bearing upon the value of this work. The Author is a German Lutheran; and the topics in his book are arranged rather for the German than the English or American student. Upon many historical questions of importance at the present day the learner will consult this text-book almost in vain.

While, therefore, there are few lecturers in this country, whose profound acquaintance with the original authorities, renders them competent to adopt the plan of the German Professor, and while the want of familiarity with the original languages on the part of most students, must prevent its adoption in our Theological Seminaries, still it is a valuable addition to our Ecclesiastical literature. And yet, for the reasons which we have stated, it is impossible that it should take the place of the comparatively impartial and full history of Mosheim, which will

maintain its position as a standard class and text-book, in preference to any thing which has yet been issued from the press.

Indeed, for the general reader, Gieseler is far inferior to Neander; whose work, though rather a philosophy of history, than history itself, and very exceptionable philosophy besides, according to orthodox standards, is even now, though in an unfinished state, a vast monument of industry and research.

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, *from the Discovery of the Continent to the Organization of, and Government under, the Federal Constitution.* By Richard Hildreth. In three Volumes, 8vo. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1849.

We believe this to be the most impartial and reliable history of the United States yet written. It seems to be unsectarian in spirit, and exhibits a laborious acquaintance with authorities. Its style is perspicuous and unadorned, as it should be. It has been most unjustly characterized by hypercritics as dry and tedious; and so, doubtless, is the simplicity of truth to our mawkish sentimentalists. Hildreth will take his place among the standard historians of our Country.

We here, however, say distinctly, that the early history of the Colonies of New England has never yet been fairly written. The intent and conduct of the English Government in the establishment of the Colonies, have been imperfectly and erroneously presented. In this light, we ask careful attention to the paper in our present Number, on the "Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company." Our readers will perceive that it is a contribution of no ordinary value.

THE MONUMENTS OF EGYPT; OR EGYPT A WITNESS FOR THE BIBLE. By Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D. With notes of a voyage up the Nile, by an American. New York: Geo. P. Putnam. London: John Murray, 1850. 8vo. pp. 256, and 162. New Haven: T. H. Pease.

Egypt, the grand Mausoleum of ancient Art, Science, and Literature; Egypt, the boast of modern infidels, as the key to unlock and expose the inner chambers of Superstition and Priestcraft; Egypt, the home of the Pyramids and the Sphinx, of Monuments and splendid ruins, which awe and confound the modern traveler; which rebukes the self-complacency of our times as with the presence of a loftier spirit; this land of wonders, and of mysterious silence, is waking from her long sleep of ages, and is uttering her verdict, to confound the whining Skeptic, and to establish beyond the possibility of doubt, the truth of God's Holy Word, the BIBLE. It is a wonderful synchronism, that that same Science which is undermining national barriers, breaking the iron chains of exclusiveness in China, Hindostan, Turkey, and Rome, and thus bringing men into new social relations, and under new social influences, is, at the same time, pouring floods of light upon the truth and reality of Revealed Religion. Assyria and Egypt, Nineveh and Rosetta, are rising up, unimpeachable witnesses to "the Truth as it is in Jesus."

The work of Dr. Hawks has a two-fold design; first, to make intelligible to the commonest reader the present state of discovery in respect to the mysterious hieroglyphical language; and then to show the bearing of that discovery upon the records of the Inspired page. Both these objects we think Dr. Hawks has entirely accomplished. The fragmentary character of early Egyptian history—the incipient labors of Dr. Young, in connection with the "Rosetta Stone"—the extraordinary labors of the younger Champollion, and his wonderful success in deciphering the hieroglyphical characters, for which Dr. Young had invented the key; (Dr. Young first established the *fact* of the *alphabetic* character of hieroglyphics; and also the *alphabetic force* of a few hieroglyphical characters;) and the different methods of writing on the part of the Egyptians, are first clearly, though briefly described; and he then proceeds to "bring the testimony furnished by Egyptian antiquities into juxtaposition with the sacred history." In manly grasp of his subject, clear arrangement, and lucid style, Dr. Hawks' work exhibits the head and heart of the Christian Scholar. He makes no pretensions in this work to *originality*; he appears rather as an apologist for, than an expositor of the Bible; and his object is, to cause the labors of others in this field to subserve a high and holy end.

The only similar effort of this kind previously made, was the work of Dr. Hengstenberg, published in 1840, "*Egypt and the Books of Moses*," and translated by Dr. Robbins in 1848. This is a book of much research and value; but its tedious minuteness, its lack of order and method, its elaborate learning, in discussing matters of the most insignificant character, make it a dull book, and it has been comparatively little known. The volume of Dr. Hawks, however, is one which will be read with avidity; and it will give the reader clear and distinct impressions, upon a subject hitherto wrapped in obscurity.

The "*Notes of a Voyage up the Nile*," by a gentleman just returned from Egypt, are wholly an independent work, and have no reference to the labors of Dr. Hawks, except as incidentally throwing light upon them. Though his name does not appear, we pronounce him an intelligent traveler, and an agreeable writer, and shall hope to hear from him from some one of the distant fields whither he says his thoughts are directed.

The whole work is exceedingly valuable, and of stirring interest, and will form the subject of a paper for our pages, which we think we may promise for an early number. The illustrations, of which there are nearly fifty, are extremely well done; and the execution, on the part of the Publisher, it is sufficient to say, is in his very best style.

THE CHURCH CHANT-BOOK: *designed to facilitate the practice of Chanting in Churches and the Private Devotional Circle; comprising a large and varied collection of Chant Tunes in the Gregorian and Modern Modes, adapted to the ordinary and extraordinary services of the Protestant Episcopal Church; with an Introduction, and Instructions relative to the Mode of Performance.* Written, arranged, and in part composed by the Rev. William Staunton. New York: Stanford & Swords, 187 Broadway, 1849. 4to. pp. 60.

The above long and descriptive title sufficiently indicates the design of the work which it represents. Such a design as this needs no commendation; but we are happy to speak in praise of the general faithfulness and success with which it has been executed.

The importance of Chanting in the services of the Church, seems to have been little regarded of late by compilers and publishers of Church Music, and consequently not to have received due attention from organists and directors of choir. The principal resort for Chant-Music has been to the meagre collections stitched into the end of the popular tune-books. The Congregational and Presbyterian sects, however, have been led at last to appreciate this beautiful and truly ecclesiastical style of music, and have attempted, with partial success, to introduce it into their very flexible and accommodating form of worship; and have in consequence been supplied by the indefatigable Mr. Mason of Boston with a "*Book of Chants*," which has at least the merit of being full and complete, but which is totally unfit for the uses of the Church.

The deficiency which we have pointed out, the book before us is well fitted to supply. Its external appearance is becoming to its subject and to the place which it is intended to occupy. It is printed on the finest of paper, with an excellence of musical typography which we have rarely seen in American books of Church Music. The words, too, are printed in *full* upon every page, directly under the music to which they are adapted,—a convenience which beginners in chanting will be able to appreciate.

The work is introduced by a thorough course of Lessons in Chanting, accompanied by some judicious and discriminating remarks on Style of Performance. The selection of music which follows is, as the title-page professes, "*large and varied*," and yet contains little that would be disapproved by the severest taste. The editor's own contributions form by no means the least valuable portion of the compilation.

Having said thus much in commendation, we must be allowed to notice what seem to us to be faults, in that most important department—the arrangement of the words. The first is, that the notation for cadences is not in all cases conformed

to the usages of most of our Churches, nor to the rules which good sense and good taste have established. The second relates to the general application of the music of the chant to the poetry of the psalms and other canticles. The beautiful aptness with which the two members of the chant correspond to the two members of the Hebrew stanza, no ingenuity could improve. The original responsive effect of the Hebrew chant is fully produced in our modern music. This effect, however, is quite lost in the arrangement adopted by Mr. Mason in his *Book of Chants*; in which both members of the parallelism are assigned to one member of the Chant. Some of our arrangers, however, and those of the highest authority, have gone to the contrary extreme, and divided some of the canticles (particularly the *Tu Deus*) in such a manner as often to distribute a single short sentence through both members of the chant, thus hiding the responsive effect of the poetry, besides greatly protracting the length of the performance, and often quite destroying the principal characteristic of the chant—the recitative.

We welcome this book, the production of a minister of the Church, as an evidence of a disposition on the part of her musicians to provide for her wants in this department of her service. The peculiar requirements of the music of the Church, as distinguished from that of the sects, deserves more extended discussion than our space will at present allow.

TWO TREATISES ON THE CHURCH; the first by Thomas Jackson, D. D., the second by Robert Sanderson, D. D., formerly Lord Bishop of Lincoln. To which is added, *A Letter of Bishop Cosin, on the Validity of the Orders of the Foreign Reformed Churches, with Introductory Remarks*, by William Goode, M. D. Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1844. 12mo. pp. 238.

Of the contents of this volume, the Treatise of Bishop Sanderson, and the Letter of Bishop Cosin, are both very brief; containing 13 and 10 pages respectively; and are noticeable, rather as expressing the opinions of their respective authors, than as a vindication of those opinions. The Introduction by the Compiler, Mr. Goode, a name well known to our readers, was written in 1843, at a time when the Tractarian excitement in England was at its height. The object of this compilation, the compiler states in his Introduction, was to present the views of these Authors respecting "the nature and constitution of the Church." Mr. Goode's intention evidently was, to make prominent the theory of the "invisible Church." Mr. Jackson, however, is very far from agreeing, on the whole, with the views of Mr. Goode. Mr. Jackson, whose treatise is dated 1625, lived at a time when Calvinistic opinions were rife in the English Church, and he himself sympathized in them. Hence he sometimes speaks of those who have been called with an "effectual calling," as constituting an *invisible* Church; yet Dr. Jackson says expressly, "that the visible Church was, in the apostles' time and after, the true Church of God, we never denied; nor will we contend with him, whether the true Church of God on earth can ever fail; no, not whether it ceaseth to be visible. Where then is the difference! *The true Church of God is always visible—the visible Church is always the true Church of God.*" The former he avers, the latter he denies. Again, and in still stronger terms, Dr. Jackson says, "we never denied obedience to the visible Church, which consists of good and bad, which contains in it, as well the reprobate as the elect."

In Mr. Goode's introduction, we observe a singular carelessness in the use of language, and from which he yet deduces important inferences, to which we will advert. He says, "However much, however justly, we may value that apostolical form of government which we have the happiness to inherit from the Christians of primitive times, it is not this, but the purity of our faith, that constitutes us members of the Church of Christ." And he adds, "we must either maintain, with the Tractarians, that members of non-episcopal communions are not members of Christ's Church; or we must admit that if we turn our backs upon them, we are eschewing the communion of Christ's saints, on the mere ground of a non-essential difference in the frame work of our Churches." This is unquestionably a most singular sentence from an intelligent Church divine. The "form of government" of the Church is one thing; what constitutes "membership" in the Church

is another thing. We may admit that "*members of non-episcopal communions*" are members of Christ's Church, without admitting that those communions possess the "*frame work of Churches*." Churchmen, in refusing an open and free intercommunion with these denominations, are bound to admit that these denominations are not "*Churches*," but are living in a state of schism, which is sinful; or else that Churchmen themselves are guilty of sin, and virtually of schism, in refusing said free and open intercommunion. Upon their own principles, Churchmen are bound to take one or the other of these positions. To us, it is a thought pleasing and grateful, that we may look upon members of these communions, pious and truly devoted, as we believe multitudes of them to be, as Christians, baptized with us into the one Holy Catholic Church of Christ; although these communions or societies, as such, may lack the true notes, or marks of a Church of Christ.

The treatise of Dr. Jackson, which occupies one hundred and seventy-two pages of the present volume, and though written in the thetical and syllogistical style of the times, is a valuable work upon the Church, and is worthy of that regard in which it has been held for more than two hundred years.

PUBLIC ECONOMY for the United States. By Calvin Colton. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1848.

This is a large octavo volume, containing thirty-three Chapters, and 536 well printed octavo pages. It is designed distinctly as a work for the United States. In his opening Chapter, the author states what are the "*new points*" of his work. The first is his definition of Public Economy; that it is the application of knowledge derived from experience to a given position, to given interests, and to given institutions of an independent State or Nation for the increase of public and private wealth. Others of his "*new points*" are, that public economy has never yet been reduced to a science, but that its propositions down to this time are *empirical* laws; an attempt to subject his propositions to the most rigid test of the canons of experimental induction, as laid down by logicians; that labor is capital, and the parent of all other capital; that protective duties in the United States are not taxes; a consideration of the different States of Society in the United States, and in Europe; the foundation of the value of money; the distinction between money as a *subject*, and as an *instrument* of trade; that money in every commercial community may be called "*the tool of trade*;" that price is not an attribute of money when employed as the instrument of trade; that an American protective tariff is identical with Free Trade in its operation and results; that the destiny of Freedom is yet in the earlier stages of its career; that the struggle of the American Revolution was based on the same principle as that now contested between Free Trade and Protection; the reasons for the rise and progress of the theory of Free Trade; that freedom consists in the enjoyment of commercial rights, and in the independent control of commercial values fairly acquired; the necessity of American Protection to protect it; that Free Trade is a license for depredation; that there cannot be two kinds of economy, one for private and one for public purposes.

These points the author discusses, more or less at large, in his subsequent pages; and they will show pretty clearly the character of the work. Mr. Colton has the reputation of a clear and vigorous writer, and he has expended upon this volume several of the best years of his life. It has passed, we believe, through a first edition. It does not fall within our province to discuss the soundness or unsoundness of the author's positions.

ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER.

SUMMARY OF HOME INTELLIGENCE.*

ORDINATIONS.

DEACONS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Babbitt, B. B.,	Henshaw,	Sept. 29,	Grace, Providence, R. I.
Byllesby, DeWitt C.,	Doane,	Sept. 23,	St. Mary's, Burlington, N. J.
Chevers, G. W.,	Henshaw,	Sept. 29,	Grace, Providence, R. I.
Cumming, E. H.,	McIlvaine,	Sept. 8,	St. Luke's, Granville, Ohio.
Dashiel, E. F.,	Whittingham,	Sept. 23,	St. Andrew's, Baltimore, Md.
Hayden, G. B.,	Brownell,	Sept. 19,	St. Michael's, Litchfield, Ct.
Jarvis, William O.,	"	"	"
Johnson, George,	McIlvaine,	Sept. 8,	St. Luke's, Granville, Ohio.
Whipple, H. B.,	DeLancey,	Aug. 17,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
Weller, R. Heber,	Otey,	Oct. 21,	Calvary, Memphis, Tenn.

PRIESTS.

Rev. A. D. Benedict,	McIlvaine,	Sept. 4,	St. Paul's, Chillicothe, Ohio.
" T. J. Carter,	C. Chase,	Nov. 20,	Caroline, Setauket, N. Y.
" T. A. Eaton,	Doane,	Oct. 1,	Grace, Newark, N. J.
" Lewis Green,	Eastburn,	Oct. 12,	Trinity, Vandeusenville, Mass.
" George Hall,	Lee,	Oct. 26,	St. Mark's, Millsboro', Del.
" F. D. Harriman,	Brownell,	Sept. 18,	St. Paul's, Bantam Falls, Conn.
" E. W. Murray,	Burgess,	Nov. 23,	Christ, Gardiner, Maine.
" R. S. Nash,	McIlvaine,	Sept. 8,	St. Luke's, Granville, Ohio.
" Chas. Revnolds,	C. Chase,	Dec. 6,	Christ, North Brooklyn, N. Y.
" S. Reed,	DeLancey,	Aug. 17,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
" Joel Rudderow,	Potter,	Oct. 3,	St. Peter's, Bloomsburg, Penn.
" L. W. Russ,	DeLancey,	Nov. 11,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.
" A. G. Shears,	Brownell,	Oct. 12,	Christ, Sharon, Conn.
" W. M. Steele,	Otey,	Oct. 24,	Calvary, Memphis, Tenn.
" J. H. Ticknor,	Cobbs,	Oct. 14,	———, Prairieville, Ala.
" T. Wilcoxson,	Brownell,	Sept. 18,	St. Paul's, Bantam Falls, Conn.
" F. S. Wiley,	Potter,	Oct. 28,	All Saints, Moyamensing, Penn.
" Moses E. Wilson,	DeLancey,	Nov. 11,	Trinity, Geneva, W. N. Y.

* Several pages of Book Notices, Home and Foreign Intelligence, Obituaries, and Literary Intelligence, are necessarily crowded out.

REMOVALS.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>To Church or Parish.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Rev. P. T. Babbitt,	Trinity School,	Raleigh, N. C.
" J. M. Bartlett,	Ascension,	Gloucester, N. J.
" J. J. Bowden,	St. Matthew's,	Jersey City, N. J.
" J. B. Britton,	Christ,	Dayton, Ohio.
" S. T. Carpenter,	St. Peter's,	Smyrna, Del.
" T. J. Carter,	Grace,	Cleveland, Ohio.
" T. W. Coit, D. D.,	Trinity College,	Hartford, Conn.
" F. J. Clerc,	St. John's,	St. Louis, Mi.
" A. Crosswell,	St. Paul's,	Brunswick, Ma.
" Seth Davis,	Zion,	E. Bloomfield, W. N. Y.
" M. Douglass,	Trinity,	Seneca Falls, W. N. Y.
" G. W. Dubois,		Warren, Ohio.
" T. A. Eaton,	Grace,	Newark, N. J.
" T. T. Fales,	Christ,	Waltham, Mass.
" S. Fuller, D. D.,	Christ,	Andover, Mass.
" J. P. Hammond,	Trinity,	Upper Marlboro', Md.
" Daniel Henshaw,	St. Paul's,	North Kingston, R. I.
" Wm. Horton,	St. Paul's,	Brookline, Mass.
" W. O. Jarvis,	St. Mark's,	Bridgewater, Conn.
" W. M. Jackson,	St. Paul's,	Norfolk, Va.
" David Kerr,	Trinity,	Yazoo City, Miss.
" J. H. Linebaugh,	St. James',	Baton Rouge, La.
" J. McNamara,		Walworth Co., Wis.
" J. A. McKenny,	St. Paul's,	Prince George Co., Md.
" R. S. Nash,	Christ,	Lancaster Co., Va.
" E. Neville, D. D.,	Christ,	New Orleans, La.
" E. M. Porter,	Ascension,	Fall River, Mass.
" T. S. Savage, M. D.,	Trinity,	Pass Christian, Miss.
" J. Shackelford,	St. Mary's,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
" B. W. Stone,	St. Michael's,	Litchfield, Conn.
" B. F. Taylor,	St. Luke's,	Rossville, Staten Is'd, N. Y.
" J. E. Van Bokkelen,	St. Timothy's,	Catonsville, Md.
" F. M. Whittle,	St. James',	Pemberton, Va.
" F. S. Wiley,	Grace,	Honesdale, Pa.

CONSECRATIONS.

<i>Church.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Bishop.</i>	<i>Time.</i>
All Angels',	New York City,	C. Chase,	Dec. 1.
Christ,	North Brooklyn, N. Y.	C. Chase,	Dec. 6.
St. George's,	New York City.	C. Chase,	Dec. 4.
St. James',	Newtown, L. I., N. Y.	C. Chase,	Nov. 15.
St. John's,	West Hoboken, N. J.	Doane,	Oct. 2.
St. Mark's,	Millsboro', Del.	Lee,	Oct. 26.
St. Mark's,	West Islip, L. I., N. Y.,	C. Chase,	Nov. 23.
Church of the Nativity,	Huntsville, Ala.	Cobbs,	Nov. 4.

DIOCESAN INTELLIGENCE.

NEW YORK.—The *Sixty-Fifth* Annual Convention of this Diocese met in St. John's Chapel, New York city, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, the 26th, 27th, and 28th of September. The Rev. William Creighton, D. D., was chosen President, and Rev. Dr. Haight, Secretary. From the neatly printed Journal, we copy the following summary of statistics.

Number of Clergy present in the Convention, 151; absent, 25. On the roll of the Convention, 176. Not entitled to seats, 71. Number of Clergy belonging to the Diocese, 247. Candidates for Orders, 35.

Parishes.—Number of Churches and Chapels represented, 139; not represented, 57; entitled to representation, 196; not in union with the Convention, 8. Number of Churches and Chapels in the Diocese, 204. Seven Churches were admitted into union at this Convention.

Ordinations.—Deacons, 12; Priests 11; total, 23. *Churches.*—Corner stones laid, 2; Consecrated, 5. *Confirmations*, in 89 Churches, 1348.

<i>Canonical Collections.</i> —For the Episcopal Fund, from 80 Churches,				\$125.44	
"	Diocesan	"	91	"	972.48
"	Education	"	89	"	193.54
"	Missionary	"	110	"	2826.81
"	Aged and infirm Clergy,	87	"		2067.50

\$6185.77

The following is the summary of Bishop Whittingham's services in the Diocese of New York, taken from his report to the Convention:—"I have examined and ordained twelve Deacons and eleven Priests, at one stated and seven special Ordinations; have consecrated five churches, and laid two corner-stones of churches; have confirmed thirteen hundred and fifty-eight persons, at eighty-nine administrations of the rite; have administered the Holy Communion twenty-five times; have preached one hundred and two times, and have delivered eighty-eight other addresses. In order to attend these ministrations, I have traveled about three thousand six hundred and fifty miles."

The question of exclusion of non-communicants from sittings in the Convention, laid over from the last Convention, was postponed, by a vote of 62 to 48 of the Clergy, and 76 to 28 of the Laity.

The following preamble and resolutions were offered by the Rev. Dr. Higbee.

"Whereas the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies, in the General Convention of 1847, passed a canon in the words following:

"Whenever the penalty of suspension shall be inflicted on a Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, in this Church, the sentence shall specify on what terms, or at what time, said penalty shall cease."

"And whereas the Diocese and Diocesan of New York have been for a long time suffering under the disabilities which it was the design of the canon to prevent in future: therefore,

"Resolved, That the Standing Committee be requested to present, at an early day, an address to the House of Bishops, praying that venerable body to adopt such measures as may render the wise provisions of said canon of 1847 available to the relief of our Diocese; that so, the objects may be accomplished of the unanimous prayer of this Convention addressed to the General Convention of 1847."

The votes upon this resolution were 91 clerical and 69 lay ayes, and 36 clerical and 46 lay noes. A portion of the minority united in a protest against this resolution, which was not allowed a place on the Journal of the Convention, by the following vote—Clergy, noes 84, ayes 29; Laity, noes 61, ayes 29. We observe the manifestation of a spirit of concession on the part of the majority, especially in the choice of the Missionary Committee of the Diocese. The following persons were, on nomination, appointed:—Rev. T. House Taylor, D. D., Chairman; Rev. L. P. W. Balch, D. D., Secretary; C. N. S. Rowland, Esq., Treasurer; Rev. W. Richmond, Rev. Lot Jones, Rev. Richard Cox, C. Oakley, Esq., S. Brown, Esq., W. A. Spencer, Esq., E. W. Dunham, Esq.

The following gentlemen were elected members of the Standing Committee:—Clergy—Rev. William Berrian, D. D., Rev. John McVickar, D. D., Rev. Benjamin I. Haight, D. D., Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D. Laity—Hon. Samuel Jones, Hon. Murray Hoffman, Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck, Floyd Smith, Esq.

The following letter has lately been addressed to the President of the Standing Committee, by the Rev. Mr. Forbes, late pastor of St. Luke's Church, in the city of New York:

New York, 21st Nov., 1849.

To the Rev. Wm. Berrian, D. D., Pres. of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York:

Rev. and Dear Sir,—You may conceive that it is with no ordinary emotion that I feel myself constrained to declare to you, as President of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York, that it is my intention no longer to exercise the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church, it having become my deep and conscientious conviction that duty to God requires of me to unite myself to the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, in communion with the See of Rome, to which alone I feel that my allegiance is due.

With great personal consideration, I remain, Rev. and Dear Sir, your obedient servant,
JOHN MURRAY FORBES.

VERMONT.—The *Fifty-Ninth* Annual Convention of this Diocese was held in Christ Church, Bethel, on the 19th of September. We glean from the Journal the following statistics and items of intelligence. Confirmations, during the year, 128. Clergymen belonging to the Diocese, 23; of whom 6 are not in charge of any parish. There are 3 candidates for Holy Orders. Several parishes are vacant. The following persons were elected members of the Standing Committee, and Delegates to the General Convention:

Standing Committee.—Rev. John A. Hicks, D. D., Rev. Joel Clapp, D. D., Rev. George B. Manser, Hon. Isaac F. Redfield, George B. Shaw, Esq., Ozias Seymour, Esq. *Delegates to the General Convention*.—Clerical Deputies—Rev. Joel Clapp, D. D., Rev. John A. Hicks, D. D., Rev. George B. Manser, Rev. Henry Blackaller. Lay Deputies—Hon. Charles K. Williams, Hon. Isaac F. Redfield, George B. Shaw, Esq., A. O. Aldis, Esq.

OBITUARY.

The Rev. **FREDERICK MILLER**, Rector of Trinity Church, Branford, Ct., died at the Rectory, Oct. 3d, 1849, aged 38 years. Mr. Miller was born at Potsdam, St. Lawrence county, N. Y., Oct. 8, 1811. His parents were educated as Congregationalists, and his mother was a truly pious member of that denomination. At about the age of 16, he left his father's family, and became clerk in a mercantile house in his native town, to a gentleman who was a devoted Churchman. At this period he became acquainted with the Church, and a member of it, and materially assisted in the formation of the parish in his native town. Feeling that he had a higher work to do, he pursued his studies in Potsdam, preparatory to entering College, and entered the Sophomore class of Washington, now Trinity College, in September, 1837, and graduated in 1840. He commenced his theological studies while a member of College, and greatly injured his health and impaired his constitution by his close application to his studies. He was admitted to the Holy Order of Deacons, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Brownell, Oct. 27th, 1841, in Christ Church, Hartford; and to the Order of Priests, by the same Bishop, Sept. 28th, 1842, in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire. He took charge of St. Peter's Parish, Cheshire, in November, 1841, where he remained until Easter, 1844, when he accepted a call to Trinity Parish, Branford. In the parochial relation he was particularly happy. He was fitted for its enjoyments, took delight in its duties, and was successful in promoting its objects. He was very strongly attached to the principles of the Church; and yet by his prudent and holy living he won the respect of those whom he did not convince. As a scholar, his mind was well disciplined; and for the pursuits to which his life was devoted, well furnished. As a preacher, he was clear in his style, earnest in manner, combining a happy union of instruction and exhortation. With but a moderate salary, he had procured one of the best selected private libraries in the Diocese. The Parish at Branford grew under his care; and, at the time of his death, contemplated the speedy erection of a new Parish Church. During the past summer, he had been active in preparing a class for the rite of Confirmation, and on the last Sunday afternoon before he was attacked with fatal disease, and even then seriously indisposed, he preached from the

significant words, "Little children, it is the last time." On the Monday following, he was prostrated with dysentery, and gradually sunk down, until Wednesday, Oct. 3d, 1849, when he fell asleep in Jesus. He leaves behind him a beloved wife and five helpless orphans, whom at the last he committed in unwavering faith to his Heavenly Father, saying, "God will take care of them."

Mr. Miller's life was one of uncommon purity and self-denial. Sincerity and self-sacrifice were marked traits in his character. He lived not for himself; and at last, like his blessed Saviour, laid down his life for the sheep. He held a high place, not only in the esteem of his people, but in the respect, affection, and confidence of his brethren of the Clergy; several of whom have agreed to supply his Parish with services until Easter, for the benefit of his bereaved family. We are glad to learn that a more appropriate Memorial is in preparation, by one who has every facility for presenting a correct view of his symmetrical and beautiful character.

SUMMARY OF FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND.

ORDINATIONS.

On Sunday, Sept. 23d, being one of the stated times for Ordination, the following number of persons were admitted to the Orders of Priest and Deacon:

By the Bishop of Carlisle, 1 Deacon and 4 Priests.

By the Bishop of Chester, 15 Deacons and 7 Priests.

By the Bishop of Ely, 3 Deacons and 5 Priests.

By the Bishop of Lichfield, 13 Deacons and 12 Priests.

By the Bishop of Lincoln, 5 Deacons and 3 Priests.

By the Bishop of Ripon, 13 Deacons and 13 Priests.

By the Bishop of Worcester, 23 Deacons and 17 Priests.

By the Lord Primate of Ireland, 3 Deacons and 4 Priests.

By the Bishop of Down and Connor, 7 Deacons and 9 Priests.

By the Bishop of Oxford, 8 Deacons and 1 Priest.

On Saturday, Sept. 29, by the Bishop of London, Rev. Thomas Maxwell and Rev. George Nicol (colored) were admitted to the Order of Priests.

On Sunday, Oct. 21, by the Bishop of Exeter, 10 Deacons and 9 Priests; and by the Bishop of Manchester, 11 Deacons and 9 Priests.

TOTAL, by 13 Bishops, 122 Deacons and 95 Priests.

DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF NORWICH.—Died, on the 6th Sept., at Brahan Castle, near Dingwall, Ross-shire, Right Rev. the Bishop of Norwich. The Rev. prelate was only ill for a short time, but his malady fatally terminated in a congestion of the brain. The deceased was the second son of Sir T. J. Stanley, of Alderley, Cheshire, and was born in 1779, so that he was 70 years of age. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. He was formerly Rector of Alderley, and was appointed Bishop of Norwich in 1837. He was also clerk of the closet to the Queen, President of the Linnean Society, and one of the commissioners appointed in 1848, to inquire into the state of the British Museum. He was greatly beloved and respected by all classes in his Diocese, in consequence of his exertions in promoting education, and in supporting charitable institutions of every description. He was married, in 1810, to the daughter of the Rev. Oswald Leycester, by whom he leaves a large family. He was the author of the "Familiar History of British Birds," a work which has acquired an extensive circulation.

The Right Rev. Dr. Graham, Bishop of Chester, succeeds to a seat in the House of Lords, while Dr. Stanley's successor will be excluded until another vacancy in the Episcopal list takes place. When the bill passed for the erection of Man-

chester into an independent Episcopal See, it was thought unadvisable to increase the number of Spiritual Peers, and an arrangement was effected by virtue of which the junior Bishop (the two Archbishops and the Bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, being excepted) should not have a seat in the House of Lords.

In pursuance of her Majesty's *congé d'élire*, directed to the Dean and Chapter, an election has been held, and the Rev. Samuel Hinds, D. D., Dean of Carlisle, has been elected Bishop of the vacant See. He was a native of Barbados, and has the reputation of an active missionary and devoted parish priest. The English papers speak approvingly of the appointment.

DEATH OF THE BISHOP OF LLANDAFF.—The Rt. Rev. Edward Coplestone, D. D., died at the Episcopal residence near Chepstow, on Sunday, Oct. 14th, in the 74th year of his age. Dr. Coplestone was the native of a county, prolific, beyond all others, in English statesmen, lawyers, and theologians. He was born at Offwell, in Devonshire, on the 2d of February, 1776, and was educated at home, by his father, (who was prebendary of Exeter,) until he attained the age of 15 years, when he was elected a Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He obtained the annual prize for Latin verse, on the prescribed theme of "Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage." In 1796 he obtained another prize, for a Latin essay, "on agriculture;" and in 1797, he was appointed College Tutor. In 1802 he was made Professor of Poetry, and published his *Praelectiones Academicæ*, a work which is now forgotten, and was never considered by his friends worth bringing into notoriety. In due course of time, Dr. Coplestone, having served the office of Proctor, was elected Provost of his College, (in 1814,) and shortly afterwards, he published his "Discourses on Predestination," the most admirable specimen he ever produced of the moderation of his opinions, his great learning, the acuteness and depth of his understanding, his catholicism, and the perfect freedom of his mind from all sectarian or schismatical tendencies. He republished, at the same time, a discourse by Archbishop King, on a kindred subject; and is thought by many persons to have pursued a middle course, more happily than any of his predecessors, between the opposite extremes of his Antinomian and Pelagian heresies. He was created Bishop of Llandaff, in 1827, under the Administration of which Sir Robert Peel was a member, whose good opinion he is said to have conciliated by a pamphlet on the currency question. He may be considered the founder of that school in theology and literature that numbers among its pupils Arnold, Whately, Hampden, and others whose influence has been felt extensively in the Church, and has given a new tone to political and ethical philosophy. The connection of the Deanery of London with the Bishoprick of Llandaff was only a temporary one, rendered necessary by the poverty of the Welsh See, which values at no more than \$1000 per annum. The metropolitan preferment was therefore held with the Bishoprick *in commendam*, to enable the Prelate to "maintain hospitality" and support the dignity of a Lord of Parliament; but such an objectionable plurality will be precluded in future, by a recent arrangement of the Commissioners, which provides a stipend of \$4500 a year for his Lordship's successors in the Episcopal chair of Llandaff. In a recent visitation charge of the Bishop of Llandaff, it is stated that fifty-three parsonage-houses had been added since his accession to the See, and that five more had then been undertaken; whilst, since his former visitation, in 1845, twenty-nine schools had been completed or undertaken. To large and populous districts, where there was no service, clergymen had been appointed, some of whom minister in churches lately erected, and others in school-rooms, or similar buildings, temporarily licensed for the purpose.

The Rev. Alfred Ollivant, D. D., has been nominated by the Crown to the Bishoprick of Llandaff. The Doctor is Prebendary of Brecon, Canon of St. David's, Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, and Rector of Somersham, Huntingdonshire. He was formerly Vice-President of Llampeter College, in which many of the Welsh Clergy have been educated. Though not a native of Wales, Dr. Ollivant must be, from his former position, and from his long intercourse with the Principality, thoroughly conversant with the Welsh language.

DEAN OF CARLISLE.—This Deanery, made vacant by the election of Rev. Dr. Hinds to the Bishoprick of Norwich, has been conferred by the Premier on the Rev. Dr. Tait, Head Master of Rugby School. The Rev. gentleman, who was formerly a Tutor of eminence at Oxford, succeeded Dr. Arnold in 1842, and is married to a daughter of Archdeacon Spooner. He has the reputation of being a sound scholar and respectable divine.

DEAN OF THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. PAUL'S, LONDON.—The Queen has directed letters patent to be passed under the great seal, appointing the Rev. Henry Hart Milman, M. A., to this important Deanery; the same being vacant by the death of the late Bishop Coplestone, by whom it was held. Dr. Milman is a Conservative in politics, and a man of talent, having been a distinguished Tutor of his College, and a first-class man, and having obtained all the University prizes for composition in prose and verse, as well as the Professorship of Poetry at Oxford, and been Bampton Lecturer in 1827. He is author of a "History of the Jews," also, of a "History of Christianity," and Editor of an edition of Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," with a preface and numerous notes; all of which have been republished in this country. Some of his doctrinal sentiments are very objectionable.

THE NEW CANON OF WESTMINSTER.—The Rev. William Cureton, of the British Museum, has been appointed to the Canonry of Westminster, vacant by the promotion of the Rev. Mr. Milman to the Deanery of St. Paul's, London. Mr. Cureton has the reputation of being one of the best Oriental scholars of the age. The King of Prussia has just conferred on him the Prussian gold medal of the Order of Merit, in approval of his edition of the Syriac Ignatian Epistles.

RESIGNATION OF THE BISHOP OF MADRAS.—The Right Rev. Dr. G. T. Spencer, one of the oldest Colonial Bishops, has intimated his intention of no longer presiding over the Diocese of Madras, in consequence of his impaired health. The duties connected with the administration of the spiritual affairs of this Diocese are of a most laborious character; converts to Christianity having been made by thousands, more especially at Tinnevely and Tanjore. The venerable Archdeacon Dealtry, who has spent a large portion of his life as a missionary in India, and who for some years held the Archdeaconry of Calcutta, has been nominated as the successor of Dr. Spencer in the Bishoprick of Madras. Archdeacon Dealtry had been preaching at the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel's church, in Bedford-row, but was to resign this charge on the second Sunday in November, to the Rev. Thomas Nolan, incumbent of St. Barnabas, Liverpool.

FRANCE.

The President of the Republic has dismissed his Ministry, owing, as he says, to a want of "entire unanimity of ideas, of views, and of conviction," between him and them. Considerable excitement is exhibited in Paris; the Conservatives and Bourbons are furious, as they see in this new demonstration a determination to perpetuate his term of office perhaps for life.

HUNGARY.

This miserable nation has at last yielded the struggle and submitted to its oppressors, who are assassinating the leaders of the insurrection with summary vengeance. Many of the refugees having escaped to Turkey, have embraced Mohammedanism, numbering already, it is said, more than three hundred, among whom is General Bem, and two other distinguished leaders. A considerable degree of religious toleration has been granted by the Sultan, and both Christians and Jews enjoy certain civil and religious privileges.

ROME.

The Pope has removed from Gaeta to Naples. Assassinations of French soldiers occur daily at Rome, and popular hostility in the royal city, to the Pope, is

very great. Louis Napoleon, in attempting the restoration of the Pope, has doubtless an eye upon the *grand projet*. He will not allow Austrian interference; and the Pope dare not confide in his French allies.

RENUNCIATIONS OF POPERY.—John Lambé abjured the errors of the Church of Rome, on Sunday, a few weeks since, at Trinity Church, Gray's Inn-Road. The mercy of superior light into divine truth was acknowledged in the thanksgiving; and in a sermon preached relative to many of the tenets of the Church of Rome, and their diversity from catholic sentiment, the incumbent, the Rev. J. W. Worthington, D. D., took occasion to observe, that although this was the first public abjuration of Romish errors, it would not be the last, and that he had, up to that period, carefully restrained persons from these public confessions; but that the present aggressive attitude of the Church of Rome rendered them necessary; and that had he felt disposed, long since, hundreds, during his ministry at that Church, would gladly have offered the same public acknowledgment for the inestimable blessings of the pure truths of the Gospel, as taught in the Anglican Church. The course of such men as Wiseman, Newman, and others, in spreading the novelties and corruptions of Popery, is beginning to call up, in old England, a spirit of resistance, which will show itself in unmistakable demonstrations. In Ireland the work of secession is assuming an important aspect. The following extract from the Londonderry Sentinel of Oct. 5, will be read with surprise. Few persons are aware in this country of the success attending the exertions of the Irish Episcopal Clergy in winning their countrymen from the deadly errors of Romanism. *Upwards of ninety Priests, and many thousands of the Laity*, have, within the last few years, been led to embrace the doctrines of the Established Church.

"A Confirmation was held at the Parish Church of Kilcommon-Eriss, Diocese of Killala, on Friday, Sept. 21st, when upwards of 150 persons, principally adults, and converts from the Church of Rome, were confirmed by the Lord Bishop of Tuam. The church was crowded to excess, and the large assemblage was addressed by his Lordship, in one of the most feeling and truly instructive discourses it has ever been our privilege to listen to. On the subsequent Sunday, the Bishop again preached in the Church of Belmullet, on points principally connected with the Romish controversy, and we feel assured the plain, practical discourse and admonitions of his Lordship, so admirably suited to the capacities of the numbers who hung with profound attention on his words, will be blessed with the happiest results, not only in confirming the minds of those who dare to think for themselves on the most momentous of all subjects, but in stimulating the exertions of such of his Clergy as are laboring to rescue souls out of the darkness and error of Popery, and lead them into the glorious light of the Gospel and the truth as it is in Jesus."

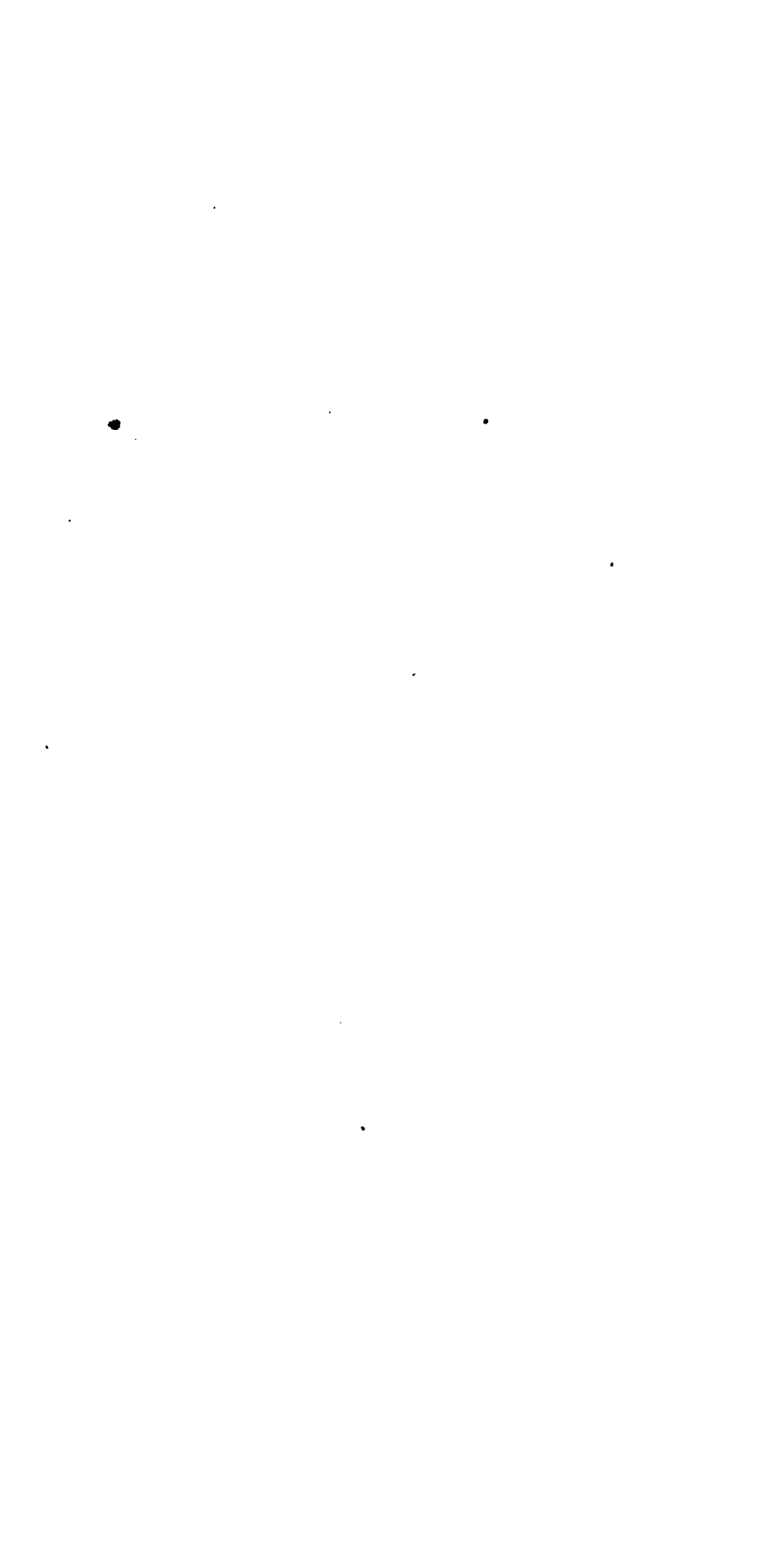
MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

THOCHANDTH ANNIVERSARY.—Thursday, Oct. 25th, being the one thousandth anniversary of the birth of King Alfred the Great, was celebrated at Wantage, his birth place, with appropriate ceremonies. His noble character as a Monarch, as a Patron of Learning, as a Scholar, and as a Christian, was delineated by the several speakers.

SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.—The expeditions fitted out under Sir James Ross and Sir John Richardson have both returned to England, after having suffered almost incredible hardships, without having discovered the least trace of the intrepid explorer. The only hope now of his safety is based upon reports of some Esquimaux Indians, who signified to the master of a whaling vessel recently returned, the situation of vessels surrounded by ice, which answer to those which Sir John has in command.

COLONY OF SOUTH AFRICA.—The inhabitants of this colony are resisting resolutely the further introduction of British convicts, and are determined the colony shall no longer be a penal settlement. A public meeting at Capetown unanimously adopted strong resolutions, and pledged itself to carry them out.









THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

**This book is under no circumstances to be
taken from the Building**

[illegible]



